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NAOLOGY.

LEICESTER:

JOHN SYDNEY CROSSLEY.

NAOLOGY:

OR,

A TREATISE ON THE

ORIGIN, PROGRESS, AND SYMBOLICAL IMPORT

14974

OF

The Sacred Structures

OF

THE MOST EMINENT NATIONS AND AGES

OF THE WORLD.

BY JOHN DUDLEY, M. A.

VICAR OF HUMBERSTON AND OF SILEBY, LEICESTERSHIRE;

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AUTHOR OF AN ESSAY ON THE IDENTITY OF THE RIVER NIGER AND THE NILE

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THE Author of this Treatise, a retired student, had employed himself during many years in researches illustrative of the symbolical import of the mythology of the pantheons of heathen antiquity. The pursuit, made without any fixed purpose, had afforded much amusement to a long and happy life, when he learned that the Camden Society of Cambridge had become the advocates of the symbolical import of the several parts of the structure and of the ornaments of Churches. Conceiving that reasons were to be found for the symbols so used, he entered upon the undertaking of shewing the *rationale* of these symbols, with the intention of dedicating the work to that Society. When however it was found that the Society had become so much enamoured of Romanist symbols as to be eager to imitate Romanist errors, the purpose was abandoned, and this work is now offered to the public unpatronized, as one of the numerous articles that almost daily issue from the machinery of the press.

Of the work it may be said that it has some claim to novelty, that it is comprehensive in its subjects, and calculated to afford a variety of information both entertaining and instructive. The sentiments exhibited will not perhaps be acceptable to all parties, but they are those of a writer little influenced by the opinions of others, and only desirous of promoting the cause of truth. How far the work may be conducive to that effect the Author does not presume to say; but this he is ready to declare, that the conviction of errors being ever salutary, he will quietly submit to the refutation of any of the many opinions he has advanced, glad that others are right, though he may perchance be wrong.

SILEBY,

MARCH 10, 1846.

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INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

"No one hath seen God at any time."[a] Why the Deity should be thus invisible, appears from the following declaration made by the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ: "God is a Spirit."[b] A spirit is mind; and mind, as well as thought and propensity to action, can only be seen in the outward visible act which ensues from the exercise of those faculties. It is by the act only that the spirit which actuates intelligent beings is clearly seen: hence it follows, that the great Divine Spirit is only to be seen or known by his acts or works. Wherever his works may be found, there will be his Spirit also; or, in other words, there God is present, is present in person or as a person; for it is truly said by the ingenious Paley, "That which can contrive, that which can design, must be a person."[c] Contrivance and design, infinite in degree of excellence, are visible in every part of the creation; and therefore the created world or universe is a just representation, an apt symbol of the great God supreme.

[a] John i. 18. [b] John iv. 24. [c] Paley, Nat. Theology, chap. xxiii.

What may thus be learned from argument, the authority of Holy Writ—the revealed word of God, fully confirms. The Apostles were assured by the Redeemer, that the Spirit of Truth should guide them into truth.[d] That Spirit must be presumed to have given especial guidance to the pens of the Apostles, when reciting precepts and doctrines which were to remain recorded for generations. That Spirit drew from the pen of Saint Paul the following precept, "The invisible things of him, (God) from the creation of the world, are clearly seen by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead."[e] If, then, God cannot be seen in his person, he may be seen symbolically in his works, collectively considered, as far as the knowledge of the contemplator may extend.

In the infancy of knowledge, a mountain might suffice for a representation of the world; in an advanced state of knowledge, the whole earth must be exhibited in some form which must of necessity be figurative, for it is not possible to comprise the whole in one view. In the present state of knowledge, extended as it is by all the wonderful discoveries which the arts and sciences have enabled man to make, the universe, consisting of an assemblage of countless worlds, something little short of infinite, ought to be exhibited in a proper representation of the Deity. It were difficult to devise a form adequate to this purpose; some inadequate representation must therefore now suffice. Such are the reasons that invite the mind to regard the creation as a symbol of the Deity, and such the necessity of having recourse to a symbol of that symbol. What this may be will in due time be shewn.

It appears from Holy Writ, that the early patriarchs, the faithful servants of the true God, did make use of symbolical forms in their sacred structures, to excite the mind to pious sentiment, and to give steadiness to pious purposes; but the

[d] John xvi. 13. [e] Romans i. 20.

symbols adopted by them were always such as were significant of the whole world or universe, as far as then known. In later ages, and an improved state of knowledge, the sacred structures representative of the world and of the Deity became more complex and large. Different gradations in the extent, and different variety in the forms of sacred structures were used in successive ages, till at length those forms were devised which are now exhibited in the Christian churches of England, and other countries of Europe. The reason why our churches bear their present form, and why the temples and sacred structures of other nations and ages bore forms different from ours, will be found in the endeavour to render them symbols of the divine presence by bearing a resemblance to the great and proper symbol, the world. What that symbol may have been, or what it ought now to be, will depend upon the answer to the question, What may have been the ideas entertained in different ages of the form of the world or universe? The answer will be given in the following statements.

There is no ground for a supposition, that when the Deity revealed to Adam in successive conferences the history of the creation, he gave him any information respecting the structure of the universe, or any matters except such as immediately required his attention, and were intimately connected with his daily business and concerns. It may indeed be imagined, that Adam did acquire, during the long period of his life, some acquaintance with the planets which appear to revolve round the earth; such attainments, however, must have been the result of long-continued and careful observation. Several centuries of his life must have passed, during which he would have had little or no idea of any other place than the earth, of whose form experience and observation had afforded little knowledge: of the universe, and even of the solar system, he probably had no conception.

The infirmity of human nature is ever prone to give locality to the ubiquity of the Deity; and there can be no doubt that Adam was, even while in the Garden of Eden, subject to infirmities, little, if at all, different from those of his descendants. Knowing almost nothing of the created world, he would have no idea of any other place of the divine abidance than in the adjacent country, and would presume, from the frequent presence, that the Garden was the true abode of God.

After the expulsion from the Garden, that place would be regarded by the unhappy pair with feelings of sorrowing affection. The recollection of comforts enjoyed there, rendered more dear by the experience of manifold annoyances to which they were daily subject in the wide and wild world into which they were driven, must have induced them to regard the Garden of Eden as the true Paradise, as the terrestrial abode of God and of heavenly beings; the place also which they regarded with an interest more intense, from the notion they fondly entertained, that the seed of the Woman would break the Serpent's head ere many years had passed, and replace them in their first abode, and restore to them the wonted favour of their mighty God and the friendly intercourse of his ministering spirits.[f]

Feelings and hopes such as these, the father of mankind did most assuredly render familiar to his descendants, in those traditional lectures which, on every sabbath or other religious occasion of assemblage, he must be supposed to have delivered as part of the service which they met to perform. The doctrine that the Deity held his abode on the eminence of the Garden inaccessible from the flaming sword, (perhaps a volcanic issue of fire,) may be presumed to have been known and generally believed, and often to have been the subject of contemplation with the sons of Adam residing in

[f] See Reflections on the Books of the Holy Scripture, by P. Allix, 2 vols. where this opinion is amply vindicated.

the vicinity of the Garden, whose height would doubtless be the object towards which they turned in prayer. When the families, increasing in numbers, migrated far and wide from the first holy hill, they would find it expedient to use other like eminences as the symbols of the true hill of the Garden, till at length, from continued usage, high hills would generally be termed and symbolically regarded as the abodes of the Deity. That the popular belief and symbolical import of particular hills and high places did become such, even with the servants of the true God, the following authorities will sufficiently shew.

The author of the book of Psalms writes: "The hill of God is a high hill, as the hill of Bashan. Why hop ye so, ye high hills? This is the hill in which it pleaseth him to dwell; yea, the Lord will abide in it for ever."[g] Again: "I cried unto the Lord, and he heard me out of his holy hill."[h] The word hill, used in these texts, figuratively signifies the temple, or the place at which the Deity was worshipped, and where he was supposed to be more especially present; but the figure was used in accordance with the primary belief that God did make his residence on hills. When God exhibited his power and majesty to the Israelites by thunderings and lightenings from the top of Mount Sinai, and spake the ten commandments from the fire and the clouds, the people, influenced by old opinions, readily believed that God was there present, and that he spake to them from the place of his true abode. Thus may the belief entertained in ancient ages, that hills were the abodes of gods, be founded on the affectionate regard entertained by Adam and his immediate descendants for the Garden of Eden.

The increasing population of the earth compelled men to migrate widely from the place of their birth, and made them know, ere many ages had passed, that the earth was of wide

[g] Psalm lxviii. 15, 16. [h] Psalm iii. 4.

extent, and that it did not bear the form of a mountain, as had been at first imagined, and that the Spirit of the Deity was not abiding in hills only, but was extant in other parts of the creation also. The symbol, the hill, was deemed to be inadequate, and another sought. Relinquishing that primal idea, that the world was the hill of the Garden, the next likely to be entertained was the idea that it was an extended plain, the hill of the Garden being central and pre-eminent. Some of the most ancient authorities of Holy Writ give this idea of the surface of the earth.

The author of the book of Job represents the Deity enquiring of the woeful sufferer, "Hast thou perceived the breadth of the earth?"[i] The question is apt on the supposition that the earth is an extended plain, but not so if it were of any other form. The same idea of the extended plain of the earth is occasionally noticed by other writers, even down to the time when the book of the Revelations was written. The epithets, broad and wide, are of continual occurrence, and familiarize the idea.

That the earth was not of unlimited extent, is signified by the frequent mention of the borders of the earth. Other texts mention the ends of the earth, and the ends of heaven; others, a measure longer than the earth, broader than the sea. All these authorities most assuredly represent the earth as being a plain, varied indeed with hills and mountains, but lying within the general level of the same horizon.

The form of this plain is rarely noticed, but there are two texts which describe it as being a square. Isaiah declares, that at some certain time "the Lord shall gather together the dispersed of Judah from the four corners of the earth."[k] The Evangelist declares, in the book of the Revelations, that he saw in his prophetic visions, "four angels standing on the four corners of the earth, holding the four winds of the

[i] Job xxxviii. 18. Revelation xx. 9. [k] Isaiah xi. 12.

earth."[1] The division of the horizon by the four cardinal points must have been made upon the supposition, that the earth was a square, and that the points of the square were in the direction of the lines dividing the horizon.

The idea that the earth is a level surface, and of a square form, is so likely to have been entertained by persons of little experience and limited observation, that it may be justly supposed to have prevailed generally in the early ages of the world. It must, however, have been at the same time plainly obvious, that the earth was a body solid as well as square. This conviction naturally suggested the idea that it must resemble and bear the form of a cube, which, of all other solids, accorded best with that stability which, from the course of the seasons and motions of the heavenly bodies, it appeared to possess. Such was the firm belief of many of the early nations of mankind; and, as appears from many remains of antiquity, the cube was made the emblem of stability. To the vulgar and untaught eye, the heaven or sky above the earth appears to be coextensive with the earth, and to take the same form, inclosing a cubical space, of which the earth was the base, the heaven or sky the upper surface. Led by appearances, it was inferred that the form of the earth beneath the mundane surface was a cube also, whose base was an extended area or country into which the dead entered when they returned to the earth out of which they had been taken. According to this theory the universe was composed of two cubes, the one imposed upon the other; the whole forming a quadrangular column, or parallelopiped, of height double the side of the base.

This ancient idea of the form of the world or universe is exhibited by the following texts of Holy Writ. The royal Psalmist, asserting the ubiquity of the Deity, writes, "If I ascend up into heaven, thou art there; if I make my bed in

[1] Revelation vii. 1.

hell, thou art there also."[m] It is here supposed that the earth, the abode of man, is situate between the two regions, heaven and hell. The former of these two regions the royal writer notices as being a chamber above the earth. "He (the Deity) watereth the hills from his chambers."[n] These chambers are supposed to rest upon beams, as the chambers of a house. "Who layeth the beams of his chambers in the waters."[o] The prophet Amos, signifying the unbounded power of the Deity, represents him speaking thus: "Though they dig into hell, thence shall my hand take them; though they climb into heaven, thence will I bring them down."[p]

These authorities shew that the world was commonly believed to consist of three areas, or floors, of vast extent, rising in succession the one above the other; the whole forming a double cube, as already stated. Having thus exhibited the opinions entertained by the writers of Holy Writ, the theories of other scriptures not less ancient demand attention.

The records contained in the voluminous books of the *Sastra* or Shaster, the name by which the body of scriptures esteemed holy by the Brahmens of Hindosthan is known, claim attention next to those books which are regarded as holy by the christian, that is, by the civilized world. Relying on the authority of Sir William Jones, one of the most excellent and learned Englishmen that ever entered the Indian provinces, those books may be received as the most ancient writings now extant next to the books of the Pentateuch, if they be not coeval with, or even anterior to them. Indeed it were not an extravagant assumption, were it held that some of those books are among those first written after the invention of letters; and farther, that the divine Providence gave the pen into the hand of the Hebrew lawgiver, to faithfully record the purport of the patriarchal

[m] Psalm cxxxix. 8. [n] Psalm civ. 13. [o] Ibid. 3. [p] Amos ix. 2.

traditions, then in hazard of being corrupted and confused by the writings of idolaters. It was the same dispensation which did command the utter extirpation of the Canaanites, the only means by which the current of idolatry could be checked in its course, and its overflowing streams prevented from overwhelming the whole world, drowning in oblivion the religion of truth and the knowledge and the name of the true God. That the books of Moses should have been intended to oppose and counteract the earliest books of the *Sastra*, will not deserve to be regarded as a supposition altogether extravagant, when it is known that the intelligent and pious Bishop of Calcutta found, even at the commencement of the discharge of his episcopal functions, that in the provinces of Hindosthan all the licentious and all the cruel rites, even the human sacrifices, of the Canaanites, are now in practice in that extensive and populous region, under the sanction of the *Sastra*. It is far from being a visionary supposition, that but for the barrier of the law of Moses, strengthened by the awful extirpation of the Canaanites, the authority of the *Sastra* might have been at this day established even in our own islands.

The observation of the Bishop will not fail to invite the attention of all persons who can be pleased by curious enquiry. Indeed, the subject ought to be regarded with peculiar interest by every person belonging to the empire of Great Britain, because she now holds the sceptre of command over one hundred millions of people, of whom the greater part are disciples of the *Sastra*. These millions, who justly deserve the title of fellow-subjects, may possibly be converted by us from their errors; but the work will not be effected by the hand of violence which has been laid in vain on the disciples of the *Sastra* by their Mahommedan conquerors: but if it ever be effected—and Providence having afforded the opportunity of the trial, may be said to have imposed the obligation of the attempt—if ever the conversion

be effected, it will be wrought by the civilization of the mind, by the communication of useful knowledge, and by acts of kindness. Such a course may gain their esteem, win their affection, and bring them by degrees to consider and understand our literature, our philosophy, and lastly, the powerful evidences of the truth of the christian religion.

The christian advocate will be ill able to promote this good work, until he shall be made acquainted with the errors against which he may have to contend. It will be a particular object in this treatise, to develope, as occasion may serve, the dogmas and doctrines which at present delude the *Hindù*, and which teach him to regard with religious contempt the governors whom he notwithstanding duteously obeys. In this undertaking, the first step will be to make known to the European the doctrines and theories connected with a symbolical eminence, called in the *Sastra* Mount *Merù*, the supposed abode of gods, and the paradise of departed and beatified spirits. This subject will be interesting to every christian reader, because the circumstances recited in the accounts of the Mount are evidently borrowed from the records of our sacred history of the garden of Eden, the happy abode of Adam till the fall. This evident resemblance being found in books which till now have never been compared, may justly, or rather, must be regarded as an ample confirmation of the accuracy and truth of the Mosaic history.

The Brahmens affirm, on the authority of the *Sastra*, that among the *Himalaya* mountains situate on the north of their country, certainly the highest mountains on the face of our globe, there is one known by the name of *Merù*, whose summit is the abode of gods and beatified spirits. The Bishop of Calcutta reports that one of these is really distinguished by that name; that it is twenty-three thousand feet high; but yet less high than some others among which, and not from *Merù*, the river Ganges actually takes its rise. [q]

[q] Heber's Travels, vol. ii. chap. xviii. pp. 209, 223.

The word *Merù* signifies a pivot, or axis of motion. This signification of the word has led some Europeans to suppose, that *Merù* is the north pole of the globe. The *Hindù* astronomers represent *Merù* figuratively as being a conical mount, decorated with a variety of figures of men and plants and animals.[r] It is situate in the centre of figures representing the *Hindù* signs of the zodiac, which are the same as the signs of the European. This Mount is surrounded also by figures of men and animals, representing the sun, moon, and the planets, the same as in our solar system. Whatever be the meaning of the word *Merù*, the mountain is regarded as that locality on which the first man and his family were placed, and from which his sons descended and proceeded in all directions to people the earth.

The mountain is regarded with the greatest reverence, and many pilgrimages are continually undertaken by *Hindùs*, especially *Yogìs* or *Hindù* ascetics, to these mountains, for the performance of devotional exercises in its vicinity. The pilgrimage is certainly one of much labour and pain, especially to persons born and bred in the warm clime of Hindosthan; for this and all the mountains among which *Merù* is situate are not only high and precipitous, but are for the most part covered by eternal snow. After a journey of several hundred miles, the pilgrim finds little else than a barren rock, clad with eternal snow. The summit is inaccessible to human foot, but on that account it affords to the eye of faith the full assurance that it is the abode of gods and beatified spirits, the paradise of bliss, the scene of all conceivable happiness.

Other theorists assign to *Merù* the following form;[s] two truncate cones, generally considered as being circular: some theologues however maintain that they are square, some octangular. These cones are supposed to be joined together at their bases, thus forming a body not greatly unlike an ordinary barrel. The upper or northern portion of this

[r] Asiatic Researches, vol. ii. No. 17. [s] Ibid. vol. viii. No. 7, p. 226.

compound mass they distinguish by the name of *Su-merù*, or the higher *Merù*; the lower or southern portion they call *Cumerù*. The former, as they affirm, is a region of perpetual light, the abode of good spirits: the latter, of eternal darkness, or the abode of wicked spirits and of misery. It is obvious that the classical phrase, Cimmerian darkness, owes its origin to this Indian theory.

The top of *Sumerù*, the *Merù* of the *Sastra*, is an extensive country elevated in the centre and surrounded by an inclosure of mountains called *Ilavratì*, a word signifying the boundaries of the earth. In the middle of this tract are three *phala* or mountain peaks, on one of which, called *Cailasa*, resides the deity *Siva*, a personification of the destructive power of nature; on another, *Vaicontha*, resides *Vishnù*, the preserving power. The third peak, though not now assigned to any deity, was once, it may be supposed, the abode of the creator *Brahmà*, the third personage of the Indian Triad. The worship of this god is now utterly neglected: whence it should seem that the Brahmens and their disciples are little regardful of the blessing of created existence, and are mindful only of worldly good and evil. Some legends, however, attribute this change to the presumption of *Brahmà*, who being, as his votaries contended, a personification of the whole material world, claimed exclusively the title of the sole God supreme, a claim which the votaries of *Vishnù* and *Siva*, and those especially who maintained the doctrine of the ideality of matter, most earnestly opposed.

From these heights, according to the *Sastra*, four rivers flow, in the direction of the four cardinal points of the compass.[t] Of these, the Ganges is the only one that is the object of regard with the *Hindù*, of whom the *Saivas* or worshippers of *Siva* contend that the beneficent river issues from the head of the god. The *Vaishnavas* or worshippers of *Vishnù*, contend that it issues from his feet.

[t] Asiatic Researches, vol. viii. No. 7, p. 226.

In the middle of the area of the summit, and in the vicinity of these peaks, stands the city *Amravatì*, the abode of blessed spirits that live totally exempt from every kind of pain, and partake at will of every kind of pleasure, especially such as Mahomet, the prophet of the Koran, assigns to the zealous disciples of his creed.

Although this *Merù* must necessarily be regarded as a place that exists only in the figurative fictions of the *Sastra*, yet the prototype or original of this system of fictions may be seen in the Mosaic description of the Garden of Eden, once well known to all mankind by patriarchal tradition. The recital of a few particulars will demonstrate the identity. The Garden was most assuredly on an eminence, a high mountain, probably of considerable extent, from which four rivers of general celebrity issued in opposite directions. Four rivers are feigned to flow from Mount *Merù*. The summit of *Merù* is surrounded by enclosing hills: the Garden of Eden must also have been encompassed by defences of some kind, for some fence is essential to the character of a garden. The Garden was the abode of man happy before his fall, and almost constantly favoured by the presence of God: the *Merù* of the Brahmens is the abode of gods. The middle of the Garden, where stood the two trees, was probably an eminence, and specially sacred, where Adam worshipped and met his God. A similar eminence, the seat of gods, rises within the boundaries of *Merù*. The sides are occupied by beings of different powers and modes of existence. It may be supposed that Adam, after the expulsion, and the elder patriarchs, fixed their abodes near to the gates or entrance of the Garden, and those of later birth and lower eminence occupied the lower parts of the hill: beings or personages of diminished excellence occupy the lower portions of the sides of *Merù*. It is impossible to suppose that the postdiluvian ancestors of the Brahmens did not know all that related to the Garden of Eden. Their language supplies the name of

paradise, the *para*, pure, and *desa*, country; they entertain the same opinion of it as Adam did when they represent it as the abode of gods, and they adopt the opinion of Adam, when, by making it the abode of happy departed spirits, they signify a hope that death might restore to fallen man the favour of God, and place him in paradise, the abode of blessed spirits.

It was thus that the Garden of Eden became, by some little perversion of truth, the *Merù* of the disciples of the *Sastra*. But these had observed that the earth, in appearance a plain, extended to distances which seemed to be almost without bounds. In the course of time the extensive regions were distinguished into countries known by appropriate names, and figuratively represented by the leaves of the sacred flower, the lotus.[u] According to the symbolism of the *Sastra*, the pistil of the lotus represented the lofty *Merù*; the anthers, various mountains in the vicinity, or, according to some authorities, the heavenly bodies. The petals at first were three only, whence the god supreme, represented symbolically by the world, obtained the name of Jupiter Triphylius, that is, the great god of the three leaves, a symbol still exhibited by the Irish in their favourite shamrock. A more extended acquaintance with the countries of the earth added new leaves to the symbolical flower, and it acquired the form and number of leaves exhibited in one of the plates of the essays in the Asiatic Researches.

It were an effort of recondite study to undertake the exposition of the several steps made by the Indian astronomers, in forming their present fanciful exhibition of the earth and universe. The following is the account of what may be termed the exoteric and the esoteric Indian theories of cosmography. They were given by a learned *Hindù Pandit* to Sir William Jones as follows. "The Puranics, or persons relying on the authority of the books of the *Sastra* known

[u] Asiatic Researches, vol. viii. No. 7.

by the name of *Purana*, will tell you that our earth is a plane figure studded with eight mountains, and surrounded by seven seas of milk, nectar, and other fluids; that the part which we inhabit is one of seven islands, to which eleven other smaller isles are subordinate; that a god riding on a huge elephant guards each of the eight regions, and that a mountain of gold rises and gleams in the centre; but we (meaning persons well informed) believe the earth to be shaped like a *cadamba* fruit, or spheroidal, and admits only four oceans of water, all which we name from the four cardinal points, and in which are many great peninsulas with innumerable islands. They will tell you that a dragon's head swallows the moon at an eclipse, but we know that the supposed head and tail of the dragon mean only the nodes or points formed by the intersections of the ecliptic and the moon's orbit. In short, they have imagined a system which exists only in their fancy; but we consider nothing true without such evidence as cannot be questioned."[w]

The *Cadamba* above mentioned is the Nauclea Orientalis of European botanists.[x] The fruit is a capsule, inferior small, turbinate, corticate, crowned with a callous ring, the remains of the fallen flower. The whole plant is one of the most elegant of the Indian trees. Its flowers are finely fragrant; its seeds are numerous, which renders the capsule an approved symbol of the fertility of the earth. For these reasons the plant is held in high reverence, and is even regarded as holy. It appears from this statement of the learned *Pandit*, that the *Hindù* philosophers have acquired the idea, which has now become universal, that the earth is of a spherical form; but, adhering to the doctrine of the *Sastra*, they cannot be induced to relinquish their sacred *Merù*, which misleads them into the erroneous assertion that the polar diameter of the earth is greater than the equatorial.

[w] Asiatic Researches, vol. ii. No. 16, p. 290.

[x] Ibid. vol. iv. No. 16. Martyn's Gardener and Botanist's Dictionary.

It appears from the *Purana* distinguished by the name of *Calica*, that the worship of *Siva*, the Destroying Power of the *Hindù* Triad, had become so sanguinary in the sacrifice not only of animals, but of men also, as to excite a deep abhorrence in many minds, and a wish to restrain and even abolish the use of all animal sacrifices whatsoever. To effect this, it is affirmed in certain books, that *Vishnù*, the Preserving Power of the Triad, became an eighth *avatara*, and was miraculously born of the wife of a *Hindù Rajah*.[y]

This newly-born personage took the name of *Buddha*, a name which signifies a wise man, or a person well qualified to teach right principles of action. Besides *Buddha*, he took several other names, each significant of particular tenets. Among them was the name of *Sacya*, which signifies a person feeding on vegetables and entertaining an abhorrence of animal food.

It appears from various authorities, that this new sect was opposed especially by the votaries of *Siva*; that violent persecutions and bloody wars were carried on between the partizans of the Brahmens and Buddhists; that the latter prevailed for a long time in some of the provinces of Hindosthan, till at length the Buddhists were driven from the continent to the island Ceylon, where the religion of *Buddha* now exclusively prevails. In all the countries of eastern India beyond the Bay of Bengal, even in the islands

[y] This *avatara* was the ninth of those births by which the Deity became incarnate, mostly in a human form, but in some instances, as in the tortoise *avatara*, the form of an animal was assumed. Bishop Heber states that twenty-three of these *avataras* are enumerated by some of the *Hindù* sects, but nine only are admitted by all. The doctrine of these incarnations may be presumed to have been borrowed from the expectation of the birth of the Messiah, which it were easy to shew had been entertained from the time of the fall of man and the expulsion from the Garden. It is certain from true dates of chronology that several of the *avataras* were anterior to, and several posterior to the birth of the Redeemer.

of Japan, Buddhism is, with some few exceptions, the established religion. There will be occasion in the following pages of this treatise, to notice the forms of the religious structures of these nations, which, being built according to the general principle of idolaters, in imitation of the form of the created world, require some notices of the cosmography adopted by this numerous sect, which is briefly as follows.

The disciples of *Buddha* maintain, that the world consists of a tall column, or pillar, some say round, others octangular, on the top of which the supreme god resides, surrounded by the earth and its inhabitants.[z] This they call the *Mahà Merù Pargwette*, that is, the Great *Merù* Stone: *Pargwette* signifying stone, in the *Palì* language. This pillar is the centre of several cylinders, of which each exterior cylinder is of less height than the next interior. Each of these cylinders is the abode of some governing spirit. The forms of these cylinders are very various: some are triangular, some quadrangular, octangular, semicircular, and the like. These stand around a column of a circular shape, whose rounded summit is the earth, supported in the same manner as is signified by other ancient theories. The columnar forms stationed in the adjacent regions represent, though somewhat imperfectly, the sun and other heavenly bodies, not only of the solar system, but some of those stars which are fixed in the regions of infinite space.

This theory of the Buddhists is evidently of a later age than the cosmography of the Brahmens; for the number of columnar structures standing on all sides of the central earth indicates a more extended acquaintance with the heavenly bodies, the result, doubtless, of a longer observation and continued study. This newer theory comprises all the principles of the preceding, but with additions. The earth rises in the central parts, and has its Mount *Merù*. The columnar

[z] Asiatic Researches, vol. vii. No. 15. Upham, chap. iv.

support of the earth is more positively declared than in other systems, and is extended somewhat whimsically to all the other bodies of the universe, in such a manner as amounts to absurdity. The theory is, however, of great importance to the present subject, for it shews the import of the forms of many sacred structures, as will be seen in the subsequent chapters of this treatise; at present it will be proper to observe, that the theory of a Mount *Merù* has been so generally received by nations distant from, and holding little intercourse with, the disciples of the *Sastra*, that the theory can only be referred to patriarchal tradition, and a reference to the first abode of man in the Garden of Eden.

There can be no doubt that the Egyptians may claim an antiquity equal to that of the Hindus, but their records have not survived the lapse of time, and therefore, little is known of the opinions entertained by their theologues in the earlier ages of their history. Perhaps their opinions of the form of the earth, if ever they were recorded, may have been suppressed when found to be erroneous; or if ever recorded, they exist only in the form of hieroglyphics, which are not as yet well understood. It will be seen, however, when the forms of their temples become to be considered, that, like other nations, the Egyptians believed the whole earth to be one vast plain, of a quadrangular form, canopied by the heavens above, itself constituting a canopy or ceiling to the plane regions of hell beneath. Notwithstanding the supposed prevalence of these opinions, the knowledge of the spherical form of the earth was familiar to them in the early ages in which some of their temples were constructed. This is evident, from the symbol of a globe, supported on each side, as in armorial bearings, by a serpent, each accompanied with wings extended wide beyond them, occupying nearly the whole of the entablature above the entrance of many of their temples. Although the central figure in this symbol be called a globe, an egg, the symbol of the world, is perhaps intended, which,

according to the Egyptian mythologists,[a] issued from the mouth of the god *Cneph*, a personification of the divine Spirit, from which egg a deity called *Ptha* issued. This *Ptha* created the world. The *Sastra*, which does not admit the spherical form, has the same fable. The supreme *Brahme* produced an egg in the waters of creation, from which was born *Brahmà*, the acting creator. How nearly these fables coincide with our Scripture history! Were the globes, as they are called, of the Egyptian entablatures closely examined, they would perhaps be found to be oval-shaped, figurative of the creation, and not bearing any reference to the form of the world.

Whether the Greeks derived the doctrine of a sacred mount from Egypt, or from India, may be doubted. It is probable that they might have obtained it from either; or what is more probable, that it was known by them from general and patriarchal tradition. That they did entertain the doctrine is most certain, as the following authorities may serve to shew.

Many eminences in ancient Greece were distinguished by the name of (ομφαλος) *omphalos*. This word signifies the boss in the middle of a shield; it also signifies the navel of the human body, the part by which the unborn infant receives nourishment from the mother until it arrives at the maturity of birth. Were the *sanscrit* scholar to give the etymology of the word, he would state that it was a compound of *Om*, the sacred name of the deity, and *phala*, a pinnacle or lofty pointed height. Such a derivation would be apt, if a reference were intended to be made to the height on which the Deity had planted the Garden of Eden: from whence, as from the nave or axle of a wheel, mankind migrated in succeeding generations into all the countries of the earth.

That the Greeks did regard the word ομφαλος as bearing this signification is very certain. Every new colony established in the country, had its omphalos, or high station, on which

[a] Euseb. Ev. Præpar. lib. iii. c. 11.

the Penates or gods of the new settlers were for a time at least worshipped, and which served also for a stronghold, or citadel, and place of security, till the number of the colonists became such as to render such defences unnecessary. Thus at Phlius, near Sicyon, in the Peloponnesus, there was an *omphalos.*[b] It was said to be the *omphalos* of the Peninsula, for, though far from being in the centre, yet it was very likely from its situation to have been the first settlement of a new colony in that country.

The Ætolians are said to have lived on the *omphalos* or *umbilicus* of Greece.[c] There was a place in Crete called *omphalium*, from an omphalos.[d] Sicily affords instances of such places.[e] Many others also of ancient celebrity are noticed by different authors. The priests of the temple of Apollo at Delphi maintained farther, that their Mount Parnassus was not only the omphalos of Greece, but the Mesomphalos, the *Merù* of all the world. Such is the title given to it by the tragic poet Sophocles.[f] In accordance with him, Pindar relates, in his fourth Pythian ode, that the oracle which obliged Jason to undertake the Argonautic expedition was uttered by the laurel-crowned priestess of Delphi, from the Mesomphalos of Mount Parnassus.[g] Pausanias cites the authority of this poet, in confirmation of the assertion of the citizens of Delphi, that the *omphalos*, a figure of white stone, placed within the limits of their temple, and kept covered by a veil, was the exact mesomphalos, the middle of all the earth.[h] The stone thus covered in reverence, as it was pretended, clearly intimates the claim vindicated for these *mesomphali.* It was doubtless the same as the Phenician cone, sacred to Venus, and exhibited in the *Sastra* under the name of *bhaga* or *yoni*, as the sign of one of the

[b] Pausan. lib. ii. c. 13, s. 17. [c] Liv. Hist. lib. xxv. c. 18.
[d] Callim. Hymn. in Jov. v. 42. [e] Bryant. Myth. vol. i. p. 11.
[f] Œdip. Tyrann. v. 487. [g] Pyth. Od. iv. 129.
[h] Pausan. lib. x. c. 16, s. 2. Strab. lib. ix. p. 420. A.

lunar mansions. This emblem of fertility and production belongs to the ancient phallic worship, and is aptly placed in a spot which claims the title of the first birthplace of the human race. The same inference may be drawn from Ilium, the name of the citadel of Troy. The hero of the Æneis conveyed Ilium and the conquered Penates into Italy.[1] Ilium was the abode of the Penates, gods of Troy. *Ila* signifies the earth, in the *Sanscrit.* There are several circumstances which shew that the title of having been the birthplace of the first of mankind was asserted by the votaries of Mount Parnassus. The high and precipitous peaks of that mountain, the mysterious caves and the ceaseless streams, the mephitic vapours issuing from numerous cavities, all marked the place extraordinary. The numerous sacred structures comprised within the wide bounds of its heights gave to the whole of the place a close resemblance to the fabled features of *Merù*, the mesomphalos of India.

The learned analyst of ancient mythology, availing himself of his convertible radicals, has thought proper to maintain that sacred umbilical eminences derived their name from the oracular uses to which they served; that *omphalos* was a word compounded of the Greek (*ομφη*) *omphi*, signifying an oracular response, and *el*, a Hebrew word, signifying that the response was from a god. This might have been probable were it true that all these *omphali* were oracular. But it does not appear that all these eminences were so. This fact overturns his argument, and invites a farther enquiry concerning the derivation of the word.

Many circumstances shew that the *omphali* of Greece were in reality of the same symbolical purport as the Indian *Merù*, and that both alike were supposed to be, not oracles uttering divine responses, but sacred places of a particular character. This is most certain, if it be admitted that the Greek word *omphalos* may have had a *Sanscrit* derivation;

[1] Æneis, lib. i. v. 72.

for the word thus compounded gives the name, the hill of God, to the place. That these omphali were regarded as the abodes of gods, the following authorities clearly shew.

The poets of Greece and Rome adorn their works with interesting accounts of the frequent, if not the constant presence of gods in such places. Hesiod affirms, that precipitous mountains were created for the purposes of affording abodes to the divine Nymphs.[j] Mount Parnassus was the celebrated abode of Apollo: Mount Olympus, of the gods in general, but especially of Jupiter, the first and father of the gods.[k] The people of every country were desirous of having the gods among them, and therefore, they generally gave the name of Olympus, signifying the abode of gods, to some mountain within their territories. The Scholiast of the Argonautics of Apollonius of Rhodes, mentions six such mountains.

High mountains and rocks were called *helibatal*, not because they were accessible, as scholiasts speak,[l] only to the sun shining upon them, but because they were, as the word truly signifies, the abodes of gods. These abodes of the gods were each regarded as a paradise on earth, where beatified spirits partook of enjoyments, not spiritual indeed, as the Gospel of the Saviour teaches Christians to expect, but animal and sensual; though much less gross than those of the Asiatic nations. In the Iliad and Odyssey it is stated, that the gods are most happy when they partake of the joys of the banquet. The following is a description of such festival delights, given by the poets of Greece and Italy.

On couches placed at tables in royal palaces, and on the golden floors of heaven, gods and goddesses, models of manly grace and female beauty, recline and partake of feasts of richest viands, enlivened by an abundant flow of lively wit and nectareous wine. These pleasures gods and heroes, and all persons once admitted into the society of gods, enjoy to

[j] Hesiod. Theog. v. 129.
[k] Iliad. E. v. 360.
[l] Schol. in Odyss. O. v. 273.

eternity. This doctrine is the same as that of the Brahmens and the *Sastra*, who maintain that men of pre-eminent virtues obtain what they term *mucti*, or union with the God supreme. With regard to persons of inferior eminence, though yet good and virtuous, both Greeks and Indians maintain, that after passing through purgatory they partake of tranquil enjoyments for a certain period, and then return to life on earth, and renewed trials, which are continued and repeated till they attain *mucti*, or divine excellence.

The place of divine enjoyment is thus described by the poet Homer:

> Olympus famed, the safe abode of gods,
> By winds is never vexed, nor drenched with rain.
> Snow falls not; but the cloudless arch serene
> Widely expands, with brightness ever clear.
> Here pass the gods their days in ceaseless joys.[m]

This description may be justly termed an exaggeration of the account which Adam gave of the Garden of Eden, which both Greeks and Indians may have received by patriarchal tradition.

Were the attention of travellers and antiquaries properly directed to the subject of these sacred Mounts, there is reason to believe that one or more would be found in every country and nation. The Mount Ida near Troy is known to every one who has looked into the Books of the Iliad. The word *ida* signifies in the *Sanscrit*, *earth*; hence it seems that Mount *Ida* was the *Merù*, the symbol of the world and the divine presence with the Trojans. As such the poet exhibits it as the abode of Jupiter. *Ila* is a *Sanscrit* word signifying the earth also. That Ilium, a name of Troy, was given to the city from an *ila* or *Merù* within the walls, at which the hero Hector offered many sacrifices, can hardly be doubted. There will be occasion to shew that the Trojans were Celts, and that they adopted the rites of the Celtic or Druidical

[m] Odyss. Z. v. 42.

religion. It might be expected therefore that a *Merù* or Mesomphalos should have been extant in Britain, the most eminent abode of the Druids. No eminence to which the character of a *Merù* can be annexed has been hitherto noticed, owing to inattention to the subject. Perhaps some antiquary well acquainted with Druidical remains may discover some such sacred Mount. May Silbury Hill, an artificial Mount in the vicinity of the temple at Abury, be such? If no *Merù* be found in Britain, the doctrine of the Mount is developed in the records of another branch of the Celtic race and Druidic religion, which affords a full assurance that it must have been entertained in the British Isles.

The Scandinavian descendants of Japhet, occupying, or rather ranging wide over the remote regions of the north, rude as they were and almost savage, entertained the doctrine of a sacred Mount, the centre of the world, the abode of gods, and the eminence from which they beheld and rewarded or punished the actions of men, whom they had created.

The fifth fable of the Edda describes the creation of the first man and woman, from whom the whole human race is descended.[n] To these two the gods assigned, says the fable, a habitation near *Midgard*. "Then the gods built in the middle of the world the fortress *Asgard*, where dwell the gods and their families. There it is that the palace of Odin is situate called *Lidshialf*, or the Terror of the Nations. When Odin, who is called the Universal Father, for he is the parent of gods, is seated on his lofty throne, he thence discovers every country; he sees all the actions of men, and comprehends whatever he beholds. The Earth is his daughter and his wife. The issue of that marriage are Asa-Thor, or the god Thor, and all the family of the *Ases*, that is, of the gods, a race entirely divine."

Asgard, the abode of the gods, is shaded by the ash tree

[n] Mallet, North. Antiq. Edda, Fab. 5.

Ydrasil, where the gods assemble every day to do justice. The branches of this tree extend themselves over the whole world, and reach above the heavens. It hath three roots, extremely distant from each other; the one of them is among the gods, the other is among the giants, where the abyss formerly was; the third covers *Niflheim*, or hell, and under this root is the fountain *Vérgélmer*, whence flow the infernal rivers. [o]

The wild fancies expressed in these and other fables of the Edda, however strange they appear, may be traced to the true history of the creation. Though clothed in the most mysterious and wild allegories, and so strange as to appear absurd, they admit interpretations which shew that they are closely connected with the truth. Being considered with a reference to the sacred history, it will be found that *Midgard*, the abode of the first man, is the Garden in the land of Eden; *Asgard*, built in the middle of the Garden, is the most sacred eminence; in the middle of *Midgard* is the abode of gods, the special place of the divine presence. The ash tree *Ydrasil* represents the two trees of knowledge and of life; the three roots of the tree *Ydrasil* typify the three regions of space, the heaven, earth, and hell; from which it appears that these nations entertained the same idea of the form of the universe as the nations already noticed. The rivers said to flow from beneath the third root of the tree *Ydrasil* are most surely taken from the patriarchal traditions committed to writing by the pen of the Hebrew legislator. Thus are even the strange mythological fables of the Edda to be traced up to the traditions of Adam and the Patriarchs; and thus do even they bear testimony to the truth of holy writ.

In further proof of this opinion, let it be observed, that the Mount *Asgard* was believed by the Scandinavian votaries of their great god Odin, to be the abode of happiness, and the height of bliss. According to the twentieth fable of the

[o] Edda, Fab. 8.

Edda, those votaries had endured cruel torments and received mortal wounds to gain access to Valhall, the hall of Odin. This hall has five hundred and forty gates, out of each of which eight warriors march out abreast daily to battle. They enter into the lists in the presence of crowds of spectators, and fight till they cut one another in pieces. This is their diversion. No sooner does the hour of repast approach than they remount their steeds, recovered and sound, and repair to the banquet in the Valhall. There they feed upon the lard or fat of the wild boar *Serimner*, which, though killed and dressed every morning, becomes entire again every night. At hand in the hall is a she-goat, which feeds on the leaves of the tree *Lerada*, from whose teats flows hydromel or mead in such great abundance, that it fills completely every day a pitcher large enough to inebriate all the heroes.[p] Such were the delights of the Scandinavian paradise. These pleasures were various according to the fancy of the Indian, the Greek, and Teutonic. That the latter held such ideas of heavenly delight was wofully proved by the inroads of the Vikingr of the North on our then miserable island.

From these authorities, which have been here brought into notice to shew that one common opinion concerning the sacred Mount was an article of the faith with many nations, we now proceed to enquire what were the opinions of the Greeks of the form of the world. They will be found to be the same as those of the writers of the sacred scriptures, and nearly the same as those of the Brahmens exhibited in the preceding pages.

The same discoveries which led the early patriarchs and the penmen of holy writ to suppose that the earth was one vast plain, over which the floors of heaven and beneath which the fields of hell were extended, brought the ancient Greeks into the same belief. The poet Hesiod,[q] regarding the earth as an extended plain, terms the earth *broad-breasted*, and the

[p] Edda, Fab. 20. [q] Hesiod. Theog. v. 720.

broad earth. Evidences of this purport occur so numerously in the early poets, that it is needless to cite more.

Though broad, it had its boundaries. Juno speaks of them in the following terms:

> I go to view the boundaries of Earth,
> And Ocean, sire of gods, and Tethys, mother.
> Me they received and nursed in their abodes,
> What time commanding Jove did Saturn drive
> Down 'neath the earth and ever-barren sea.[r]

This idea of the earth having boundaries is utterly incompatible with a spherical form. A sphere has no linear boundary such as here mentioned: the sphere has only a superficial boundary.

It were easy to shew that the heaven was supposed to bear the same level form. Homer mentions *the golden floor of heaven.*[s] Vulcan was cast from heaven down to earth: this can only be understood on the supposition that the golden floor had a boundary.

These several surfaces or level planes, although distant from each other, were supposed to be so connected together that the fall of any one must be accompanied by the fall of the others. What may have been the substances which connected the several floors or planes together, the poet tells in the following verse; and adds, that the roots or foundations of earth and sea were fixed in Tartarus.

> Round it a brazen barrier is drawn,
> On all sides threefold night. On it are fixed
> The roots of earth and ever-barren sea.[t]

Why Tartarus should be said to contain the roots of the earth and sea may be imagined from the following statement:

> There of dark earth and murky Tartarus,
> Of sea unfertile and heaven set thick with stars,
> The common source and bounds alike are found.

[r] Iliad, Ξ, v. 301. [s] Iliad, Δ. v. 2.
[t] Hesiod. Theog. v. 725—741.

The poet describes the realms of Tartarus more circumstantially than those of earth or heaven. Tartarus he terms *a chasm vast;* and mentions the floor, shewing that it is one level area:

> From the first entrance, a whole year complete
> Would not suffice to reach the floor below.

The Ascrean poet speaks of this system in terms of the following import:

> As far beneath as heaven is 'bove the earth,
> Such is the distance of the gloomy Tartarus.
> In nine times night and day a brazen anvil
> Falling from heaven, would on the tenth reach earth;
> So nine times night and day a brazen anvil
> Falling from earth, would on the tenth reach Tartarus.[u]

This statement is confirmed by the concurrent authority of Homer, who writes:

> 'Neath Hades, far as heaven above the earth.

A wall incloses the regions of Tartarus on every side, forming a quadrangular inclosure which forbids escape to the Titans: figuratively, perhaps those powerful agencies which the geologist affirms are still confined within the shell or exterior hardened strata of the globe.

Such were the opinions of the ancient Greeks of the age of Homer and Hesiod. They accord with those of the elder ages of the disciples of the *Sastra.*[x] With them the recital of the three regions of space, *earth, sky, heaven,* forms a part of the almost every sacred rite. By earth is understood the solid mass of matter below the surface of the habitable earth: by sky, the airy space immediately above the earth, and reaching to that plane or floor, as it is sometimes called, the gods' walk and dwelling. Thus does it appear that the system or form of the world was held to be the same by the

[u] Hesiod. Theog. v. 117, 458.

[x] Colebrooke on the Religious Ceremonies of the Hindus. As. Res.

Patriarchs, by the ancient Greeks, and by the Hindus. This fact will justify the belief, that, during certain ages, this was most assuredly the common opinion of all mankind.

Of the theory of the earth entertained in early ages by the nations of Italy, and especially by the Romans, few records are extant. Till they became mixed with the Greeks by emigrants from that nation, they appear to have been of the Celtic race, and they most probably entertained the opinions of the Celtic mystagogues. It has been observed, that the Trojans were Celts; and it is on record, that Æneas, after the fall of Troy, brought into Italy the Penates, and other objects held sacred by the subjects of king Priam. The mystic reverence in which the anguinum, or serpent's egg, was held by the Druids and their disciples, might seem to intimate that they regarded the world as being a round body, were it not certain that the symbolical egg referred not to the form of the world, but the creation of the world, as already observed in speaking of the temples of Egypt. It may also be observed, that the *Sastra* mentions the egg as the body in which the earth was born, or from which it issued.[y] The doctrines of the Celtic race may justly be regarded as the doctrines of the earliest ages, and of times when little was known of the form of the earth: the spherical form was therefore not likely to be known to the theologues of that race, and was not, it is presumed, symbolized by the egg.

To the Romans of the age of Cicero the spherical form was certainly known, as appears by the writings of Cicero, and especially his essay called the Dream of Scipio.[z] Pliny, the great naturalist, held the same nearly a century after him; but the circular form of the temple of Vesta, used in the age of king Numa, referred most assuredly to the mundane egg. It may be expedient to select one or two passages from the Roman poets, expressive of the opinion of the spherical form

[y] Menu, chap. i. v. 8—13.

[z] Cic. Somn. Scip. Macrob. Lib. i. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. ii. 1, 2.

known in the later ages, especially those that preceded the second century of the Christian era, when Ptolemy devised the system known by his name; which was generally received till the invention of the telescope, and the introduction of the Copernican system.

The poet Ovid, having made a statement in his Fasti of the manner in which, according to the opinion of his age, the elements arose from chaos, gives the following words to the ancient and then almost obsolete god Janus:

> Then I, of old a globe and shapeless mass,
> A face and limbs worthy a god regained.[a]

From this passage it appears, that the earth was not only a god, but that anciently it bore the name of Janus. His globular form, mentioned by the poet, evidently signifies the symbolical egg arising from chaos. His two faces are symbolical of the earth, light by day, dark by night, and also the bright season of summer, or gloomy season of winter. The doctrine that the earth was sustained by its volubility, is so far advanced beyond the knowledge of the ages in which Janus was the supreme God, that the idea is utterly inadmissible. Pillars, or such simple supports, were the only means which conjecture was then able to devise. The theory of volubility was equally insufficient; but being somewhat plausible, it gained credit, and is positively asserted as true in the following verses of the same poet:

> The ball-like earth, by no support upheld,
> Hangs, vast the weight! in air suffused beneath;
> Its volubility sustains the orb.[b]

The means by which the earth was sustained firmly in its place, appears to have been a question of great interest with all nations, from very early periods in the history of the world. Apprehensions concerning the stability of the earth may be supposed to have been more interesting in early ages than in

[a] Ovid. Fast. lib. i. v. 111. [b] Ibid. l. vi. v. 269.

later, when continued permanence had allowed fears to subside, and had led to the belief that fears were needless. Those fears had, however, led to conjectures of deep interest, as plainly appears from the opinions recorded by both sacred and profane writers.

The belief of the former may be gathered from the following texts. The song of thanksgiving of Hannah on the birth of her firstborn the prophet Samuel contains the following passage: "The pillars of the earth are the Lord's, and he hath set the world upon them."[c] The speaker considered, it may be presumed, that this was the popular opinion of the times; for there is no reason for supposing that the wife of Elkanah was a learned scientist.

The same doctrine is signified by the Psalmist in the following text: "When I (the Lord) shall receive the congregation, I will judge uprightly. The earth and all the inhabitants thereof are dissolved: I bear up the pillars of it."[d] It appears that in the age of king David they knew not how the pillars supporting the earth were supported; but their stability was attributed to the power of the Deity, to them incomprehensible. The stability of the earth being supposed to depend altogether on the will and power of the Deity, as upon such grounds must be admitted, the Psalmist writes: "He shaketh the earth out of her place, and the pillars thereof tremble."[e] The whole mass of the earth, though supported by pillars, being notwithstanding absolutely dependent upon his will and pleasure, it is not improperly said, "He stretcheth out the north over the empty space, and hangeth the earth upon nothing."[f]

Pillars being regarded as the supporters of the earth, they were adopted as the symbols of strength and firmness. To this effect writes the author of the book of Proverbs: "Wisdom hath builded her house; she hath hewed out her

[c] 1 Samuel ii. 8. [d] Psalm lxxv. 2, 3. [e] Job ix. 6. [f] Job xxvi. 7.

seven pillars:"[g] signifying by the figurative act, the purposes of Wisdom are firm and steady. The following text in the Canticles is of the same import. "His legs are as pillars of marble set upon sockets of fine gold."[h] When Jacob, on his way to Padan-Aram, vowed unaltered obedience and service to the God of Abraham, he set up a stone, not only as a memorial of the vision he had seen, and a conviction of the power of God, but also as an evidence of the steadiness of his purpose and sincerity of his vow. Again, when he had made a covenant with Laban, he set up a pillar, an emblem of unalterable determination, as well as obligation to observe the conditions of the covenant.[i] When the Lord God led the Israelites to the shore and through the waters of the Red sea,[k] he signified his power and his steady purpose of affording protection to his people, by the exhibition of a luminous pillar in the cloud which separated them from the pursuing Egyptians. The pillar was a symbol well understood by the people, and gave them encouragement and confidence. This emblematic signification of the pillar was retained among the Jews during many hundred years. When Jehoash was anointed king of Judah in opposition to the usurper queen Athaliah, he took his station, as the manner was, by one of the pillars Icin, or Boaz, in the front of the temple.[l] This act the usurper regarded as an omen fatal to her power. The people present also regarded it as the same: she was daunted; they laid hands on her unresisting, and she was slain.

The books of the *Sastra* of the Brahmens of Hindosthan affirm, in their legends, that the earth is supported on a pillar, as is taught in our sacred Scriptures. Jayadeva, the great lyric poet of India, celebrates the *avatara* of the *Courma*, or tortoise, in terms of the following purport: "The earth stands firm on thy immense broad back, which grows larger

[g] Proverbs ix. 1. [h] Canticles v. 15. [i] Genesis xxviii. 18. xxxi. 45.
[k] Exodus xiv. 20. [l] 2 Kings xi. 14.

from the callus occasioned by the bearing of that burden, O *Cesava*, assuming the body of a tortoise. Be victorious, O *Heri*, Lord of the universe."[m]

The moral of the fable, as explained by other authorities, is this. *Vishnù*, the preserving power of nature, called *Cesava*, placed a pillar on the back of the tortoise, an animal whose form the god assumed for the benevolent purpose of giving stability to the earth. On the top of this pillar he seated himself on a circular platform, bordered by the leaves of the symbolical lotus. This pillar, according to the legends, certain good beings called *Suras*, and certain evil beings called *Asuras*, whirled rapidly round its axis by means of a serpent used as a band to give rotatory motion; the *Asuras* holding the part near the head, and the *Suras* the tail. The motion caused by the action and reaction of these agents at length produced what is figuratively called the liquor of immortality, that is, animal life, which, according to the *Sastra*, never perishes. This result, however, was not accomplished till after the work had been continued during many ages. The whole fable evidently signifies the work of the creation; and it suggests an important truth, strongly, and, as it seems, justly maintained by all geologists, that the process of the works of the creation occupied not six days, as theologians are wont to imagine, but six periods of many thousand years' duration, signified figuratively by the Hebrew historian by the name of days.

During the process as described above, an elephant arose from the agitated waters, a symbol of the power by which the earth is supported. Being a supporter of the earth, this animal is, by the Brahmenical mystagogues, assigned the *vahana* or vehicle of the god *Indra*, once received as a personification of the god supreme and of the world. Beside the elephant, a horse of seven heads, the symbol of the seven

[m] Asiatic Researches, vol. ii. No. 7. Moore, Hind. Panth. Plate 48, 49.

prismatic colours of light, was also produced; a cow also was produced, a symbol of the article necessary for the support of life. The moon, the supposed source of moisture, was produced likewise, and other creatures which need not be enumerated. Of the tortoise it may be proper to observe, that the supporting power of the animal is of great celebrity; that it was named to the philosopher Locke by a Hindu, as the support of the earth. When asked by the English philosopher what supported the tortoise, the Indian replied, Somewhat. The answer being utterly indecisive, it follows that, according to the Indian theory, the earth hangs upon nothing.

This symbol of the tortoise was not altogether unknown in the mythology of Greece and Rome, for that the antiquary Pausanias saw in a fane at Elis, dedicated to the celestial Venus, a personification of the female or productive power of the earth, having one foot resting on a tortoise.[n] This image, which was the work of Phidias, one of the most eminent sculptors of ancient Greece, shews not only the esteemed importance of the symbol, but, being found at a great distance from India, it shews the great extent of the use.

The Nymphæa Lotus, or Egyptian Water Lily,[o] is an aquatic plant growing in abundance in the waters of the Nile, and in most of the rivers of warm climates, particularly in places where the plant is not exposed to a very strong current. The plant has the peculiar aptitude of suiting its growth to the increasing depth of the water, so that the leaves and flowers usually maintain their place on the surface. On this account it has been taken as the symbol of the earth extant above the waters at the creation of the world. The exposition of the symbol is as follows. The flower represents the universe, consisting of the earth and the heavenly bodies, of which the pistil is the *Merù*, or

[n] Pausan. lib. vi. c. 25. s. 2. [o] Martyn. Botan. Dict. art. Nymphæa.

Mesomphalos of the earth; the anthers are the heavenly bodies, the planets and other stars; the petals of the flower are the countries surrounding the *Merù*. This import of the symbol is shewn by the following fable.

It is related in the *Purana* distinguished by the title of *Scanda*, that while the whole earth was covered with water and *Vishnù* lay asleep in the bosom of *Devì*, a personification of the female or productive principle, a lotus plant arose from his navel, whose stalk soon reached the surface of the flood. The god *Brahmà*, with four faces, sprang from the flower at the extremity of the stalk. Looking around and not seeing any other creature in the boundless expanse, he regarded himself as the firstborn of all created beings, and entitled to rank superior to any that might in any future age receive existence. This claim, which amounted to a pretence that he was the World and the God supreme, gave rise in after ages to a controversy which ended in the dissolution of the *Hindù* Triad, and deprived *Brahmà* ultimately of all his religious honours. Hence *Brahmà* is no longer honoured with religious worship.[p] In this fable, *Brahmà*, with his four faces representing the four elements, is a personification of the created world upraised and upheld above the waters by the stalk of the lotus.

This symbol of the lotus has most assuredly led to the invention of the capitals of the pillars of all the orders of architecture: all of them bear forms which more or less closely resemble the umbel or tulip shape of the lotus. This position will be more particularly noticed in some subsequent pages. At present it may be necessary to enter upon an enquiry concerning this symbol of the lotus, which will afford a powerful confirmation of the truth of this opinion concerning the origin of the capitals of the several orders of architecture, if it do not produce an entire conviction of its undeniable certainty.

[p] Moore's Hind. Panth.

The god Horus of the Egyptian mythology was a personification of the sun, as some are pleased to affirm, but more properly of the earth, produced by Osiris, the active cause, on Isis, the passive agent in productive nature. According to Jamblichus, Horus was often represented by the figure of a man seated on the lotus. Other Egyptian symbols exhibit a frog, an amphibious creature, sitting on the flower, as though newly emerging from the water. In another, a beautiful young woman, a symbol of productive earth, is seated on the flower. The late traveller Belzoni, and others, have seen the like symbols still extant in several temples of the country.[q]

There have been various opinions concerning the true import of these symbols. The philosophers Jamblichus, Plutarch, and Porphyry, agree that they allude to the elements of earth and water, but wandering into refined disquisitions concerning nature moist and nature dry, they involve themselves in perplexing subtleties, and lose the plain truth while in pursuit of it. The same may be said of the English analyst of ancient mythology. He regards the symbols of Horus as referring to the general deluge and the ark of Noah: he regards the infant Horus seated on the calyx of the lotus as significant of the aged patriarch shut up in the ark. The improbability, if not the impossibility of this opinion, will perhaps appear when it is known, that the name of Noah and of the miraculous assemblage of every kind of animal in the ark is never noticed in the records left by the heathen mythologists or historians. The true history of the general deluge is merged and lost in the heathen theories of the alternate destruction of the world by water and by fire, and of the restoration of its inhabiters from a few that escaped. Leaving therefore these fables as not meriting attention, the symbol of Horus on the calyx or flower of the lotus is again offered to notice.

[q] Bryant. Myth. vol. iii. p. 256. Belzoni's Travels, p. 57.

If Horus, like *Brahmà*, be a personification of the earth, the Egyptian symbol is the same as the Indian; he represents the earth raised above the waters at the creation, and sustained by the columnar stalk of the lotus; for that *Brahmà* is a personification of the created world is evident from the direct testimony of the *Sastra*. It may be asked, whence could this concurrent use of the symbol arise. Wilford, learned in *sastric* lore, will contend that this concurrent use of the symbol arose from the frequent intercourse between Egypt and India in former times, and that the one borrowed from the other. The learned Jones attempts to shew that a similar intercourse took place between India and Greece, for that the gods of the one all bore a general resemblance to the gods of the other. But which country was the borrower, or which the imitator, is not shewn in either case. It may be confidently affirmed that the mysterious secrecy of the Egyptian, and the obstinate pride of the Indian, would be an insuperable barrier to any guidance in matters of religion whatever. If this opinion be true, the symbolical use of figures such as those mentioned above must have been of such high antiquity, that it preceded the separation of the families from which either nation drew their origin, and that each nation made use of the symbol illustrative of the fact recorded in our sacred scriptures, that at the creation of the world the earth was raised by the power of the Creator above the waters of the ocean, the *circumfluus humor* of the poet Ovid, which till the third day covered, by an uninterrupted wave of unbroken flow, the whole surface of the earth.

A material body informed by or endowed with an intellectual spirit, forms the person called man. The world or universe, a material body, being informed by the spirit called divine, was regarded by the heathen philosophers and theologues as a person; but being supposed to surpass man as to greatness, power, and continuance of existence, the world was regarded as a god. Being also the body from

whence the human body is formed, the earth was held to be the father of all things, whether divine or human. Knowing no object greater than the earth, nothing more excellent, nothing more worthy of admiration, they adopted the conclusion that the earth, which had from the first ages of the world been regarded as a proper symbol of the deity, was the deity himself, and as such an object not only worthy of religious worship, but one to which worship was due of right. By thus professing themselves to be wise, as St. Paul writes, by arguing beyond reason, they became fools, changed the truth of God into a lie, and worshipped the creature more than the Creator. This position is of great importance to the general argument of the present treatise, and demands confirmation by a reference to proper authorities.

The poet Hesiod, in the beginning of his Theogony or Origin of the Gods, writes:

> Then with the Muses we commence our strains;
> They, hymning sweet before the Father, Jove,
> Tell of things present, future, and by-gone,
> Delighting the great MIND that lives within
> Olympus.[r]

These lines directly affirm the unity of the Deity, calling him the Father, Jove, the great Mind; and name Olympus his abode. The poet then distinguishes this god, the world, into Ouranus and Gaia, or Heaven or Earth, personages of the heathen Pantheon representing the male and female, or the generative and productive powers of nature operating in the material world. These two personages, Ouranus and Gaia, the typical representatives of those powers, were in after times distinguished into many other powers, which, being personified, formed the gods of the heathen Pantheons. Such was the origin, such the progress of idolatry. That the Ascrean, in the passage above cited, did intend the great

[r] Hesiod. Theog. v. 36.

Mind, the divine Spirit, extant within Olympus, the symbol of the material world, will be evident from the following authorities.

The Greek poet Æschylus affords a passage of the following purport:

> Jove is the ether; Jove the earth and heaven;
> The universe; and all, if aught there be,
> Than these more high.[s]

The Latin poet Lucan writes to the same effect:

> Dwells God in aught save earth, and sea, and air,
> And heaven, and virtue? Where else can be the gods?
> Jove is whate'er you see, where'er you move.[t]

The celebrated Orpheus, who gives the earliest recital of the Grecian mythology, affords the following decisive testimony of the belief that the world was God. In one of the hymns the poet writes as follows:

> Jove was the first, the last of things created:
> The head, the middle, all were made of Jove.
> Jove was the germ of the earth and starry heavens;
> The king, the very source of all things born;
> Sole Power, sole Spirit, mighty chief of all;
> Sole Body paramount, comprising all,
> Fire, water, earth and ether, night and day;
> And wisdom, primal sire, and charming love,
> All these within Jove's mighty body lie.[u]

To these poetic authorities let the following in prose be added, partly to shew that the godhead of the material world was admitted by profane writers most eminent for their rank and accomplishments.

The great Roman orator, after giving, in his Essay called the Dream of Scipio, a full account of the opinions entertained in his day concerning the bodies which compose the

[s] Fragm. Æschyl. ap. Clem. Alexandr. Stromb. lib. v. 1. p. 603.

[t] Lucan, p. 9, v. 586.

[u] Orph. Fragm. vi. a Proclo ap. Euseb. Ev. Præp. lib. iii. c. 9.

universe, sustained, as he affirms, by a power called Nature diffused throughout the whole, speaks of the earth in the following terms. This our globe of earth is situate in the centre of nine other orbs or spheres, all mutually connected together by the exterior sphere, which is itself the God; and that all these together compose the temple of God.[x]

Pliny, the great Roman naturalist, affirms, in accordance with Cicero, that the world is spherical: such form being the most perfect, and best adapted for strength and stability. This body, he affirms, must be regarded as a person divine, eternal, boundless, neither created nor yet destined ever to perish. It is holy, eternal, immense; all in all things; even itself all bounded, but yet as it were infinite; most certain of all things, yet as it were uncertain; comprising all things within and without. It is the work of the nature of things, and the very nature of things.[y] Such were the opinions of the classical ages of Greece and Rome.

Similar opinions were entertained in the earlier ages of the mythological history of Egypt. The sages of the temples in the several provinces of that country, although they often differed greatly in the objects of their worship, agreed generally in this, that the elder god Horus was a personal representation of the intellectual world, and that he was born of Isis and Osiris, the Gaia and Ouranus of the Greeks, while yet they were in the womb of Rhea, a personification, as it should seem, of chaotic matter.[z] Other Egyptian theologues taught that the world issued in the form of an egg from the mouth of the god *Cneph*, a personification of the great Creator. In accordance with this doctrine, these sages, together with those of Assyria and Persia, paid to the egg a degree of reverence amounting to religious worship, because it aptly represented the earth, the visible form of the true God.

[x] Cic. Somn. Scip. [y] Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. ii. c. 4.
[z] Plutarch de Isid. et Osir. p. 373, A.

The Brahmens of India teach a doctrine in effect the same. It is declared in the books of *Menu*,[a] which are a summary of the precepts of the *Sastra*, that the Great Supreme, having determined to produce many and various beings from his divine substance, first by a thought created the waters, and then placed in them a seed, which became an egg, in which he himself was born in the form of *Brahmà*, the great forefather of all spirits. This *Brahmà* is figured with four faces, the emblems of the four elements, which it was long supposed were the component parts of all material substances. This personage was, as these emblems shew, the created world; and this *Brahmà* was in after times distinguished into the celebrated *Hindù* Triad, composed of *Brahmà* the creative power, *Vishnù* the preserving power, and *Sivà* the destroying power in the natural world. A plain proof that the religion of the *Sastra* was founded, like that of other heathen nations, on the doctrine that the world was God.

The principle of the religion of the Druids, or rather, of the Celtic nations, was the same, as plainly appears from their mythology, exhibited in the poems of the Welch bards living in the first centuries of the christian era. Their mystic poetry celebrates *Dylan ail Mor*, that is, *Dylan* the son of the sea, a personification of the earth rising, as in the scriptural history, out of the waters of the creation. This personage is also called *Aedd Mawr*, or *Aedd* the Great. He is the same as *Hù Gadarn*, the supreme agent in the operations of nature, that is, the Deity himself.[b] It were foreign to the present purport to trace the resemblance farther. Suffice it to say, that the personage bearing these names and several others of the like import, was the primary object of religious worship with the Druids and their disciples; and further, that their religion was evidently founded

[a] Menu, c. i. v. 8. [b] Davies, Celt. Thes. p. 163, &c.

on the doctrine that the world was the great God. The general prevalence of this principle, the real foundation of all the errors of heathenism, demanded the attention of the ancient Christian Fathers, and they assailed it with zeal, and at length with effect. The following argument of Athenagoras, a christian philosopher of the second century of the christian era, may serve to shew that the doctrine that the world is God was maintained with confidence by all the heathen nations with whom the christian advocates had occasion to contend; that it was the fundamental error of their religion, and that error being destroyed the whole heathen fabric fell to the ground.

"As we hold," says the christian advocate, "the potter in greater estimation than his work, so we do not prefer the goblet, even though it be of gold, to the goldsmith that made it. If there be excellence in the ingenuity of the form we praise the artificer. He it is that enjoys whatever commendations may belong to the vessel. It is the same with regard to matter and the Deity. Matter does not obtain the praise and honour due on account of the organization of the things created, but God the Creator. If we regard material objects of beautiful form as gods, we shall seem to be unobservant of the real God, and put things perishable and corruptible on an equality with the Being which is eternal. The world is indeed highly beautiful and highly wonderful, for its magnitude, for the arrangement of its parts within the regions of the ecliptic and of the north, as also for its spherical shape; yet not this, but the Creator of it, is the proper object of worship."[c] By arguments such as these the Christian Fathers of the first centuries assailed the doctrines of idolatry. By subverting this principle, that the world is god, they undermined the whole fabric of heathenism. The whole fell to the ground, shattered into

[c] Athenag. Legat. pro Christ. p. 14.

fragments, and the faith of the gospel was established in its stead.

The created world being regarded as God by the heathen world, any structure bearing that form might justly be regarded as a symbol of the Deity, indicative of his person and his presence. This import of the symbol appears to have caused the conviction and assurance that all sacred structures ought of necessity to be constructed of such form. It appears that this opinion prevailed with the faithful worshippers of the true God, as also with the idolaters separating or dissenting from the true worship. The actual importance of form may be inferred from the directions given by the Deity for the construction of the tabernacle of the Israelites in the wilderness, and for the form of the magnificent temple built by king Solomon. These instructions shew that the use of proper symbols receives the divine approbation.

The miraculous manifestations of the divine presence both in the tabernacle and the temple confirm the promise of the Redeemer that the divine presence ever attends an assemblage of worshippers, devout and sincere, during the time of religious worship. The heathen sects not only adopted the doctrine of occasional presence, but believed that the gods made temples and sacred structures their places of constant abode. This presence of the gods was supposed to be greatly favourable and powerfully conducive, if not even indispensably necessary, to the prosperity of the city and nation, and, as such, was ever desired, and when given was a cause of joy and even proud exultations. This is sufficiently evident from the tumult at Ephesus, occasioned by the indignant suspicions at the supposed invasion of the power and influence of the goddess Diana, whose image was said to have descended from heaven.[d] The poet Horace

[d] Acts xix.

addresses the goddess Venus in terms significant of the benefits ensuing from her presence:

> O Goddess, ever in blest Cyprus dwelling,
> And Memphis, wanting of Sithonian snow.[e]

Even the God of Israel was said to dwell between the cherubim of the temple. Influenced by opinions such as these, the idolaters were careful to render their temples acceptable, as they supposed, to the gods, by the resemblance they might bear to the form of the earth, their true abode, presuming that such forms must be most pleasing to the gods, being in accordance with their habits and their feelings. The temple being constructed in resemblance of the form of the earth, the abode of the supreme god, implied a pretension and claim, justifiable even in a god of a lower grade, to equal reverence and worship. All these reasons did certainly urge the nations to construct their temples in the form bearing, as was supposed, a near resemblance to the earth, the terrestrial world.

These arguments will perhaps be confirmed by the following authorities, which declare that temples were, not less than the heavens, the abodes of gods.

Chremes, in the Eunuch of Terence, designates Jupiter as the god

> That by his thunder heaven's highest temples shakes.[f]

The following passage from Varro shews that the abodes of gods were called temples, whether in heaven above the earth, or upon the earth, or the regions supposed to exist beneath the earth:

"A temple obtains the name by three means; by nature, by the use of auguries, and by similitude even beneath the earth."[g] It is called a temple in heaven as in the Hecuba:

[e] Hor. Carm. lib. iii. Od. 26. [f] Eunuch. Act. iii. Sc. 5, v. 42.
[g] Varro de Ling. Lat. lib. vi.

O temple vast of heaven, thick set with stars.

On the earth, as in Peribœa, "We approached the ragged rocks, the temples of Bacchus." Under the earth, as in the Andromache,

Temples of Orcus Acherusian, high,
Deep down in earth, all hail!

The learned author writes, the temple obtained the name *a tuendo*, from being seen or the object of general notice, from the verb *contemplor*, to contemplate, the temple being the proper object to excite contemplation. If the author be thus understood, he intimates that all temples were in his age regarded as being the symbols proper to excite pious meditation.

The authorities submitted for consideration will, it is presumed, have sufficed to shew why temples were constructed in imitation of the supposed form of the world; why they were supposed to be the abodes of divine personages; and why they were regarded, from the earliest ages of the world, as symbolical structures, significant of the omnipresence of the Deity. The symbolical import of temples having been shewn by a reference to authorities drawn from sources widely different, and therefore affording more decisive evidence of the truth, the following questions now invite answers. What were the earliest forms which sacred structures received, and by what progress they were advanced to that degree of beauty and magnificence which engrossed the admiration and delight of all beholders, whether of ancient or modern times. The answer to this question will be offered in the following chapter.

From the frequent mention of the books of *Hindù* sacred literature made in this work, the following short account of them, taken chiefly from Asiatic Researches, vol. i. No. 18, may be useful to the reader.

There are eighteen *Vidyas* or parts of true knowledge. The first are the four *Vedas*, a word signifying *that which is known* or revealed. They are distinguished by the names of *Rich*, *Yajush*, *Saman*, and *Atharvan Vedas*. Of these the *Yajush* is said to be the oldest or first written.

From these are deduced four *Upavedas*, or *Vedas* of less authority than the *Vedas*, but said to have been delivered to mankind by *Brahmà* and seven other deities. They treat chiefly of sciences and arts. When said to have been delivered to man by the deities, it will be right to understand that they were taught in the schools or colleges of the priests of the gods.

Six *Angas*, or bodies of learning, are also derived from the *Vedas*. The subjects of these treatises relate to rites and ceremonies; to grammar and prosody; to astronomy, and expositions of difficult words and phrases in the *Vedas*.

There are four *Upangas*, called *Purana*, *Nyaya*, *Mimansa*, and *Dherma s'astra*; of which the first consists of tales instructive and entertaining. The second may be termed a book of logic. The third treats of moral philosophy. The fourth relates to law and the administration of justice.

These several books or treatises compose what is called the *Sastra*, a word signifying *that which is ordained*; that is, that which has received the sanction of the colleges or assemblies of the Brahmens, lawfully constituted. Whatever may be the errors and extravagances in these compositions, they most assuredly afford proofs of much ingenuity and of a high state of civilization.

In writing *Hindù* names and words, the orthography of Sir William Jones has been adopted. The reasons given by him, a person well acquainted with nearly thirty different languages, ought to receive due attention, or rather, ought to be decisive whenever a *sanscrit* word is to be expressed by English letters.

CHAPTER II.

ON ALTARS AND HIGH PLACES.

ADAM, when put in the Garden of Eden, was placed in a state of trial, and must have been subjected to the same laws, both moral and religious, as now are and ever have been obligatory on all his descendants. This is affirmed on the authority of holy writ, which declares that the worship of God and obedience to his will is required of all created beings, from the highest archangel to the lowest creature endowed with a competent degree of intellect. "Worship him, all ye gods," writes the inspired author of the book of Psalms. St. Paul writes, "When he (the Father) bringeth in the first-begotten into the world, he saith, Let all the angels of God worship him."[h] If angels are required to pay such homage to the Son as to a God, inferior beings must owe the same also. The universality of this obligation is shewn by the following text of the prophetic Evangelist of the book of Revelation: "I saw an angel flying in the midst

[h] Heb. i. 6.

of heaven, having the everlasting Gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth, and to every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people, saying with a loud voice, Fear God, and give glory to him; for the hour of his judgment is come: and worship him that made heaven, and earth, and the sea, and the fountains of waters."[i] It will not, it is presumed, be contended that this worship was then first required, when the angel uttered the exhortation.

The creature having received life and existence from the hand of the Creator, is bound to exercise his faculties in obedience to his will. The neglect and refusal is an act of ingratitude, which is sin. Such being the obligation ever attending the gift of created life, it were most assuredly a strange and anomalous opinion, to suppose that Adam should have been exempt from it. After he had been made acquainted with the history of his creation, he must have been bound to worship his Creator; and he doubtless did worship him from the first, and during the whole of the time of his abode in the Garden of Eden.

This opinion is by no means new. It was affirmed by Hooker, the author of the treatise on the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, commonly distinguished by the epithet of the judicious. He writes, "Adam, even during the space of his small continuance in Paradise, had where to present himself before the Lord."[k] If Adam presented himself before the Lord, it must have been for the performance of religious worship: his attendance at the place without the performance of religious worship would have been idle, and even absurd.

Religious worship is of twofold performance; the one public and social, the other private and solitary. The former is commonly accompanied with rites and ceremonies: the latter usually with few or none. Adam cannot be said to have performed worship properly called social, till after the

[i] Rev. xiv. 6, 7. [k] Hooker's Eccles. Polit. B. 5. §. 11.

formation of his consort Eve; but yet he might, even from his earliest abode in the Garden, have performed certain acts of worship with greater solemnity than others, both in regard to time and place. His private worship might be performed daily or oftener in any part of the Garden, even in the midst of his ordinary occupation of dressing and keeping it. His public worship must have been performed in some appointed place, and at stated times, especially on the sabbaths. This worship, it were reasonable to suppose, would consist in prayer accompanied with rites and ceremonies, often of sacrifice, that is, by placing the thing sacrificed, perhaps to be consumed by fire, upon a raised structure, a mound or altar. This opinion is by no means new: it has been affirmed by the learned commentator Patrick,[1] and vindicated by the pious Bishop Horne. Should it be contended that the abode of Adam in the Garden was so short as not to afford an opportunity or occasion for such solemn services, it must be replied that such opinion is an assumption contradicted by facts, for the acts done by Adam before the fall must have required a period of several years for performance.

The common fiction, that Adam, while in the Garden, was in such a state of innocence as to have been utterly incapable of sin before his fall, is certainly grossly erroneous. To take and eat of the fruit of the tree of knowledge was declared to be death, that is, a sin unto death, subjecting the transgressor to damnation. The prohibition was a severe trial. The knowledge which Adam had learned that the taste of that fruit would afford, was, as appears from the instantaneous effect, a miraculous prospect of the fortunes of himself and his descendants in succeeding ages of the world. This effect of tasting the fruit the man must have learned from the Creator himself. The forbearance from the taste was not only a test of obedience, but a proof of a continued

[1] Patrick, Com.—Horne, Disc. 2.

reliance on the goodness and providential care of the great Being to whose bounty he owed life and every benefit, of the continuance of which he could not reasonably entertain a doubt.

Adam obeyed, and maintained his reliance on his Almighty Creator, till after the formation of Eve, and even after her pregnancy; for the words of her sentence after the fall, "I will greatly multiply thy sorrow and thy conception,"[m] imply that she was about to become a mother. The desire to know what might in after times be the condition of themselves and their posterity, was doubtless a source of restless anxiety to both, but more especially with the woman. There can be no doubt that the prohibitory command was the frequent subject of discourse between them both; and the hope suggested by an evil spirit, "Ye shall not surely die," had been long entertained and cherished with a fearful curiosity. At length the suspicion that God deprived them of their just rights by withholding the knowledge of good and evil already enjoyed by gods, that is, by heavenly beings, entered their deluded minds. An evil spirit, figuratively signified in after times by the serpent, a symbol of artful delusion and deadly mischief, led them to imagine that their Creator was unjust, and that, in threatening them with death, he had been so base as to denounce a falsehood; in short, that the God of truth had uttered a lie. Giving way to this persuasion, the result of perverted sentiment and a wicked mind, the woman boldly took the fruit; allured, in part, by the pleasure the taste of it seemed likely to afford. She ate, and gave to her doubting and hesitating husband, and he did eat also. Such, it must be presumed, was the process of that temptation by which our first parents fell. To suppose that a good, wise, and gracious God would permit a serpent to speak and insinuate with, and compel the woman to believe that the great Creator, whose

[m] Genesis iii. 16.

acts are good and always tend to good, was a malignant and wicked being,—to suppose that the Creator wise and good would thus permit a miracle to be wrought to promote evil and to urge man into sin, and that a deadly sin, is an anomaly and an absurdity which it is presumed even a Calvinist will not allow to be possible. The history of the fall shews that man was, from the first day of his creation, a fallible creature. It were easy to shew that Adam might have broken every one of the ten commandments, even before the formation of Eve. To doubt with her the goodness of the Creator, was itself a sin; and to concur with her as he did, before he ate the fruit, that God was a malignant being, and even a liar, proves not only that he was capable of sin, but even of a sin seldom, perhaps never, surpassed by the wickedness of any of his descendants: it was a sin unto death. On the instant of the commission, the transgressors were spiritually dead: on that day they spiritually died.

Perfect justice, one of the attributes of the Deity, requires some mode of atonement in bar of instant punishment for every offence. After the fall, and until the atonement had been wrought on the cross, the rites of sacrifice were sacramental, and were indispensably necessary; without the shedding of blood there was no remission of sin. The divine attributes are incapable of change, and therefore sacramental rites of some kind must have been equally necessary before as after the fall. They must have been then equally efficacious, and upon the same principle, as the sacrifice of the Redeemer for "the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world."[n]

When the Lord God said to the man, "Of every tree of the Garden thou mayest freely eat,"[o] one excepted, the permission was perhaps extended to the sacrificial use of all fruits, but especially of the fruit of the tree of life, which,

[n] Rev. xiii. 8. [o] Gen. ii. 16, 17.

since it might have atoned even for the great transgression,[p] must have most assuredly been available for any lesser offence. What may have been the rites of sacrifice before the fall must be left to conjecture; they may however be reasonably supposed to have been the same in form as after. The sacrifice, or more properly the oblation, being merely fruits, was laid upon the altar, and there consumed, perhaps, as in some other recorded instances, by fire issuing from the *shechinah* of the divine presence, or by fire placed under it agreeably to instructions given.

If sacrifices were offered before the fall, the sacred history affords the assurance that sacrifices of animals were offered after the fall, and even before the expulsion. The sacred history recites, that when Adam and Eve had become sensible that they were naked, "the Lord God made coats of skins unto them, and clothed them."[q] It has been, and with good reason, supposed, that these were the skins of animals slain in sacrifice; for although the text may signify that the Lord God taught man the art of forming the skins into garments, yet that these skins were taken from animals slain in sacrifice appears to be intimated by the phrase, "the Lord God clothed them;" meaning that the proper worship of God by animal sacrifice supplied the materials for garments, which had become immediately necessary, as was also the atoning animal sacrifice; till that had been offered the transgressors were excluded from the divine mercy and favour.

The sacrifices offered by Cain and by Abel confirm this position. Cain, with a presumption that denied the spiritual consequences of the fall and the necessity of the Redeemer who was to bruise the serpent's head, offered in sacrifice the fruits of the ground, as had been done by his parents while in the Garden. Abel offered the firstlings of his flock, in accordance with the new ordinances. The

[p] Gen. iii. 22. [q] Gen. iii. 21.

reason why this sacrifice should have been acceptable but the other not acceptable, is plainly evident; but the offering of Cain had most assuredly a reference to the sacrificial offerings of fruits made before the fall.

If sacrifices were performed in the Garden, there must have been an altar, and a place for the performance of religious rites. When the Deity planted or prepared the Garden for the reception of Adam, it must be presumed that he provided whatever might be necessary not only for the comfort but the necessities of the intended inhabiters; and among other requisites, that he raised an altar in a situation where the rites of religious worship might be conveniently performed. No place could be more proper than the site of the trees of life and of knowledge in the midst of the Garden. There the fruit of the one supplied the material for sacrifice, and the fruit of the other hanging within reach, afforded a test of obedience. The four rivers taking their rise within the limits of the Garden tell most undeniably that it was of high elevation, and justify the inference, that the trees, being on the central, were situate on the highest, spot of the high place. This was the temple of Adam; and supposing the two trees to have been surrounded by other trees, the temple was an altar placed in a grove. Adam here saw what was approved by God, and the temple in the Garden became the model of all the temples of the patriarchs of many future ages.

The Deity preparing the altar, must be presumed to have taught every circumstance connected with its use. When the sacrifice was in process, it may be presumed that the history of the creation was recited by the Deity himself, for from no other source could the man have obtained the knowledge recorded by the Hebrew legislator. The obligation to moral and religious obedience was shewn by the revealed truth that life and the exercise of all the powers being the gift of the Creator, he has a right to require their

exercise according to such rules he may think fit in wisdom and goodness to prescribe. Those rules must therefore of necessity have been taught, probably on the sabbaths, at the time of sacrifice. After the expulsion, it was the necessary office of Adam to teach the rules to his descendants; which would be most properly done at the times of sacrifice. By the continuance of this practice, all those moral and religious truths were known to the patriarchs, which are comprised in the phrase, "the Law and the Prophets." These truths subsisted in the world without abatement and without addition, till the Saviour came, who declared that he came not to destroy the Law and the Prophets, but to fulfil. This he effected by his new commandment, "Love one another;" a commandment which makes universal benevolence the ruling principle of every action.

Lest it should seem that this theory is altogether imaginary, let it be observed, that the sacred Scriptures fully justify the belief of instruction, even in common affairs, having been communicated to Adam by a personal intercourse with the Deity. God gave to Noah very minute directions for the construction of the ark, and directions still more minute in all the matters relative to the tabernacle and worship of the Israelites. If such instructions were given to Noah and Moses, the same may be admitted to have been given to Adam respecting the use of the altar in the Garden, and the construction of the altar after the expulsion.

The Deity has been on all occasions, when necessary, the instructor of man, in things natural as well as in things spiritual. It may be asked, whence did the patriarchs derive their knowledge of the rules of moral and religious obligation? They never appear to have been deficient in that knowledge; they always had it, and yet do not appear to have obtained it by any research or argumentative investigation. They had it from Adam, and he was taught of God. St. Paul was so taught. After his miraculous conversion, the apostle

retired into Arabia, a country remote from Jerusalem and the society of the apostles, and there he was taught the Gospel by the revelation of Jesus Christ; and that so perfectly, that he was enabled to enter upon the mission for which he was especially chosen and ordained by the Saviour himself, with an authority equal to that of the other apostles. Without any instruction from them, he, who had been a persecutor, "preached the faith which once he destroyed."[r] If Paul were thus taught, why should not Adam have been in like manner instructed? There is no evidence of instruction having been given in any age posterior to the age of Adam; and yet the commandments of the two tables contained nothing new, but only served to confirm the authority of precepts which had been well known from the days of Adam.

The conclusions to be drawn from the premises are these. Adam was a well-educated, instructed, and civilized man: he was taught in the rudiments of many arts, which his immediate descendants greatly improved, and which succeeding generations have wonderfully advanced, and have brought, as it may seem, near to perfection. He had been commanded to worship at an altar, and knew of course how to construct an altar, the germ of all sacred structures. He had been taught the proper rites of religious worship, and all the principles of obligation both moral and religious: he was the teacher of all the patriarchs, who knew only what he had taught, nor was any more known till the Saviour appeared on earth. He, when he came and taught, gave his sanction to the patriarchal doctrines: he fulfilled the Law and the Prophets. He brought life and immortality to light; not by teaching the immortality of the soul; a doctrine which, being known already, he did not often speak; but he brought it to light, made it most evident and certain, by exemplifying it in his own person on his resurrection from the dead. Such was

[r] Galatians i.

the knowledge of Adam. It was ever necessary to that state of trial, which all men of all ages are all alike born to undergo.

This position, though perfectly accordant with the authorities of Holy Writ, has been contradicted by some philosophers calling themselves christian, who have adopted the errors of some eminent profane authors. The poet Horace speaks of the human animals crawling forth from the new created earth, a dumb and dirty race.[s] The great Roman orator mentions the time when men roamed over the fields like beasts, living on wild fruits, guided not by reason but by brute force, ignorant alike of marriage ties and of religion and religious rites, uninfluenced by a sense of right and even by a regard to expediency.[t] This erroneous theory was evidently founded on observations made of the improvement in the civilization, the policy, and the power of the state of Rome, confirmed, as was supposed, by the condition of the generality of the nations adjoining the extended frontier of the Roman dominions. The many rude and savage nations in different quarters of the globe in the present times, give countenance to the same opinions, and rebut, apparently, this idea of the civilization of Adam. If, indeed, the first man was such a savage as the learned and ingenious Romans describe, the theory of the origin of sacred structures and religious rites here submitted, must be false, and the entire subject here advocated vanish as a baseless vision. It is confidently averred that such conclusion is not just. To vindicate this averment, however, it becomes necessary to enquire what may have been, in all ages, the true cause of savage life; and also to shew that men in a savage state have existed in all ages, even those of the first years of the life of highly civilized Adam.

The first savage after the creation of the world was Cain,

[s] Horat. Sat. lib. i. s. 3, v. 99.

[t] Cic. de Invent. Rhet. lib. i. c. 2. Tusc. Quæst. lib. v. c. 2.

the first son of Adam. He was sentenced to that lot by the curse of the Deity, inflicted in punishment for the murder of his brother Abel. He was a fugitive and vagabond in the earth, being expelled the society of his father's family, who were forbidden to slay him, although, according to the sixth commandment,[u] he merited death. A mark was set upon him, to remind men of all succeeding ages, that, however their indignation might be excited by a recollection of the cruel murder, yet the sight of the mark might remind them of the will of God, that he should not be slain, but be left to suffer from his own reflections. This his punishment was severe: he declared that it was intolerable. "It is greater," he said, "than I can bear." The agony of his mind rendered him restless and unsettled, hindered him from cultivating the earth with steady industry, a virtue to which savage hordes are strangers, and therefore the earth did not yield its strength or customary produce to his defective toil. A more complete savage than Cain cannot be imagined. The history of Cain shews that the degradation of the savage from the honourable rank and desirable comforts of civilized life, is the punishment which the Deity inflicts upon savage cruelty. Cruelty was the besetting sin of the antediluvian world, and it appears from sacred record that it had become savage.[v] It was filled with violence, wrought especially by the giants of those days, men of more than ordinary powers, and by others also born of wicked unions who became men of renown, but of renown won by wicked victories and cruel slaughters. It was thus especially that all flesh had corrupted its way upon the earth, for the earth was filled with violence. Savage man had become so depraved as to be incapable of moral improvement, the great purpose for which man is born. It repented the Lord that he had made man upon earth, and he resolved to destroy man and living creatures, which, together with

[u] Genesis iv. [v] Genesis vi.

other errors, had, it is presumed, been made the objects of idolatrous worship.

A due observation of the course of events recorded in the history of nations will plainly shew that the divine dispensations have always been administered agreeably to the same rule or law. Whenever a people became murderously cruel,—when law has lost its power and outrage become predominant, then every society gradually and naturally sinks down to the miserable state of the antediluvian world and the savage state of Cain. The history of Rome, among that of many other nations, may be adduced in proof of this position. Virtuous and upright in the earlier ages of regal power or aristocratic rule, (for Rome never was a popular republic) the Romans conquered all the nations of the civilized world; for those nations, it may be affirmed, were generally tainted with the sins of cruelty and violence. In later times, Rome itself became cruel and murderous, and thenceforth her power began to decline. The arts which she had improved, in some instances, to the highest eminence, began to decline; the elegances of civilization sank down to beastly luxuries; the laws were held in contempt, domestic peace and safety vanished, the fields were little cultivated, population dwindled, till at length, the once proud and accomplished Roman became the miserable savage, composing, if he survived the effects of war and famine, the population of the dark ages of Europe.

Let the attention be directed for a moment to the continent of America. See the proud empire of Montezuma overthrown, and its population almost swept away, in a few weeks, by a handful of adventurers, under the Spaniard Cortes. The one hundred and thirty thousand human skulls, laid up in one of their temples, were the memorials of the number of human sacrifices offered in a few years at that temple only. These shew what a heavy demand the great God had against the nation for blood required at their hands.

The Mexicans had rioted in blood with increasing cruelty, —the measure of their iniquity was full. The like may be affirmed of all the American tribes at the time of the discovery by Columbus. They were not only savage, they were cannibals. The tribes of the higher northern latitudes were brave to an excess; they were also cruel to excess, as was proved about a century ago in the barbarities practised on their miserable captives. Some few remains of a former state of civilization shew that they had degenerated. Their tribes are some wholly extinct, many consist only of a few persons, and their population, amounting not long ago to thirteen millions, is now believed to have been reduced, within less than a century, to three.

The tribes of the Australian continent are savages still more degenerate than those of America. They have lost altogether the idea of a God; are ignorant of law; and are worse than brutes in cruelty; and, unlike many brutes, they afford little room for hope of their improvement. Of their history we know nothing; but it is plainly evident that Adam, the first created man, could never have been like them, and that they must have degenerated from the civilization of the family of Noah. If these instances prove that savage ignorance may be produced by continued vices, they prove the position that the first man Adam was civilized by the instruction given in mercy by the Creator; and that savage ignorance, such as the accomplished writers cited above did suppose to have been the state of the first created man, is not the state intended by the Deity, but is ever the effect of a degeneracy arising from the causes now assigned.

Such being the tenor of the divine dispensations, it may be wished that some able writer would illustrate this truth by a reference to well authorized examples taken from the history of man and of modern nations. Such an author would, doubtless, instance revolutionary France. Her murderous guillotine brought woful miseries upon the nation.

Her youth were all torn from their country and their friends to perish in the armies, leaving the country destitute of ordinary means of security, and subject in some provinces to grievous annoyance from increasing numbers of wolves. The armies fought in vain; but . . . Let the pen stop: and yet it cannot refrain from the expectation that similar evils await the lawless executions of Spain, and the systematic murders of Romanist Ireland. But enough of such sources of savage miseries. Let truth plead in excuse for this digression.

Having proved that the first man Adam was a person perfectly civilized, it becomes a necessary consequence that Adam knew all the moral and religious truths that were known to man previously to the teaching of the Gospel of the Saviour; and farther, that he communicated to his descendants all those truths, and with them the first rudiments of sacred structures, which his great Creator had shewn him, and which he had taught him to use when he offered sacrifice in the temple in the grove in the Garden of Eden. From this humble rustic beginning, the gradual progress of sacred architecture may be traced, first from the barrow or *carnedd* of stones, to the altar in an inclosed space, then to a succession of inclosures, containing several structures, often of great magnificence, such as were the temples of Egypt, of Greece, and of Rome, the *deowellies* or pagodas of Eastern Asia, and of Hindosthan, and also the towering churches or grand cathedrals of Christian Europe.

From the time of the sacrifices offered by Cain and Abel to the descent of Noah from the ark, history affords no notices of altars and sacrifices. That altars were used, and sacrifices continued to be offered, during all the antediluvian ages, not only by the sons, that is, the orthodox worshippers of God, but also by the separatists from the true worship, called the sons of men, cannot be doubted. That these worshipped at

altars in groves must be inferred from the silence of history, which makes no remark on the subject. Separatists do usually adhere to established observances, as far as they may not oppose their whimsical opinions and capricious propensities. It cannot, then, be doubted that the antediluvian separatists continued to observe the rites of sacrifice and the sacrifice of animals: but their character intimates that their sacrifices were not only accompanied with gross licentiousness, but with cruel rites, such as the offering in sacrifice a portion of flesh taken from the living animal, and eating a living portion of the same flesh, as in the Brinde feasts still practised, it is feared, in Abyssinia. Such practices rendered proper and even necessary the strong prohibition first given after the deluge, against eating "the flesh with the life thereof, which is the blood thereof."[x]

Noah, immediately after his descent from the ark, builded an altar to the Lord.[y] Being a just man and perfect in his generation, one that walked with God, it may be confidently presumed, that in constructing his altar he used the form adopted by Adam and the true sons of God: that he raised a mound in a grove, and beneath trees, the symbols of the two trees in the midst of the garden. Of groves he doubtless would have ample choice, for it appears from the olive leaf brought into the ark by the dove, that the vegetable world was not destroyed by the waters. Geologists are also agreed that the strata, or several beds of earth which constitute what they call the crust or outer and upper hard surface of the globe, was not affected by the waters, which indeed must have continued during the time of their prevalence in a state of perfect tranquillity, for had a storm arisen, the ark, unwieldy and weak of structure, could not have outlived it. The distinction of beasts clean and unclean, noticed in the record of the sacrifice, shews that such distinction had

[x] Genesis ix. 4. [y] Ibid. viii. 20.

been made in antediluvian ages, and that the second father of the human race adhered to the observances of antediluvian times. The difference between beasts clean and unclean, first mentioned in the history of the deluge, though admitted by the Deity, seems to have been made altogether on the opinions entertained of the wholesomeness or unwholesomeness of the flesh of different animals used as food. This remark may remove any doubt as to the opinion submitted above, that the wickedness of the antediluvians consisted partly in the cruelty of offering in sacrifice and eating flesh cut from the animal while yet alive, but not in the disuse of the primal altars or primal religious rites as practised by Adam and the sons of God.

From the time of the deluge to the departure of Abram from Ur of the Chaldees, a period of about four hundred years, no mention is made in Holy Writ of altars; yet it cannot be doubted that during all that period altars were of uninterrupted use. After his departure, the patriarch built an altar at every place where he fixed his abode, as though his establishment were incomplete without one. The building of an altar was then an act of as much importance as now may be the building of a church. His first place of abidance in the land of Canaan was at Sichem. There he builded an altar to the Lord.[z] He did the same when he removed to Bethel and to Mamre.[a] Isaac, the son, and Jacob, the grandson of Abraham, were equally careful to build altars at every place where they fixed their abode. The history makes no remarks concerning the form or dimensions of those altars: which justifies the inference that these particulars were so well known as not to require notice; and that they were constructed according to the usages of ancient times, and therefore in conformity with the first structure of the kind in the Garden of Eden. In the course

[z] Genesis xii. 7, 8. [a] Genesis xiii. 18.

of his several migrations from place to place, Abraham sojourned at Beersheba many days.[b] There he not only builded an altar, but also planted a grove, and called on the name of the Lord, the everlasting God. A grove not being found at Beersheba, the patriarch planted a grove, being a requisite apparently indispensable. In other places it may be presumed, that he found groves proper for the privacy of his altars. The nurse of Rebekah was buried at Sichem under an oak, which was afterwards designated from that circumstance by a particular name.[c] Hence it is evident that there were several, or rather many other oaks growing there, forming a grove. In after times, when Joshua set up a stone at the same place, an evidence of a solemn engagement, he set it up under one of the oaks that was by the sanctuary of the Lord, that is, by the altar; which, when overshadowed by a grove, was a temple complete.[d]

That groves were the places of worship with the heathen nations of Canaan, and were the scenes of their cruel and licentious enormities, is plain from scripture history. One of the first commands given to the Israelite was expressed in these words: "Ye shall destroy their altars, break their images, and cut down their groves."[e] These acts served to assure the sons of Abraham, that the gods of these nations were false gods; since they were not able to defend their votaries and their sacred structures against the exterminating sword of Israel.

It is clearly shewn by the learned author of the treatise on the Laws of the Hebrews,[f] that the great object of those laws was to alienate the Israelite from the idolatry of the nations, and thereby to preserve in one people the knowledge of the true God. To that end therefore it was deemed expedient to prohibit the ancient patriarchal usage of the grove altogether, and the following command is recorded in

[b] Genesis xxi. 33, 34. [c] Genesis xxxv. 8. [d] Joshua xxiv. 25, 26.
[e] Exodus xxxiv. 13. [f] Spencer. De Leg. Hebræorum.

the sacred code, "Thou shalt not plant thee a grove of any trees near unto the altar of the Lord thy God;"[g] a prohibition rendered necessary by the previous universality of the former practice.

It were almost superfluous to cite authorities in proof of the wellknown fact, that altars were built in groves by all the nations noticed by the classical writers of antiquity. The following passage from the Æneis may suffice in proof.

The Arcadian, Evander, speaking of the victory of Hercules over the monster Cacus, a legendary event anterior to the Trojan war, speaks of the altar built in worship of the triumphant god in terms of the following purport.

> The family Pinarian, holy priests
> Of rites of Hercules, this altar built
> Within this grove, and ever shall it be
> Both termed and held pre-eminent 'bove all.[h]

It were needless to adduce authorities to shew that particular kinds of trees were appropriated to the several gods, as the oak to Jupiter, the myrtle to Venus, the laurel to Apollo; and that altars dedicated to these several deities and their respective images, ought to be placed within the spread of their favourite shade. Such were the refinements made by the earlier mystagogues of different ages and nations. They show the importance of the altar and the grove, as also the universality of the patriarchal usages.

Our ingenious and learned countrymen in India have not given particular attention to the sacred groves; and few notices of them are found in their tracts. This oversight may be attributed to the want of information on the primary principles of ancient religious rites and ceremonies. We learn, however, from such evidences as they have supplied, that trees are commonly found within the boundaries of their pagodas or temples, and that the ascetics, or *yogis*, generally

[g] Deuteronomy xvi. 21.

[h] Æneis, lib. viii. v. 269.

practise their acts of penance, or rather austerity, under trees, and especially the *ficus religiosa*, or *banyan* tree, which, from the peculiarity of its growth, naturally forms a grove of trees, often of great extent.

These retreats of those strange and wonderful self-tormentors are chosen in obedience to the following verse of their legislator *Menù*: "When the father of a family perceives his muscles become flaccid and his hair grey, and sees the child of his child, let him then seek refuge in a forest."[i] If the forest be understood to signify a grove, there remains no doubt that a special sanctity is assigned by the disciples of the *Sastra*, as by the rest of the nations, to groves; for the Indian legislator bids the anchorite of the grove perform in it all the rites of sacrifice or oblation prescribed by the *Veda* beneath such shade. Thus the grove or forest retreat becomes to him a temple, in accordance with the practice of ancient patriarchal times.

Groves were the temples of the Celtic and Teutonic branches of the family of Japhet. The historian Tacitus affirms, that the Teutones or Germans maintain that it is wrong to restrain heavenly beings by walls, or to assign to them any form of the countenance of man; but they consecrate to them groves and woods; and designate by the names of the gods those recesses, which they contemplate with reverence, but with reverence only.[k] One of the German tribes, according to the same author, held assemblies at stated times in a wood consecrated by the auguries of their ancestors, and holy from the veneration of ancient times. Having slain a man in the open assembly, they celebrate the horrible primordia of barbaric rites.[l] The Roman general, Suetonius Paulinus, after his successful conflict with the British Celts in Mona, the Isle of Anglesea, cut down the groves of the Druids, because in them they

[i] Menù, chap. vi. verse 3. [k] Tacit. de Mor. Germ. cap. 9.
[l] Ibid. cap. 39.

practised their cruel rites, burned the blood of their captives on their altars, and held themselves justified in divining from the intestines of men.[m] These and like rites doubtless contributed to inspire that dread awe of which the historian speaks as above, and is well exemplified by the poet Lucan in lines of the following purport relative to a grove near Marseilles.

> The people here in worship never meet,
> But leave the grove to gods. Be it noon sun,
> Or holds black night the heav'n, the priest himself
> Dreads equally access, and entering fears
> Lest he should meet the dread Lord of the grove.[n]

This fear was in accordance with an ancient superstition that no one could behold a god and live. The grove of which the poet speaks was, it should seem, of more than ordinary sanctity—was a kind of holy of holies which the god was supposed occasionally to visit, as did the Creator the Garden of Eden.

Livy, in his history of Rome, records a fact well known and of some importance to the present subject. The founder of that renowned city established an asylum in a place in its vicinity, which in the time of the historian was enclosed by thick hedges between two groves.[o] This asylum brought a considerable accession of inhabitants by the security afforded to any criminal at this sanctuary. Ovid notices a circumstance omitted by the historian, in verses of his Fasti of the following purport:

> When Romulus
> Gave to the tall stone the encircling grove,
> Fly here who may, said he, you shall be safe.[p]

Whether the tall stone were an altar or an idol does not appear; it was probably an idol; but the asylum, it appears, was inefficient till the grove had conferred a sanctity on the

[m] Tacit. Annal. lib. xiv. cap. 30.
[n] Lucan. lib. iii. v. 417.
[o] Liv. lib. i. cap. 8.
[p] Ovid. Fast. lib. iii. v. 431.

place which secured the fugitive from immediate danger; ultimate safety was secured by the powerful protection of the bold founder of Rome.

Not only the awful gloom of the grove, but the cheerful delights of the garden, enhanced by the flow of fountains, the beauty of flowers, and the richness of fruitage, were occasionally added to the altar, and annexed as opportunity might serve to the solemnity of the grove. The writers of classical antiquity make mention of many instances of this kind. The gardens of the Hesperides are of common fame; their fruit was gathered and carried away by the Tyrian Hercules, a figurative fact, signifying, that the Tyrian traders extended their territorial power over the Western regions of Africa, perhaps of America, overthrew the ancient religion of the natives, and established the worship of their own god instead.[q] The Garden of Alcinous is familiarly known through the immortal verse of Homer. The fruits growing in that happy spot were not only of every kind known in the age of the poet, but were also produced, as the fable tells, in all seasons of the year, by the unceasing gales that prevailed within the limits of the garden. The description given by the poet belongs to a terrestrial paradise; it might suit the Garden of Eden; its character is nearly the same as the Indian *Merù*. Herodotus writes of the gardens of Midas the son of Gordius, famed for their roses of sixty petals; that is, for double roses, flowers rare in those times.[r] But these gardens were more famed for the occasional visits of Silenus, who is reported by Virgil to have been well able to describe the Creation and the origin of all things.[s] This Midas, said to be king of Phrygia, was most probably a god worshipped in that country, whose votaries labouring to vindicate the worship of their god, failed in the attempt, and were treated with scorn by the victorious worshippers of the

[q] Serv. Æneid. iv. verse 484. [r] Herodot. lib. viii. chap. 138.
[s] Eclog. vi.

new god Apollo. It is impossible not to perceive in this fable the accordance with the true Scriptural history of the first abode of Adam. If the nations thus imitated the observances of Adam as to the localities of their worship, it may be safely inferred that they also imitated him in the form of their altars.

The tendency to licentiousness in all the heathen rites was likely to be greatly promoted and aggravated by the luxurious accommodations of the garden. As such, they called forth the indignant remonstrances of the prophet Isaiah. "They that sanctify themselves and purify themselves in the gardens behind one tree in the midst, eating swine's flesh, and the abomination, and the mouse, shall be consumed together, saith the Lord."[t] The application of a cultivated garden to religious uses, and especially the tree in the midst, suggests almost unavoidably the idea that the addition of a garden to the grove, or that the grove should bear the character of a garden, originated in the practice of Adam himself, desirous, as he may be supposed to have been, to console himself after his expulsion from his first abode by as near a resemblance as circumstances might allow to the scenes of his former happiness. The remote antiquity of the gardens mentioned by profane writers is interesting; they are here noticed because they seem to have owed their use to the traditions concerning the Garden of Eden. When not likely to be perverted to idolatrous purposes, they may be regarded as desirable appendages to all sacred structures, even the most magnificent cathedrals. They tend to tranquilize the mind, and prepare it for the more effectual discharge of religious duties.

Concurring testimonies, both sacred and profane, clearly show that eminences were usually chosen for the performance of sacrifices and religious offices. When Abraham was commanded to offer his son Isaac for a burnt sacrifice,[u] the locality

[t] Isaiah lxvi. 17. [u] Genesis xxii.

of the act was to be the summit of a certain mountain, which afterwards became the site of the temple at Jerusalem. The sacrifices of Balak, King of Moab, made by the direction of the prophet Balaam, were offered on altars built on hills.[x] These sacrifices being offered under extraordinary circumstances, were performed in places not shaded by trees or groves, the necessity of the case superseding the general usage, as when King Solomon offered sacrifices on the high places around Jerusalem, till the temple building on Mount Moriah was finished. At that temple all the sacrifices of the Israelites were offered, in obedience to the law of Moses, and consequently, all were offered on a hill.[y]

When the ten tribes seceded from the government of Rehoboam, and formed a kingdom separate from Judah and from the worship at the temple, they adhered to the ancient practice, and offered on high places, deeming such indispensably necessary to religious worship. Such of them as became worshippers of heathen idols, placed their altars under trees and in groves, in total defiance of the law of Moses, but in accordance with the usages of heathen nations; they always built their altars on hills.

Profane history shews by many instances, that hills and eminences were held to be exclusively the proper sites for altars and for religious worship. The following passage in the Iliad may shew the practice of the Trojan race. Jupiter, viewing the flight of Hector before the furious Achilles, notices the piety of the fugitive in terms of the following purport.

> The thigh of many an ox to me he burned
> On heights of pointed Ida: often, too,
> On highest place within the city's walls.[z]

The Persians, according to Strabo, do not build temples or altars, but always sacrifice on high places, on which they

[x] Numbers xxii. xxiii. [y] 1 Kings iii. 3. [z] Iliad x. verse 170.

[illegible] into portions, distributed to and then eaten [illegible] present.[a] These usages, apparently unimportant, become important when regarded as a continuance [illegible] offering his sacrifices in the Garden [illegible]

[illegible] Grecian cities and states very commonly [illegible] on eminences, which they regarded as [illegible] sacred places. There they built their altars, [illegible] a tree, or grove, if there were one already [illegible] but the deficiency was supplied, as with the [illegible] by planting. These eminences they also [illegible] and they became places of safety and citadels. [illegible] surrounded the high place with a city; [illegible] was still regarded as the most sacred place, [illegible] preferred for the temple of the god, the [illegible] Capitol of imperial Rome.

[illegible] somewhat foreign to the present subject, to [illegible] deviations from the general rule, for the [illegible] made by some heathen nations; they were [illegible] taught by imaginary theories or [illegible] superstitious: but the materials of which [illegible] constructed, may deserve such notice, as may be [illegible] the import of altars still extant, the interesting [illegible] opinions. The same may be said of the [illegible] which will be found to have been regulated [illegible] entertained concerning the form of the earth.

The materials of which altars were constructed, were, in [illegible] other than earth or gathered stones. The [illegible] in the Garden was doubtless such. The instruction [illegible] the Hebrew lawgiver ran thus: "An altar of [illegible] shalt make unto me, and shalt sacrifice thereon [illegible] burnt-offerings, and thy peace-offerings, thy sheep,

[a] Strab. Geog. lib. xv. p. 732.

and thine oxen: in all places where I record my name I will come unto thee, and I will bless thee. If thou wilt make me an altar of stone, thou shalt not build it of hewn stone; neither shalt thou go up by steps to my altar."[b] Such were the general directions. For the tabernacle, a moveable altar was prepared, made of shittim wood, and covered with brass; the form a square of five cubits, the height three. Four horns or pinnacles made of wood, adorned the four corners. The altar for the temple of Solomon was a square of twenty cubits; the height ten.[c] After the captivity, the altar was of unhewn stone, a square of forty cubits, of height fifteen. The prohibition against using hewn stone in the construction, was intended to prevent the use of altars of enormous size, such as the pyramids of Egypt, and other like structures. The square form was, according to the principles propounded in the introductory chapter, symbolical of the earth. The four horns were symbols of the strength or omnipotence of the Deity: many texts show that strength is the symbolical import of a horn.

The forms of the altars of heathen nations were various; especially those of later ages. When constructed of hewn stone, as were the altars of the later Romans, they were quadrangular, and of height double the base. Such a form may be supposed to have been adopted with reference to the supposed parallelopiped form of the universe. Oblong altars are also noticed, which, like the oblong form of the naves of our churches, may be referred to the form of the ark or chest, by which the Egyptians represented the world, or rather their world, in the rites of Osiris. The most ancient or primary form, was that of a circular cone, the apt symbol of the hill of the Garden of Eden, and of the world, according to the ideas entertained in the first ages of the life of Adam. The materials used in making these altars, varied from the

[b] Exodus xx. 24, 25, 26. [c] 2 Chronicles iv. 1.—Calmet.

cespes vivus, the fresh turf, mentioned by Horace, to the most costly marbles, and even metals highly wrought and ornamented.

The first altar of which a particular description is given, is that raised by the patriarch Jacob and his family, when a conciliatory compact was made between him and Laban, the father of his two wives. "Jacob said unto his brethren, Gather stones; and they took stones, and made an heap. And Jacob offered sacrifice upon the mount, and called his brethren to eat bread: and they did eat bread, and tarried all night in the mount."[d]

It appears from the particulars here recited, that this altar, being made up of stones gathered on the spot and altogether unwrought, was what antiquaries call a *carnedd*. Had it been formed of earth, it might have been called a barrow. It must have been of a size at least equal to ordinary barrows; for it was sufficiently large to afford a convenient abidance of the whole family of Jacob assembled on its sides keeping wake or watch all night around the area or platform of the summit, on which the sacrifice had been offered by the head of the family, the patriarch himself. The form of the structure must have been circular, for the rudeness of the materials would hardly admit of any other, neither does it appear that any other was intended. There is no reason to suppose that this structure differed from the customary form used by Abraham and the early patriarchs when they constructed altars, which have for good reasons been regarded as symbols, or rather, true representations of the altar at which Adam worshipped while dwelling in the Garden.

This mount, raised by Jacob, differed in nothing from the common barrow. Had there been the opportunity of encompassing it with a grove, it would have formed a temple such as those used in the patriarchal ages. Being thus of

[d] Genesis xxxi. 46, 54.

early use and easy construction, barrows[e] such as these may be expected to have been raised in considerable numbers in all parts of the earth. That they were so, a few authorities will shew, giving confirmation to the theory here vindicated.

Artificial eminences of this kind abound in every country of Europe and of Asia.[f] Even what are now the wilds of America afford many instances of these structures. The scientific Humboldt writes, "We meet with tumuli, or barrows, in Virginia, in Canada, as well as in Peru."[g] Again, "In the State of Kentucky are fortifications or camps of an oval form. Near them are lofty barrows, on which trees grow at least one thousand years old."[h] From the form of the fortifications, which is much more likely to be round than oval, it may be inferred that the barrows were the works of a Celtic, or rather Teutonic race. All the Danish camps in England are circular. It may farther be inferred that the families which first entered the vast continent of America were of the race of Japhet; and their occupation of such extensive regions was an accomplishment of the prophecy of Noah, "God shall enlarge Japhet."[i]

The barrows of the British Isles rarely exceed the height of ten or twenty feet. Their forms are various in regard to the curve of a perpendicular section, but, with the exception of some which are oblong, they are round.[k] Travellers have found some in Asiatic Tartary of a quadrangular shape, or rather, which once had that form, but have now lost it. The earth of which they consist having mouldered

[e] The word barrow, according to the modern Celtic of the Welch language, is compounded of the word *bar*, which signifies *high*, and *rhw*, which sounds like *roo*, and signifies *that which breaks out*, or grows up—words aptly expressive of the form and manner of the construction of the barrow.

[f] Clarke's Travels, vols. i. ii.—Pallas's Travels.

[g] Humboldt's Researches, vol. i. p. 102. [h] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 5.

[i] Genesis ix. 27. [k] Fosbrooke's Encycl. Antiq. chap. ii.

down in the lapse of ages, leaves the question of their original shape to be determined by a boundary of stones, the outer fence or inclosure.

The form of a perpendicular section of a great many barrows is oval or egg-shaped. Some are pointed cones; some are bounded at top by a raised border or fence, and are called hollow or bowl barrows. These have a small elevation or barrow in the centre. Most of the barrows now extant appear to have been used as places of interment. Such as had been dedicated to any god may be supposed to have been destroyed. The reason why the barrow should have been desired for interment, may be found partly in the belief, that the bodies of the dead would rest in safety from any annoyance of evil spirits, if interred within boundaries held to be sacred, and partly from the assurance, now found, from antiquarian researches, to be vain, that in such a sanctuary the bones would remain for ever safe from impious violation.

Of these structures the bowl barrow has been supposed to have been the place of the interment of a Druid, from the small cups, small lance-heads, and beads of amber, jet, and glass found in them. The form of the top appears to intimate that the person there buried was of eminent sanctity, and had entered into the paradise of beatified spirits, which the form of the barrow seems intended to represent. It has certainly a form resembling Mount *Merù*, the paradise of the *Sastra*, evidently taken from the patriarchal traditions of the Garden of Eden. The raised border of the barrow is the *ilavratì*, the earthy circular boundary of *Merù;* the mound in the centre is the city of *Amravatì*, the abode of blessed spirits. Let it not be thought strange that a barrow in England should be supposed to resemble the Hyperborean Mount. Druidism, or the Celtic religion, was once most certainly the religion pre-eminent in India, from whence it may be traced in its western progress to Western Europe and the British Isles.

It appears from a verse of the Roman poet Catullus, that the conical barrow was given to women that died in maidhood; perhaps because this form, being more slender and elegant than others, accorded with the grace of female youth and beauty.[1] The oval or egg-shaped barrow was used more generally than any other; being a symbol, not of the elliptic form of the earth's orbit, of which all the ancient astronomers had no conception, but because it represented the mundane egg of creation, a fable almost as old as it was of general acceptation. The long barrows, which are found by their contents to have been places of family interment, derived their form from a different mode of representing the world. The Egyptians, in the construction of their temples, gave an oblong rectangular form, divided into three divisions, of which the third, the farthest from the entrance, was the most sacred abode of the god. By this arrangement, they represented in an horizontal position the three regions, *earth*, *sky*, *heaven*, of the Hindùs, and the three of the Greeks, *hades*, *earth*, and *heaven*. That this theory was adopted in the long barrows of the Celts, appears at least probable; for in them the interment was made at one extremity, that which might be esteemed the most sacred, and intimating the hope or the belief that the persons there buried, had, like the Druid of the Bowl barrow, attained to the joys of paradise and the society of the immortal gods.

The barrow, whatever may have been its form, was always surrounded, first by a level platform, encompassed by a *vallum* (τμενος) or bank of earth, and also by a ditch. This obtained for these structures the general name of *the inclosure*, signifying a sacred inclosure. A term of this signification is still retained by the Celts in Wales, where the word *llan*, properly an inclosure, is used to signify a church. These barriers marked the boundary of the sacred place, and defended it

[1] Fosbrooke.

against incautious or easy profanation. On these platforms, whether they surrounded barrows dedicated to some god, or barrows containing only the bones and ashes of the departed, the friends or relatives performed a rite called *deasuil*,[m] which consisted in three circuits round the sacred structure, either walking or running, from the east, by south, towards the west, thus keeping the right hand towards the eminence. The act thus performed implied honour and respect: a circuit in a contrary direction, called *cartuasuil*, implied abhorrence and bitter imprecation. A platform surrounds the temple of Stonehenge, for the due performance of the *deasuil*. The old Irish, at the confirmation of friendship, or at the amicable conclusion of any business, used to meet at a church, and walked three times round it. To procure an easy delivery in childbirth, and on many other occasions, the practice of the *deasuil*, or the pronunciation of the word, still subsists in Wales, the Orkney Isles, and other remote places inhabited by ancient Celts. A member of the Asiatic Society saw persons of the sect of *Buddha* performing the *deasuil* at one of the temples of that god in Ceylon.[n] Such has been the great universality of the practice of this rite. It is far from being improbable that Jacob and Laban did perform the same at the barrow at which they composed all disagreements.

It has been already stated, that the barrow and its inclosure were almost invariably surrounded by a grove of trees, as were the high places of other heathen nations, more especially the Canaanites. The same accompaniment of the barrow was general in the British Isles also. The people were always invited to be present at those cruel rites; exhortations like the following urged their attendance, *Hai*,

[m] Fosbrooke's Cyclop. of Antiq. chap. xv. This word is compounded of the Welch word *deas*, to the right, and *suil*, circuit. Is *cartuasuil* from the Welch *cartha*, to scour, to reject with abhorrence?

[n] Asiatic Researches, vol. 7.

derw, dun, Hasten to the oak-shaded hill. These words have been changed to the *Hey derry down,* the burden of many a modern song, which, according to good authority,[o] bear the meaning here given. That they once formed part of a Druid's hymn, may be inferred from their meaning, which invites the people to the Druids' grove and worship, and to the improbability attending the supposition, that they should have gained attention in any later age, when the Celtic religion had been suppressed. Of the burdens of songs, now fallen into disuse, it may be observed, that it were strange to suppose that our ancestors should have endured their use, were they utterly devoid of meaning. A learned antiquary disposed to give a due attention to the burdens of our old songs, would probably discover some useful, or at least interesting sentiments, in words like the *derry down,* though apparently unmeaning, and even absurd.

The word *dun,* in the Celtic sentence recited above, signifies a hill, and that a sacred hill. It appears from its purport in the Celtic verse, to be that which was most commonly used to signify the barrow as the object before which the rites of religion were performed, and on which sacrifices were offered. The hill and the inclosure, with the surrounding grove, formed the Celtic temple. Whenever a family or tribe took up their abode at any place, with intended permanence, they would construct a *dun,* as the temple of worship, and dedicated to the god which they had been wont to serve, or which caprice or superstition had disposed them to reverence as the patron of the place. The name of such god being added to the word *dun,* commonly altered to *don* and *ton,* became the name of the place. The names of our towns and villages, thus formed, have been continued affixed to them from the age of the early Britons to the present times. An *index villaris,* or any book reciting

[o] Jones' Welch Poetry.

the names of places, will supply abundant instances of this method of making the names of places, which has been practised in all countries.[p] *Pagus* is a word used by Greeks and Latins to signify a high place, and also a village.[q] It intimates that a *pagus* was extant in every rural assemblage of houses, and that the dwellers at the place performed their religious worship at their *pagus*, *dun*, or *barrow*.

When the Christian religion overthrew the worship of the ancient Britons, the barrows that were temples of the Celtic gods were levelled to the ground, and none but the sepulchral *duns* were suffered to remain. The Christian cross was, for the most part, set up probably on the site of the demolished *dun*. In after times the cross was superseded by the church; but in some instances, the cross still retains its place near the church. This change was a step very progressive in sacred architecture, as will in due time be more fully shown.

The difficulty of weaning the populace from their heathen superstitions and observances, even after the Christian religion was professedly established and sanctioned by the proper authorities, was so great that it became necessary to issue repeated edicts for that purpose. These edicts are of much interest in regard to the present subject, for they afford the fullest assurance that all the remains of the Celtic worship are not only not entire, but so dilapidated as to be in a complete state of desecration.

The following edict, issued by the Saxon king Edgar, in the middle of the tenth century, and about nine hundred years after the first introduction of Christianity into Britain under the Romans, shows the strange pertinacity with which

[p] London signifies the *don* or temple of a place frequented by ships. Belton, and Billesdon, names of villages in Leicestershire, are compounded of *don* and *Beil*, the great Celtic god. Ketton, a village in the county of Rutland, is compounded of *Ket*, the name of the great Celtic goddess.

[q] Pagus à πηγνύω. Etymol. Magn. Odyss. E. v. 405.

the vulgar can entertain strange notions about religion, and adhere to ancient superstitions.[r] The edict is extant in a Saxon manuscript in the library of Corpus Christi in the University of Cambridge.

"We instruct all and singular the ministers of the Christian religion, that they discourage with all diligence and to the utmost of their power all fanciful modes of adoration, necromancy, divinations, incantations, and divine worship of men; together with all acts that drive men into sundry errors, as the worship of the goddess Frea in woods, as also the worship of the alder and other trees, and of stones, and into fancies in regard to many things by which many persons are deceived, of whom better things might be expected."

In the beginning of the next century, king Canute the Dane found it necessary to issue proclamation against similar superstitious rites, and witchcraft, and evils brought upon persons by casting lots or by burning torches. What these latter may have been does not appear. Perhaps they were such as are represented by Shakspeare to have been practised against King Henry the Sixth.[s] It were not difficult to prove that all the foolish notions concerning fairies and magical incantations are altogether the remains of Celtic superstitions.

It will be observed that in these edicts no order is given for the destruction of Celtic structures. That office, it should seem, had been performed long before. An edict of the Council of Nantes of the seventh century speaks thus: "Bishops and their officers ought to provide that stones, which standing in ruined and wild places deluded persons worship with sports diabolical, be entirely overthrown, and cast into places where they cannot be found by their worshippers." In another edict it is declared, that if the Bishop and those persons to whom the office of destroying these

[r] Keysler. Antiq. Septentri. c. ii. §. 1.

[s] Henry VI. Part II. Act i. Scene 4.

structures may belong, neglect performance, he shall be deemed to incur the guilt of sacrilege; and if, after admonition, he do not amend the neglect, he shall be excommunicated.

These injunctions being duly considered, it will afford ground for surprise, that any remains of Celtic structures should be extant in any place. Such as do remain, owe their safety to the once desolate and inaccessible state of the country around them. In some instances, perhaps, the stone or even the temple, as Stonehenge, escaped entire destruction, if not from its remote situation, at least because it had been so far dilapidated as to be no longer deserving the title of sacred, and as such, affording in its ruins a triumph to the established Christianity over the fallen gods. The great stone, once the idol of Stonehenge, being partly fallen, confirms the truth of this remark. In most cases, it appears, from the total absence of remains where they might have been expected, the village *dun* appears to have been completely levelled, if it had been dedicated to any Celtic god. The stone which, according to the ancient usage of all nations, must have crowned the summit of the sepulchral barrow, was most assuredly removed, lest even the acts of veneration shewn by relatives to the departed might seem to favour idolatry.

There seems, however, reason to believe that, in some instances, the *dun* was allowed to remain, although it might not be sepulchral. In some of the eastern counties, and particularly at Cambridge, the market-place is called the market-hill. In those places, there certainly is no appearance of even the remains of a hill to invite the name. This anomaly may be well explained by the presumption that in early times the Britons had raised a *dun* at the place where then, as now, the market was held. The hill probably was not intended to be a place of worship, but was useful in giving validity to contracts, and preventing frauds, by the awe

which superstition continued to attach to such eminences, even in Christian ages. The use of the *deasuil*, among persons of Celtic descent, has been already noticed, even though those persons were Christians. The awful *dun* may therefore be supposed to have been suffered to retain its place till very late times. At length the eminence was removed, probably to enlarge the space of the market: its removal, however, did not suppress the use of the name; such is the force of habit and long usage, the place is still the market-hill. When the *duns* dedicated to gods were destroyed, the Christian cross was set up instead; so in markets a cross either stands or has stood in the place of the ancient *dun*, and has been placed there for purposes exactly the same.

Notwithstanding the general overthrow of the *duns* of the Celtic gods, some in remote situations escaped without, or at least, with little, scath.

One of these *duns*, called the *Tomen y Bala*, dedicated to the Celtic Beil, remains entire near the town of Bala in the county of Merioneth in North Wales.[t] It stands at the extremity of a lake from which the river Dee issues, and receives from that circumstance its Welch name, which signifies the Hill of Egress. In the poetry of the Welch Bards the hill is called *Bed-Tydain*, that is, the resting-place or grave of Tydain, a personification of the sun.[u] At the opposite extremity of the lake rises a hill called *Aren*, from whose sides streams flow supplying the lake. The hill, like the *bed*, is sacred to Tydain, proving that the *Tomen* was a temple: for the Druids generally worshipped on sacred eminences in the vicinity of eminences still higher and held sacred. The word *bed* or *beth* signifies the place where the god

[t] Davies' Rites of Druids, sect. iii. p. 193.

[u] *Tyd* is a noun signifying, in Welch, *that which continues; ain* is a spread or extension. The name implies that which affords a regular supply of light. Tydain is Titan, a name often applied to the sun.

was buried. It will be shewn in some following pages, that it was customary, in raising these *duns*, to deposit some relic or symbol within the mound, indicative of the actual presence of the god: whence the name of *bed* or *beth* was given. That there must have been, in the ages of the Druids, many other mounds dedicated to Celtic gods, cannot be doubted; though, for reasons already given, no traces of them now remain. The evidences now stated prove, it is submitted, very decidedly that the *Tomen y Bala* was a temple of Tydain, or Beil, erected at what may be called the source or first appearance of the river called *Deva* or Dee, that is, divine, because it issues from the *Deo* or god. On this account all the Welch authorities represent it as a sacred stream, in ancient times adored by the inhabitants of the districts through which it flows, as the emblem of fertility and of the divine beneficence.

A temple such as that of the god Tydain stood, as the poet of the Æneis states, at the destruction of the city, before one of the gates of Troy. The hero of the poet speaks of it in terms of the following purport:

> To those who quit the gates, a *dun* occurs,
> The fane of Ceres, now no more revered;
> Hard by a cypress stands, for many a year
> Safe by the worship erst paid by our sires.[x]

The Trojans were Celts: the religion intended in the preceding lines was that of the Druids: the ancient Ceres was none other than the Celtic goddess *Ket*, the Ceto of classical fable. This temple of Ceres was a mound or barrow, like the *Tomen y Bala*. The occurrence of these fanes or temples in ages and countries so different and distant, shews most clearly, that though now such structures are known only as places of interment, in former times the *duns* or barrows were truly and exclusively places of religious worship.

[x] Æneis, ii. 713.

From the form of the barrow the Trojans at the time of the siege had made two advances in the progress of sacred structures; they had constructed those inclosures which are called Druidic temples, and they had also altars inclosed within walls.

A temple bearing all the characteristics of the Celtic temple was seen by the traveller Clarke,[y] within the once dominions of Troy, on Mount Gargarus. A spacious winding road leads up, according to the report, to the temple, through a track in which are many buildings of later times than the temple, proofs of the esteemed sanctity of the Mount through a succession of ages. Not far from the base of the highest summit of Gargarus rises an eminence now called *Kushunlù tepè*. The top of this *tepè* or *taph* is an oblong area about six yards long and two wide, shaded by a thick covering of venerable oaks, inclosed by a circle of upright stones. A space between these stones on the south may be regarded as the entrance. This structure is most assuredly Druidical, for it is on an eminence, but erected at the foot of a higher eminence, agreeably to the Celtic practice observable in many instances, and perhaps the general practice with the Celtic mystagogues. The oval form of the inclosures is the same as that of Stonehenge, and, like it, represents the mundane egg of the Druids. This temple is evidently an improvement of the earlier barrow of *Ket*, the ancient Ceres,—was consequently of later date, and shews that the Celtic religion had been long established in the kingdom of king Priam.

The domestic altar or temple of the king was an improvement of the barrow. It is thus described in the second Æneis:

> I' th' central court, 'neath ether's axle bare,
> Stood a large altar. Near a laurel grew,
> The altar close o'erspreading. Its thick shade
> Embraced the assemblage of the household gods.[z]

[y] Clarke, vol. iii. chap. 5. [z] Æneis, ii. 512.

The great antiquarian knowledge of the poet affords an assurance of the correctness of his description, which shews that the altar shaded by the laurel, differed only from the *taph* of *Kushunlù* by being inclosed within the walls of the palace, forming a court differing only in dimension from other temples of ancient and the Indian pagodas of the present times, all which owe their origin to the simple raised altar of Adam and the Patriarchs.

That these barrows or *duns* were places of interment in other countries beside Britain, may be shewn by the following instance recorded by the same poet:

> At base of mountain high
> Stood the vast barrow, all of earth upheaped,
> Of king Dercennus, once of Laurens old,
> Close covered by the ilex' darkling shade.[a]

It is worthy of remark that the Roman uses the word *bustum* to designate the barrow of this ancient king of Laurens. *Busti* is a word by which the same barrows are known in the *Sanscrit;* a remarkable circumstance, which, with many other instances, shews that the use of these barrows was universal in ancient times, and that the same names by which they were known were used in countries separated from each other by vast distances.

Authorities of classical antiquity shew, that at interment in these barrows it was the practice of the friends and family of the deceased to place the urn containing the ashes of the deceased, or the corpse, if not burned, in a cavity formed of stones regularly arranged, then to heap stones upon them, and afterwards to heap the earth upon them. Such was the order of the interment of Hector, the hero of Troy.[b] The barrow thus formed for the interment of eminent persons often became the burial-place of others of his family. Astyanax, the infant son of Hector, having been cast headlong from the walls of Troy by Neoptolemus son of Achilles, was,

[a] Æneis, xi. 849. [b] Iliad. Ω. 788.

at the earnest request of his mother Andromache, laid out upon the shield of his father and buried in the same *tumbos* or barrow.[c]

Interment in the barrow, of an eminent person, appears to have been a desire commonly entertained by their family and descendants. Orestes, according to the authority of Euripides, most earnestly entreats his friend Pylades to bury the bodies of himself and his sister Electra in the barrow of his father Agamemnon.[d] The bones and urns found in many barrows shew that this desire was commonly entertained by persons of all countries and nations, so long as barrows continued to be used for interment. The reason for this desire may be found in the persuasion that the barrow was a temple of the personage there first interred; and farther, that the spirits of the persons buried there might form a society as when resident on earth.

That the spirits of the persons interred in the barrow made it the chief place of their abode after death, was a belief universal. The antiquity and confidence of this belief may be seen in the following passage in the Helena of Euripides, in which Menelaus thus addresses Theonoë the daughter of the antiquated god Proteus:

> Thus will I at thy father's barrow speak,
> O sire, that dwellest within this stony mound,
> Give me my consort (earnest is my prayer,)
> Whom Jove gave safe to be reserved for me.[e]

No authority can be found in which this belief is more strongly affirmed than in the Erse poems of Ossian, which, however marred by foolish interpolations, teach what was believed universally to be true when they speak of the spirits constantly abiding, and sometimes speaking in shrill voices on the hill of burial.* It was on this belief that men and animals, even utensils of various kinds, were buried in the

[c] Euripid. Troad. v. 1123. [d] Euripid. Orest. v. 1064.
[e] Euripid. Helena, v. 960.

barrow with the deceased. Achilles slew twelve noble Trojan youths at the pyre of his beloved Patroclus, that they might be his attendant slaves after death.[f]

The *taph* or barrow of Patroclus was consecrated by abundant sacrifices, and by the celebration of games, at which, as in the Olympic of later ages, the gods were supposed to take much interest. At the Celtic barrows the relatives and friends of the persons interred were wont occasionally to perform the *deasuil* and other rites. At the *taphs* of the Grecian heroes that fell at Troy, but especially at that of Achilles, Alexander the Great invading the empire of Darius, repeated the ancient religious rites with great magnificence, in reverence of the memory of the dead. Perhaps policy may have been with him a powerful motive. The omen of victory might have no little influence on the minds of the Macedonian soldiers, and have contributed greatly to their subsequent successes and conquests. These circumstances invite notice; they shew that the *taph* or barrow was esteemed as a temple, for that similar rites and observances attended the consecration and dedication of both.

The height and dimensions of these sacred structures were, most commonly, great in proportion to the means of the constructors, and the zealous respect entertained for the deceased. In some instances the pride and vanity of surviving relatives induced them to raise sepulchral barrows of dimensions greater than accorded with the rank or merit of the person interred; greater also than the means of surviving relatives could well supply; inconvenient also from the space they occupied in the places where they were raised. The great Roman orator notices these extravagances in his Treatise on Laws.[g] He observes that it had been wisely provided by the laws of Solon that no one should make a sepulchre, a *taph* or barrow of earth being plainly in-

[f] Iliad. Ψ. 152, κ. τ. λ. [g] Cic. de Leg. lib. ii. c. 26.

tended, of larger dimensions than such as three men might raise in three days; and farther, that even these should not be decorated by plaster work, nor a Hermes (a pillar with the head of a Mercury) be set up on it. Hence it is evident that in the time of Solon, the famed Athenian legislator, *taphs* or barrows of earth were the only sepulchres used in Greece. Such was the antiquity, such the universality of these *taphi*, *tumuli*, and barrows. They were, though thus of wide and universal use, all founded upon one and the same principle—the sanctity of temples, the similitudes of the first temple in the Garden of Eden, and symbols of the divine presence.

The mighty structures commonly known by the name of the Pyramids of Egypt, are three large quadrangular cones of enormous magnitude situate at Jizeh or Giza, a few miles distant from Cairo.[h] The height of the greatest is such as to exceed the height of the Church of St. Paul, London, by one hundred and twenty feet; the area of its base is such as would cover the whole of the square of Lincoln's Inn Fields. The two other are smaller structures, but yet of vast dimensions. These structures consist of layers of large stones, which, especially in the great pyramid, form steps by which they may be readily ascended; but it appears from the authority of Herodotus, that they were, when entire, so cased with stone as to present a smooth surface. This casing remains, though much broken, on the lesser pyramids, but is entirely gone from the greatest. The summit of the great pyramid is a platform thirty feet square; of the second, six. The two large pyramids have been found to contain passages leading to rooms containing decisive evidences that they were intended for interment; and the number of them intimates that they were intended for the reception, not of one person only, but for several, very probably all the persons of the family of the builder.

[h] Clarke. Belzoni. Pen. Cyclop.

Although this may be supposed to have been the principal purpose for which they were constructed, yet, like all other barrows, they were destined to receive some symbol of the god worshipped by the builder, which might sanctify the whole structure. Cells or chambers in the centres of the first and second pyramids appear to have been appropriated to this purpose. The sarcophagi still extant in each of these central chambers, are such as are well calculated to do honour to the symbol interred. What that may have been it is impossible to determine, the cell having been repeatedly rifled; but it may be conjectured that the embalmed body of a ram, the divine symbol adopted by the builder, was deposited in the sarcophagus to insure the presence of the divine spirit in the mighty structure.

Although the mention of pyramids always leads the attention to the great pyramids of Jizeh, yet the number of similar structures situate along the western banks of the Nile is countless. The ingenious traveller Clarke exhibits forms of these which, varying from those of the British barrows, appear in all shapes, some rather whimsical, till they arrive at the vast magnitude of the mighty quadrangular structures of Jizeh.[i] These, as well as their pigmy concomitants, are barrows: they have had interments of animals symbolical of the divine spirit; for bones supposed to have been bones of sacred animals have been deposited in them as sacred relics: their bases are found, on removing the sand, to be surrounded by encompassing areas or platforms, and their summits are calculated to receive altars of sacrifice and shrines also, as with all other barrows. Their quadrangular form, in which they differ from ordinary barrows, many of which may have become round from the decay of ages, may be ascribed to the theories of the times when an enlarged acquaintance with the different regions of the earth had led to the opinion that the earth was not a conical

[i] Clarke, Trav. vol. v. chap. 5.

hill, as Adam and his immediate descendants had at first imagined, but of a square form, as the ages of later date had been led to conclude. Such were the reasons which, as in other similar instances, gave the quadrangular form to the pyramids, which, like other barrows, were temples of the gods.

Who were the builders of the pyramids, or of what nation were Cheops, Cephrenes, and Mycerinus, kings of Egypt, to whom their construction has been assigned? The total opposition as to form, between the pyramids, and temples known to be Egyptian structures, is so wide, as to give assurance that the pyramids were not the work of Egyptian designers. Egyptian structures never rise to any great height, never tend to a point, but are low compared with the massiveness of their bulk, and flat, and square. The pyramids, on the contrary, like the barrow, are all the reverse of the Egyptian temple. Their height is great in proportion to their dimensions, and their form converges towards a lofty point. The Egyptian temples are adorned both within and without with hieroglyphic paintings and sculpture,—in the pyramids there are none. In some of the cells found in the lesser pyramids, a few hieroglyphics are to be seen, but they are on stones taken from some Egyptian temples, destroyed perhaps by the advocates of a different creed; they are placed in the structure of the pyramid with their figures in an inverted position, as if in contempt and derision of the people that had written them. A wide difference is also observable between the interments in the pyramids and interments properly Egyptian. This people always deposit their dead in caves and subterranean catacombs;—the builders of the pyramids buried their dead, not below, but above the earth's surface. The builders of the pyramids and of the temples of Egyptian architecture formed their structures upon principles entirely different; the former made the raised altar the model of all their work,

to the latter the altar was almost unknown. These manifold differences prove most assuredly that the people who built the pyramids were of religious principles totally different from the Egyptians. Who those builders may have been is a question of no little interest in the history, origin, and progress of sacred structures.

The mythologist Bryant has shewn in a learned essay,[k] that, at a time anterior to the descent of the family of Israel into Egypt, a people called Auritæ, coming from the north-eastward of Egypt, invaded the country, conquered it, and reduced the people to a state of abject slavery, and even endeavoured to extirpate the whole race. Among other acts of oppression, they compelled a great portion of the population to labour as slaves in the construction of the pyramids. After the lapse of one or two centuries, the Egyptians rose against their oppressors, and drove the whole race out of the country so completely as to render the rich province which they had chiefly occupied entirely destitute of inhabitants. This province, the mythologist affirms, was the land of Goshen, not far distant from Memphis, the seat of government of the restored Egyptian dynasty, and which, as the sacred history reports, was ready to receive the family of Israel. It is plainly obvious that this statement, vindicated by the mythologist, accords with our sacred history, and shews the reason why shepherds were held in abomination by the Egyptians.

The invaders, says the mythologist, received the name of Auritæ from the worship paid by them to אור *aur*, the element of fire, the symbol of the male or generative principle of Nature. In the early ages of antiquity it was the general practice to maintain and treat as sacred, flocks, and herds of animals, and occasionally plants also, regarding them as symbols of particular doctrines and tenets. The Auritæ adopted the ram as an apt symbol of the generative prin-

[k] Bryant's Shepherds in Egypt, vol. vi.

ciple, and, as was the practice of those times, maintained numbers of those animals and held them sacred. Thus they acquired the name of shepherds. The Egyptians, on the contrary, were votaries of the aqueous principle, the symbol of the female or productive power of Nature, exhibited by the cow. The controversy respecting the pre-eminence of these two powers, the igneous and the aqueous, appears to have been the cause of the schism which divided the builders of the tower of Babel,—a schism between idolaters which never has been healed. This difference in doctrine, and the sense of past wrongs, was the cause of the strange abhorrence in which shepherds were held by the Egyptians.

The etymology of the word pyramid will confirm the reason given for this abhorrence. Ammianus Marcellinus, writing in the reigns of the Roman emperors Valens, Julian, and Constantius, observes that the *pyramid* was a geometrical figure, which received the name because it was a cone terminating in a point, like the flame of fire.[l] It should appear, from this authority, that the name pyramid was given to the structures of Jizeh, because they terminated in a point, like fire. The author of the work called the Egyptian Pantheon, gives the following etymology. *Pi-re* is the name given by the Egyptians to the sun; *mu-e* signifies *solar brightness*, or a *ray of the sun*. These compounded, form the word *pi-re-mu-e*, converted into pyramid by the Greeks, as though derived from their word πυρ, *pur*, fire.[m] Both these etymologies are liable to insuperable objections; that of the Roman, to the observation that flame is not quadrangular, like the pyramids of Jizeh; and that of the Polish bishop, to the remark that the name is not likely to have been compounded of words of the Egyptian language. The name was probably given by the builders, and was a com-

[l] Ammian. Marcell. lib. xxii. c. 15, §. 28.

[m] Jablonski, Panth. Ægypt. Proleg. c. 34, p. 82.

pound of *pi* and *aur*, signifying the element of fire, to which the votaries of that element did dedicate it.

When the patriarch Israel delivered on his death-bed his parting benediction to his twelve sons, among other remarks he thus addressed Joseph: "The blessings of thy father have prevailed above the blessings of my progenitors unto the utmost bound of the *everlasting hills*."[n] These hills were the pyramids. They were the western boundary of Egypt in the quarter where they were built, and may be imagined to have been located there from the hope that the gods to whom they were dedicated might be induced to prevent the progress of the sand of the desert from continuing to overspread and destroy; as they ever have and still continue to encroach upon the fertile lands of the valley of the Nile. That the *everlasting hills*, the bound of the territory over which the powerful Joseph presided, were the pyramids of Jizeh, may be held to be certain for the following reasons.

The epithet *everlasting* is not properly applicable to ordinary or natural hills, because hills are as durable as the earth itself; but the term everlasting may be applicable to things perishable, and tending to decay and downfall, if that be distant; in this sense the epithet everlasting is most properly applicable to the pyramids. They must have appeared to the patriarch to be imperishable, from their extraordinary solidity and strength; and their state after the lapse of thousands of years, proves that the word everlasting is still truly applicable to the vast pyramids of Jizeh; they may even in the present day be justly regarded as the everlasting mountains; after the lapse of about four thousand years since the death of the patriarch, they are still as firm as when first builded.

In confirmation of this argument, the following may deserve attention. The word in the original Hebrew, rendered in the authorized translation *mountain*, might with greater accuracy have been represented by the word *mound*,

[n] Genesis xlix. 26.

signifying an artificial elevation. The Septuagint translation gives this meaning, and the authority of that translation is decisive, for without it the true meaning of the Hebrew text had been unattainable. If the mountain of the text properly signify an artificial mound, the pyramids were the objects intended by the dying patriarch. Should it be objected that Cheops and the other kings said to have been the builders of these three pyramids, were of an age posterior to that of the patriarch, it may be replied, the names of the kings that wrought these mighty works are given on tradition only; and farther, that the uncertainty of the Egyptian chronology is such, as to offer no serious objection to fair probabilities, such as those arising from the arguments offered as above. To them the following may be added. The dilapidations noticed by all travellers are such as an indignant people that had newly freed themselves from grievous oppression would delight to commit on works wrought by their oppressors. The removal of the entire coating of the great pyramid, and the partial removal of that of others, were attempts, but they were futile attempts, to overthrow the pyramids. The patriarch had observed this, and might well denominate the pyramids of Jizeh, the *everlasting mountains or mounds*, which the revengeful anger of the Egyptians attempted in vain to destroy.

These arguments may, it is presumed, deserve candid consideration. If they produce conviction, they determine very nearly the age of the great pyramids, shewing that they have been built nearly four thousand years ago. Another circumstance is shewn, of no little interest in an account of the progress of sacred structures. The square form of the high place, altar, or barrow, had at that time superseded the circular. This perhaps may be true only of the Egyptians and some other nations, such as the Chaldeans and Indians, who, in ancient ages, took the lead in scientific research. The Celtic nations can hardly be said to have ever adopted any

other than the circular form of the barrow: even the *taphs* raised over the Athenians that fell at Marathon, the Lacedemonians that fell at Thermopylæ, and the Thebans that fell at Chæronea, are round.[o]

The learned analyst of ancient mythology affirms that the word Asia,[p] the name of a most important quarter of the globe, signifies the land of fire, for that it is compounded of the radicals εις or *is*, and αια,[q] *aia*, earth. The former of these radicals is the same as the Hebrew אש *aish*, *fire*. The name was evidently given because fire and the sun were worshipped in all the regions of that continent known to the ancients. This element was a symbol of the male or generative power of Nature, adopted in opposition to the worship of Egypt, Europe, and the western regions, whose inhabitants pertinaciously adhered to their worship of water and the moon, symbols of the female or productive powers of Nature. The history of the Asiatic nations confirms this position. The Canaanites made their sons and their daughters pass through the fire unto Moloch. The Chaldees of Ur were especially distinguished by the same worship. The Persians of ancient ages, and the *Parsis* of modern, the disciples of Zoroaster, are eminently distingnished by the observance of rites performed in worship of the same element. The ancient Hyrcania received its name from the same worship, for which even the modern Balk and Bamian have long been noted. Even Hindosthan had her *Suryavansa* worshipping the sun and fire, in opposition to the *Chandravansa* worshipper of the moon and water. Such differences subsisted between the shepherd kings of Egypt, who built the pyramids, and the Egyptians, whom they compelled, with victorious insolence, to labour as slaves at the mighty works. The purport of the name of the continent from whence they came proves that they were worshippers of the sun and fire,

[o] Clarke's Travels, vol. vii. [p] Bryant, vol. i. p. 31.
[q] Etym. Magn. ad voc.

and that the pyramids were built for the worship of that element.

The form of the temple of Belus at Babylon confirms this statement. That temple, although built at a later period than the pyramids, was a structure evidently formed upon the same principles, as the following description by Herodotus will plainly shew.[r] In the middle of a square court, inclosed by a wall each side of two stadia, and entered by gates of brass, rises a solid structure, a pyramid of cubes. The height and breadth of the lowest is one stadium. Upon this rises another of like form, and upon this others, to the number of eight. On the outsides of these cubical structures, are steps for ascending, with a recess in the midway, and seats on which the persons ascending may rest. Within the last tower is a spacious temple, and a large bed well furnished. In this temple there is no statue, but it was supposed to be the sepulchre of the god, agreeably to the doctrine commonly received, that where the body was interred, there the spirit of the departed did most commonly reside. It appears that when Cyrus and the Persians took the city, that in triumph over the Babylonians they defaced and desecrated this temple, which Strabo calls the tomb of Belus. Alexander the Great restored it, partly at the request of the Babylonians, and partly in triumph over the Persians.[s]

This structure was of a form more complex than the pyramids of Jizeh, but like them it constituted a quadrangular cone. The inclosing wall was in all respects similar to the inclosed areas which surround the bases of the Egyptian pyramids. The cubes of the several stories bear an evident reference to the notions entertained in early times of the form of the earth, which all sacred structures were designed to resemble.

The ancient Babylon is now no more. The fate of the

[r] Herodotus, lib. i. c. 181. [s] Diodorus Siculus, lib. xvii. p. 622.

mighty city had been truly foretold by the Hebrew prophets. Ruins and desolation occupy its site, once occupied by a numerous population. Such was the punishment denounced against it for the cruelties practised by its armies upon the Jews at the capture of Jerusalem. Travellers surveying the ruins, search, but search in vain, for the first structure mentioned in history, the tower of Babel. It may be justly doubted whether that tower was ever finished; for on the miraculous or unaccountable confusion of tongues or of doctrine, it is said that they left off to build the city. If the tower were finished, it should seem that it cannot be now extant, for, judging from the form of ancient barrows, the tower of Babel must have been a circular and not a square structure. This latter appears to have been the form of the buildings of Babylon, as far as can be ascertained.

Among the many and extensive ruins is a vast mass of brickwork, called by the Arabs *Birs Nimroud*, which signifies Nimrod's Prison.[t] It is in all appearance a pyramid in ruin. A mound of an oblong form rises at its base. The eastern portion of this mound is not more than fifty or sixty feet high, but on the western part it rises to the height of one hundred and ninety feet. This eminence is surmounted by a pile of brick one hundred and ninety feet high, having on its summit a smaller pile of brick thirty-seven feet high and twenty-eight broad. Amid all this confusion of ruins the only facts of importance to the subjects of this treatise are the following. These structures had their sides facing the four cardinal points of the compass. In this they accord with the position of the pyramids of Jizeh. Like them also they were places of interment, for bones are found in several parts and cavities resembling those at Jizeh. To these facts, which clearly indicate an identity of the principle of the pyramids of both countries, it may be added, that the Babylonian ruins are such as the pyramids of Egypt would assume,

[t] Rich on Babylon, p. 28.

had they been constructed of brick, and subjected to the storms of several thousands of years. These facts clearly show that the builders of the ruined structures of Babylon and of the almost perfect pyramids of Jizeh were a people entertaining the same principles of religion—that they were worshippers, like the Chaldeans, of the igneous element, and were very probably the same people.

Proceeding eastward from the ruins of Babylon and the plains of the Tigris and the Euphrates, the nations that first invite attention are those that occupy the extensive provinces, anciently known by the name of India, and in modern times of Hindosthan. Several of these nations had attained a high degree of civilization, at the time when Alexander the Great invaded their western frontier. Various documents newly made known to Europe, by the researches of the present British rulers of the country, plainly prove, that the Indians had been a nation eminent for wealth, power, and learning, long before the valiant Porus gave a check, even in defeat, to the march of the Macedonian phalanx. They find also, that the priesthood of the country, forming part of the cast or class of Brahmens, are in possession of books deemed by them most sacred, and known by the comprehensive name of *Sastra*, which, though full of the false and erroneous doctrines of heathenism, and of rules for observances which appear to the European strange and absurd, are founded upon patriarchal authorities. The high estimation in which these writings are held by the people, affords the fullest assurance that they are both genuine and authentic. This character renders them highly valuable, for their contents are amply illustrative of the principles and rites of heathenism, and consequently of the various forms which sacred structures have borne in different ages, not only in India, but in other countries also. This has been shewn to a certain extent in statements already given, and will more fully appear in those that will be produced. As a specimen of Hindù rites and observances, the

following short account is given of the consecration of an altar, or rather of a spot on which the disciple of the *Sastra* makes his offerings. It is a curious instance of the extravagance of ceremonial observances, but not altogether unconnected with primal principle.

A piece of ground four cubits square is first smeared with cow-dung, which soon drying, affords a platform clean and pure. The votary, having bathed, drops on his right knee, and resting on the span of his left hand, draws with the root of *cusa* (a kind of grass) several lines on the platform, each in a prescribed direction, and of particular import. He then casts an ignited ember from the vessel in which fire is brought, saying, "I dismiss carnivorous fire to the realms of *Yama* (hell), bearing away sin;" then placing fire in the middle of the area, and reciting the words "earth, sky, heaven," denominating the three regions of space, he burns a log of wood a span long, smeared with clarified butter, and after placing himself in a variety of postures, all minutely prescribed, he walks in silence round the fire, keeping it on his right hand, (the *deasuil*). To deprecate any profane word that may have been uttered during the performance of these rites, he recites this sacred text, "Thrice did *Vishnù* step, and at three strides traversed the universe. Happily was his foot placed on this earth." If an oblation be offered, it generally consists of rice mixed with milk, curds, and butter. The sacrifice is now done, and the votary stooping and resting both hands on the ground, says, "We adore this earth, this auspicious and excellent earth. Do thou, O fire, resist our enemies; thou dost take on thee the power and office of other deities." Holding blades of the *cusa* grass in his right hand, he scatters leaves of the same over the whole square area, and blessing the ten regions of space, he puts more wood upon the fire, and butter also, and meditates, while it is consumed, on *Brahmà*, lord of creatures.[u]

[u] Asiatic Researches, vol. vii. No. 8.

Some of the circumstances mentioned in this statement deserve remark. First, the form of the area is a square, which was in early ages the supposed form of the earth. This area must be pure. Such was the state of the area or altar on which the first man sacrificed, in the Garden. The sacrifice of the Hindù is an atonement for sin; the ignited ember thrown away with a deprecation, is the same, in effect, as the scape-goat of the Mosaic Law. Earth, sky, and heaven, termed the three regions of space, are the hades, the earth, and heaven, named in the Theogony of Hesiod, and are the same as the divisions of the creation commonly noticed in Holy Writ. They are the divisions made by the three figurative steps of the preserver *Vishnù*. Adoration is paid to earth, because the earth, according to the heathen doctrine, is god. The ten divisions of space are a supposed improvement in knowledge upon the triple division. The address to fire, with which the practical part of the sacrifice concludes, shews that the disciples of the *Sastra* adhere to that sect of idolaters which worships fire.

In an oblation to fire with rites somewhat varied, an offering is made successively to the sun, the moon, and the five planets of the solar system, each distinguished by the same gods, the Mars, the Mercury or Woden, the Jupiter or Thor, the Venus or Frea, and the Saturn of the western world.[x] Time is thus divided into portions of seven days, named like the days of our week. This fact is interesting, for it shews that the heathen nations are not altogether ignorant of weeks of seven days. This can only be owing to patriarchal tradition of the history of the creation. Many other acts of idolatry, resembling scriptural rites and usages, may be attributed to the same mode of information. That the rites prescribed by the *Sastra* bear a near resemblance to those of other heathen nations, and that all are in some degree referrible to patriarchal authorities, the

[x] Asiatic Researches, vol. vii. No. 8.

following example may serve to shew; and farther, that all the theories of idolatry have been founded upon the doctrines set forth in Holy Writ, and that being, as to their primary principle, the same, the idolatry of one nation may be to a certain extent illustrative of the doctrines of all. Much reliance is made in this treatise, upon this principle. The following authority may be adduced in vindication of such reliance.

The Institutes of *Menù* deliver the following precept. "In his domestic fire for dressing the food of all the gods after the prescribed ceremony, let a Brahmen each day make an oblation to these divinities."[y] Several of the most eminent gods of the Hindù Pantheon are named. From hence it appears, that the domestic hearth was regarded, in the early age in which *Menù* wrote, as an altar, and the house as a temple, in which the master was bound to practise kind hospitality. Agreeably to this principle, the parts of the house near the hearth afforded places, niches perhaps, for the reception of images, the penates or household gods of the family. The Russian sets up his Bogh or god in some corner of his house,[z] and the Romanist an image of the patron saint of his family. The sanctity of the hearth rendered it a place of sanctuary. Agreeably with this principle, the hearth of Admetus afforded an asylum to the Athenian Themistocles, when he needed protection against the fickle and ungrateful republicans of his native city.

The great antiquity of the institutions of India, and their gradual advances in wealth and civilization, produced every variety of form in sacred structure which has been seen in other parts of the earth. Within the bounds of that wide and far-extended country may be seen the mound of the humblest altar, the upright stone or column, the tower, the pyramid, either undefended or inclosed within the spacious colonnades of the *deovelly*[a] or pagoda. Some instances of

[y] Menù, chap. iii. v. 84. [z] Clarke's Travels, vol. i. chap. ii.

[a] *Deo havellì*. Sanscrit words signifying God's house.

these are offered, that greatly illustrate the progress made in different ages and countries in what may be termed sacred architecture.

Buchanan, the official inspector of the Mysorean provinces, observes, "It must be expected that there should be pagodas of every description in the Indian provinces, for every village has its special patron god, and every god his *pujarì* or officiating priest, who is remunerated by a portion of the produce of certain lands, or by certain payments from the inhabitants of the place. In many instances the *pujarì* or temple is endowed with lands."[b] Thus it appears that the church or religion of Hindosthan has a regular establishment, such as the churches of the nations of Europe either have or once had, before the rapacity of republican fanaticism robbed them of their rights, and left the Church dependent on the precarious and ere long inefficient supplies of the voluntary system. Of the endowments of the Indian temples it must be observed, that they are proofs of the high civilization of India, for such will ever be the policy of a wise and well-constituted government, which properly supplies the wants of all its subjects.

In populous and wealthy provinces, sacred structures of great magnificence occur; but in remote and poor districts, temples of primal simplicity alone are found. In the eastern parts of Bengal, particularly the Sunderbunds, a barrow or conical mound of earth is the temple of the village or place: the structure is surrounded by steps, and the whole is neatly plastered over with a whitish clay.[c] It is more than probable that our British barrows were, at their first structure, thus finished by their votaries. These sacred structures sometimes bear the form of the cyme or ogive, more especially with the Buddhists of Ceylon, where their shape resembles that of a bell, or becomes a regular dome. At stated festivals the statue of the favourite god, in a handsome portable shrine,

[b] Buchanan, vol. iii. p. 82. [c] Asiatic Researches, vol. x. No. 2, p. 134.

is placed on the top of the eminence, and honoured by religious worship. These structures vary in height from five to twenty feet, according to the circumstances or zeal of the villagers. They are sometimes inclosed by a wall, and form the model of the common pagoda, and bear the name of *betta*, which signifies a hill: when they are defended by a roof they are called *busty*.[d] The former is evidently the *bedd* or *beth* of the Celts; the latter the *bustum* of the Latins; both alike signifying a place of interment. The author of the essay on the Sacred Isles of the West affirms, on the authority of his *Pandits*, that all these structures are representations of Mount *Merù*, and are on that account proper *deovellies* or *deo-havelli*, or houses of God.

The spirits of men who die unmarried become beings of considerable eminence and power after death. They are thought worthy of divine honours, and small temples and images are erected to their memory, at which offerings of cloth, rice, and other articles, are made to their manes.[e] These temples consist of a heap of earth, or a cairn of stones, surmounted by two or three flags. In a small cavity a rude image or rough stone is placed, which is a representation of the person interred, and is occasionally anointed with oil, as if it were an image of a god. If these honours be withheld, the spirit of the inhabiter of the sacred eminence is said to haunt and annoy the persons of whom such observances are required. This apprehended annoyance may have wrought with the Celts of Europe, and urged them to the diligent performance of the *deasuil* and other rites at the barrows of their departed friends.

The most magnificent temples of Hindosthan are structures in reality nothing more than improved forms of the simple barrow, and they owe their sacred character to the same opinions and principles. This is perhaps most ob-

[d] Buchanan, vol. iii. p. 82.

[e] Ibid. vol. i. chap. vi. p. 359.

servable in the common, or less splendid temples, of which, according to Bishop Heber,[f] the following is a just description.

The general style of these buildings is a large square court, sometimes merely surrounded by a low brick wall, with brick balustrades plastered so as to resemble stone, and indented at the top, with two or sometimes four towers with cupolas at the angles. In the centre of the principal front, is, for the most part, an entrance, often very handsome. In the middle of the quadrangle, or in the middle of one of its sides, opposite to the entrance, is a pyramid, which is the temple of the principal deity. This structure is sometimes octagonal, but mostly square, with gilded ornaments. In a room or recess within the solid structure, is an image of the god. It is very seldom that anything like a congregation assembles in these temples. A few priests and dancing women live in them, whose business is to keep clean the shrines, to receive the offerings of individuals, and to beat their gongs in honour of their idols, which is done every three or four hours daily. A short account of one or two of these temples or pagodas will forcibly illustrate the applicability of these principles.

At *Deogir*,[g] commonly called *Deogur*, at the eastern extremity of Bengal, are two pagodas surmounted with the *tresul* or trident of the god *Siva*. They are simply pyramids of great height and solidity, being composed of massy stones, of which each layer forms a ledge. In the centre is a chamber, with a small door, in which is set an idol, with a lamp kept burning continually before it. A single wall surrounds the whole. Every part of these structures is figurative. The *tresul*, or three-pointed trident, intimates that the god of the structures presides over the three regions of space, *earth*, *sky*, *heaven*. The pyramids represent *Merù* and the world, animated or informed by the spirit of the

[f] Heber's Travels, vol. i. chap. 3.

[g] Maurice's Indian Antiquities, vol. iii. chap. 2, §. 1.

god, whose presence is exhibited in this instance by an idol instead of a relic, but regarded doubtless by idolaters as being far more expressive. All these pagodas or temples are merely an improvement of the simple barrow. These at *Deogir* are said to have been built in a very remote age. The name *Deogiri* signifies *god's mount*, evidently referring to the character of the primal barrow.

The pagoda of Seringham is one of the most celebrated and most magnificent in India. It stands on an island in the river *Caveri*, in the dominions of the Rajah of Tanjore. Seven square inclosures, formed by walls each twenty-five feet high, four feet thick, and three hundred and fifty feet distant from each other, inclose a court in the centre, in which are a number of small pyramids, the abode of idol gods of the Hindù pantheon, which are believed really to animate their respective pyramids or shrines. Four large gates, one in the middle of each side, each gate surmounted by a high tower, are entrances to the several courts. The outer wall is four miles in circumference. Such is the form of this vast structure; the symbolical imports of its several parts are, according to the premises, as follows. The shrines in the central area are each a high place or barrow, in which the divine spirit of the god to which it is dedicated, is supposed to be interred, that is, incorporated in earth or matter. The number of inclosures represent the several regions into which the universe was supposed to be divided, according to the theory of the age in which the structure was built. The whole is a symbol of the world, the abode of gods; a *deohavelli*, in the language of Hindosthan; a church, in ours. As to principle, it is but a barrow; but it is a barrow which stands a proof of the sincere and zealous piety of a people which supplied means of construction for such a mighty work.

All these sacred structures are held to be deficient in an article held to be of the utmost importance to their sanctity,

if there be not interred in or near the fabric some substance which may be supposed to have belonged to the god to whom it is dedicated. Not only the barrow, the altar of sacrifice, but temples, which are improved altars, require the like also. Such requisites are always duly supplied, generally by some miraculous means, as in the following instance.

At the famed temple of *Jagan-natha*, a word which signifies *the Lord of the Universe*, they have a bone of *Crishna*, which is considered as a most precious and venerable relic.[h] Whence it appears, that even the Lord of the Universe cannot give sanctity to his great and richly-endowed temple, without a relic. Where this precious article may be deposited, the learned Member of the Asiatic Society has not been able to understand. He observes, that few persons are allowed to see it, from which it appears that the bone is really accessible; but he adds, that Hindùs are not fond of making it the subject of conversation any more than are the Buddhists of their relics, which are with them matters of prime importance also. The reason will be seen from the Epitome of Theodotus,[i] annexed to the Stromata of Clement of Alexandria, that it was an opinion maintained by the ancients, that the vital spirit abided most especially in the bones; for which reason it was predestinated that no bone of the Saviour should be broken on the cross. Whenever, therefore, a bone of the god was attached in any way to a sacred structure, the spirit of the god was then supposed to be undoubtedly present,—the temple was most completely the symbol of his presence; and religious rites there performed were most assuredly efficacious. Such is the principle which gives worth to relics; on which the Christian father Clement observes, that the heathen nations all contended that relics were not only valuable, but appendages indispensably necessary to all sacred structures. The

[h] Asiatic Researches, vol. viii. No. 3. [i] Epitom. Theodot. p. 798. D.

Romanists adopt this doctrine in its utmost extent. Not only every shrine of a saint, but every altar in their churches, ought to have inclosed in its substance some relic.[k] This seems to be the only reason why a solid stone altar should be preferred to a communion table of wood. A relic cannot well be deposited in a board.

The Buddhists are advocates most zealous for this doctrine of the spiritual character of bones.[l] Mount *Merù* they deem the worldly temple and the tomb of *Buddhà*. They say his bones are scattered over all the face of the earth, as, according to a different legend, the limbs of Osiris were strewed by Typhon over all Egypt, which Isis afterwards covered with sacred structures;[m] and as, according to other legends, were the bones of Adam after the flood. Thus dispersed, yet they are never seen, but are buried, as is affirmed, in some part of the sacred structure. At *Sarnat'ha*, near Benares, the sacred bones of the *T'hacur* or Lord *Buddhà* are buried deep under ground, in a small vault near the temple.

When a mound is the temple, the sacred bone is buried in the raised heap. Near the southern extremity of Ceylon, called Dunder-head, properly *Devinùr*, or the *divine home*, stands, upon a circular base of three steps, a barrow or sacred eminence, one hundred and sixty feet in circumference, and twelve high.[n] It is bell-shaped, surmounted by a small conical square structure. The mound is solid, and without any opening whatever; but in it was buried, as was said, a tooth of the sacred elephant, a form which the benevolent *Buddhà* is said to have assumed; indicating figuratively that he was the god supreme that supported the universe. *Buddhà* having been an elephant, the tooth of the animal was a bone of the god. Such was the fiction which gave sanctity to this temple.

[k] Fosbrooke, Encycl. Antiq. p. 94. [l] Asiatic Researches, vol. viii. No. 3.
[m] Plutarch. De Isid. p. 257. F. [n] Asiatic Researches, vol. vi. No. 11.

In a cave at Islamabad or Chittagong, a city situate near the sea on the southern part of Bengal, a silver plate was found, with an inscription engraved, giving a history of the *avatara* or incarnation of *Buddhà*, and with it an account of the rites with which the two bones of *T'hacur*, the lord, were buried. The account may serve as an illustration of other rites, which have been performed on the apotheosis of bones and other relics.

On the fourteenth of Magha, 904, Chandi-Lah-Raja, by the advice of Bowangari Rauli who was the director of his studies and devotions, and in conformity with the sentiments of twenty-eight other *Raulis*, formed the design of establishing a place of religious worship; for which purpose a cave was dug, and paved with bricks, three cubits in depth, and three cubits also in diameter, in which were deposited one hundred and twenty brazen images of small dimensions, denominated *Tahmudas;* also twenty images, larger than the former, denominated *Languda;* there was also a large image of stone called *Langudagari*, with a vessel of brass, in which were deposited two of the bones of *T'hacur*. On a silver plate were inscribed the *Hauca* or the mandates of the deity, with that also styled *Taumah Chucksowna Tahma*, to the study of which twenty-eight *Raulis* devote their time and attention; who, having celebrated this present work of devotion with festivals and rejoicings, erected over the cave a place for religious worship for the *Magas*, in honour of the deity.[o]

Whence the two bones of the *T'hacur* were obtained is not shewn. Perhaps they were discovered by the revelation of a dream by some strange miracle, like that which brought the image of *Jagannatha* to the shores of Orissa. The advent of the god was announced by a crow, which had been seen devoutly worshipping far off at sea the floating image, which, when it reached the land, was a piece of wood fifty-two

[o] Asiatic Researches, vol. ii. No. 26.

inches long and about thirty broad.[p] In obedience to instructions given by the crow, it was kept by the Rajah to whom it had been sent, seven days in his house, and then set up in the temple; and after being splendidly ornamented with gold and precious stones, it became the object of the worship of all ranks of people, and is reported to have performed many miracles. The Brahmens wash the images of *Jagannath* six times every day, and dress daily as food for the idols, provisions sufficient to feed twenty thousand persons. According to information communicated in the Asiatic Researches,[q] the board above mentioned has been shaped into three images, so as to bear the form of the letters in the sacred *OM*, the *Sanscrit* sacred name of the God supreme. This form is only perceivable when the figures are divested of their clothing to be washed with water brought from the sacred Ganges. When dressed in gorgeous robes, decorated with jewels, and the faces of the images duly painted, their appearance is imposing; the pilgrims and votaries, when permitted to see them, behold with awe, and worship with deep devotion, being utterly unaware that in reality the true God is worshipped by the almost countless votaries that attend the temple of *Jagannat'h*.

The remark may surprise but yet it is true, the fanatical votaries of the Koran after having subdued India, outraged the people as if their extermination had been determined, and having insulted their religious opinions by every sort of indignity, yet notwithstanding these acts of violence, these very same oppressors did not forbear to imitate in several instances, the religious rites and observances of the people which they professedly abhorred, and engaged on the principles of their Koran utterly to suppress. It has been observed that Rome conquered Greece by her arms, yet that Greece subdued Rome by her arts. The observation may be

[p] Maurice's Indian Antiquities, vol. i. chap. 3.
[q] Asiatic Researches, vol. viii. No. 3.

applied to the Tartar nations that invaded India, and the Indian kingdoms that crouched beneath their sway. While the former wielded the sceptre of power with terrible insolence, they were induced to respect the merits of their subjects: admiring the magnificence of their works, they imitated them in the construction of their sacred edifices; and awed by their piety, which, however strange, was sincere, they were induced even to adopt some of their rites and religious observances. These facts are of some importance to the subject of this treatise, and therefore the following instances are adduced.

"The main attraction of Ajmere in the eyes of its Mussulman visitors is the tomb of Shekh Kajah Mowûd Deen, a celebrated saint, whose miracles are renowned all over India. The emperor Acbar, great and wise man as he was, and suspected of placing little faith in the doctrines of Islam, made nevertheless a pilgrimage on foot to this place, to implore at the saint's tomb the blessing of a male offspring. The crowd of pilgrims who met us or whom we overtook during the last three or four days, shewed how much the shrine is still in fashion."[r] Thus writes the Bishop of Calcutta. He adds, "Nor are they Mussulmans alone who reverence this tomb: the Sindia family, while masters of Ajmere, were magnificent benefactors to its shrine; and my own sirdar and the goomashta Cashiram were quite as anxious to come hither as if it had been one of their own holy places."

The Bishop was prevented from visiting this tomb; and the circumstance is regretted, because a particular description of its form might have guided with good effect the opinions offered concerning it. It was, it seems, of marble highly decorated with gilding; but whether an obelisk, the form commonly given to such structures, or not, is uncertain. It was in all probability what is called a *mut*,[s] commonly used

[r] Heber, vol. ii. chap. 23. [s] Ibid. vol. i. chap. 10.

as tombs, which consist of a quadrangular obelisk or spire standing on a quadrangular pedestal, and surmounted by flowers of stone. The Bishop observes, that some of the pilgrims believe that they acquire such sanctity by the visit to this tomb, that on their return to their homes they set up a brick or stone taken from the tomb, and become saints themselves.

In a former page it has been stated, that in certain provinces, when young men die unmarried, a barrow is raised up over them, and religious rites performed there, as to a god. The barrow is the tomb, and is regarded as a temple; and the spirit of the interred is held to be divine. It is exactly the same in the case of the Mussulman saint; he is supposed to possess divine powers, and of consequence to be able to confer extraordinary benefits on such persons as approach his presence in his temple, the tomb. The disciples of the *Sastra* find this doctrine so accordant with their own tenets, that they do not scruple to seek benefits by the same means, available upon the same principle, transferred to the pyramidal structure from the barrow and the altar of the early patriarchs.

Secundra, (writes the Bishop) a ruinous village and without a bazar, is remarkable for the magnificent tomb of Acbar, the most splendid building I had yet seen in India. It stands in a square area of about forty English acres, inclosed by an embattled wall with octagonal towers at the angles, surmounted by open pavilions. It has four very noble gateways of red granite, the principal of which is inlaid with white marble, and has four high marble minarets. The space within is planted with trees, and divided into green alleys leading to the central building, which is a sort of solid pyramid, surrounded externally with cloisters, galleries, and domes, diminishing gradually on ascending it, till it ends in a square platform of white marble, surrounded by most elaborate lattice-work of the same material, in the centre of which is a small altar-tomb, also of white marble, carved

with a delicacy and beauty which do full justice to the material, and to the graceful forms of the Arabic character, which form its chief ornament. At the bottom of the building, in a small, but very lofty vault, is the real tomb of this great monarch, plain and unadorned, but also of white marble.[t]

This account is the same in all points as what has been given of the Hindù pagodas, which are improvements on the altar of Adam in the Garden, or the barrow of later and less orthodox ages. The central pyramid is the high place in which the spirit of the person interred is supposed to reside, never departing far from the bones inclosed within the soros or tomb. The altar-tomb on the summit corresponds with the shrine usually set up atop of the pyramids, and seems to imply a claim for the character of an *avatara* and deification, upon the principles of the *Sastra*. The trees of the garden are the groves protecting the altar by their shade, the walls of the enclosure are the defences, the same in purport as the ditch of the barrow, either with or without a mound, or the rows of upright stones of more solemn import and more awful appearance.

From these examples it plainly appears that the disciples of the Koran do not utterly abhor the rites of the *Sastra*, nor abstain from the adoption of the forms used by them in their sacred structures. Whether in this they acted merely as imitators or not, may be uncertain; it is more probable that some regard may have been had to the general and original principle on which sacred structures were formed, the symbolical representation of the world and of God. Many of the magnificent structures of India were extant, when arts and sciences as well as arms flourished almost exclusively under the Califs of Bagdad. India was always a great object of their notice; often the scene of their warlike enterprizes. The structures of that country must always have deserved and

[t] Heber, vol. i. chap. x.

doubtless received their admiration, which, rich and powerful as they were, led to imitation. Thus it seems that the sacred architecture of India might pass into Western Asia, where, seen and admired by the champions of the Crusades, it was adopted by them, and conveyed into all the countries of Europe.

The sacred structures of the continents of Europe, Africa, and Asia having been duly noticed, it must now be shewn that sacred structures, of character exactly the same, are extant also on the vast continent of America. This fact has not failed to excite surprise in the European discoverers of regions, of what it has been usual to call a new world; but it proves not only that all the nations of the earth had one common origin of birth, but that all sacred structures had one common origin also, and farther, that the progressive changes in the form and symbolical import of such structures were made upon the same principles likewise.

"Among the swarms of nations," writes the observant Humboldt,[u] "which from the seventh to the twelfth century of the christian era successively inhabited the country of Mexico, five are enumerated, the Toltecks, the Chicimecks, the Acolhuans, the Tlascaltecks, and the Aztecks. These tribes, notwithstanding their political divisions, spoke the same language, used the same worship, and built pyramidal edifices, which they called *teocallis*, that is to say, houses of god. These edifices were all of the same form, though of very different dimensions; they were pyramids with several terraces, the sides of which stood, like those of the pyramids of Egypt, exactly in the direction of the meridian and parallel of the place. The *teocalli* was raised in the midst of a walled square enclosure, which, in the larger *teocallis*, contained gardens, fountains, and the dwellings of the priests. A great staircase led to a platform on the top of the pyramid, where stood

[u] Humboldt's American Researches, vol. i.

one or two chapels or shrines, built like towers, containing colossal idols of the divinity to whom the *teocalli* was dedicated. Within the edifice was the burial-place of the kings and principal personages of Mexico." Many interments of persons of all ranks were had in the vicinity of these structures, as was the practice of other nations and countries. It seems to have been universally desired that the corpse, about which the vital spirit was supposed to hover, should be an associate not only of other departed spirits, but partake of the society of the spirit of the deity to whom the sacred structure may have been dedicated. The following account of one of these sacred places will shew the truth of this statement.

In the valley of Mexico, eight leagues north-east of the capital, is a plain that bears the name of *Micoatl*, or *the path of the dead.*[x] At this place there are two large pyramids, the one dedicated to the sun (*Tonatiuh*), the other to the moon (*Meztli*). These are surrounded by several hundreds of small pyramids, which form streets in exact lines, from north to south, and from east to west. Of the two large *teocallis*, the one is about sixty, the other about fifty yards high. The base of the first is a square of two hundred and thirty yards. Each has four principal stories, accessible by easy steps. The great mass of the pyramid consists of clay mixed with small stones, encased with a thick wall of stone. The pyramids forming the streets are generally of the height of between ten and fifteen feet. All these are, according to the testimony of native authorities, places of interment for the chiefs of the tribes of the nation. The larger pyramids may be supposed to have been the tombs of monarchs. That they were temples as well as tombs, is evident from their dedication to the deities above named; and since all the barrows in other parts of the globe are known to have been temples, so the assemblage of similar eminences in this place,

[x] Humboldt's American Researches, vol. i. p. 84.

known by the name of the pyramids of *Teotihuacan*, were all sacred altars or temples also.

The *teocalli* of Cholula is the greatest, most ancient, and most celebrated of all the pyramidal monuments of *Anahuac*, the Indian name of Mexico. It has four stories, all of equal height, and is constructed, like others, exactly facing the four cardinal points. The perpendicular height is about sixty yards, but its base is nearly five hundred. The ascent to the top or upper area, was by one hundred and twenty steps. On this area was an altar dedicated to *Quetzalcoatl*, the god of the air, the most mysterious being, says the traveller, of the whole Mexican mythology. During his reign was the golden age, the same as that of the poets of the west. The altar, or rather, the fane of this god, is now converted into a chapel of the Virgin Mary, at which an Indian priest officiates daily, performing the rites of christian idolatry. The native authorities affirm that the interior of this structure is hollow, or rather contains many cells or cavities, all places of interment. One of these has been found to contain the skeletons of two persons; also idols of basalt, and a great number of vases curiously painted and varnished; proofs of the high consideration of the persons interred in that cell. Other pyramids are extant in the vicinity of this pyramid; that of *Teotihuacan* is of the same description, and of the same use.[y]

The author of the American Researches ventures to affirm, that these pyramids and barrows were all constructed between the age of the Hegira of Mahomet, and the conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards under Cortes; that is, between the beginning of the seventh and early in the sixteenth centuries. The grounds on which he rests this opinion are not given, and it is probable that they were none other than such information as he might be able to gather from Mexican authorities, on which, in matters relative to remote periods,

[y] Humboldt's American Researches, vol. i. p. 87.

little reliance can be placed. It is certain, however, that the great *teocalli* of the city of Mexico was constructed within a few years of the conquest, after which the formation of such works was prohibited by the ecclesiastical authorities of Spain. It being certain that America was first peopled, after the general deluge, by migrants proceeding eastwardly from the plains of Tartary, where barrows had been the temples and tombs from the earliest ages, those emigrants would of course continue their established practice, by raising barrows wherever they might abide. Such are now extant in several provinces of North America, as has been already instanced above. There can be little doubt that barrows might be found in all the countries intervening between those provinces and the Mexican; but that in the latter, they are more numerous from the ample population, and more magnificent from the power of the people that constructed them.

These reasons will vindicate the position, that the barrows and pyramids of America were all constructed upon principles exactly the same as those of other parts of the world, and that, like them, they were symbolical representations of the world, and of the presence of the deity in the created world; and, according to the errors of idolatry, each symbol was the deity himself. The different stages of the Mexican structures indicate, that the larger pyramids especially were intended to be such imitations. It appears from the statements of the scientist, that the Mexicans had nearly the same opinions of the earth and of the universe, as were till late years entertained by the Hindùs. Indeed, it is very probable that they may have received such knowledge directly from the Hindùs. The wide wandering habits of the Hindù *Yogìs* or Ascetics are well known. It is likely, and indeed all but certain, that such persons did visit, at different times, the provinces of America. A person named *Bochica* is celebrated in their annals. *Bochica* is described as having all the

characteristics of the *Yogi*. He practised austerities; he officiated as priest; he gave them laws remarkable for their analogy to those of Thibet and Japan; he established classes or castes; and after the practice of austerities for two thousand years, miraculously disappeared.[z] Other instances of similitude between the observances of the Mexicans and the nations of eastern Asia might be adduced, shewing that the construction of the American barrow was a continuation of the early usages of the other continents.

The series of sacred structures of different ages and nations, described as above, afford decisive proof, that, however various in magnitude and form, they all owe their origin to one structure, the altar raised beneath the shade of the trees of knowledge and of life in the Garden of Eden. After the expulsion, Adam constructed an altar, the same in form as that at which he had worshipped under happier circumstances, and shaded, like that altar, by trees surrounded by a grove, as in the Garden. This was his second temple, and being an imitation of the first, was a representation of the scene of the frequent visits of the Deity, and the symbol of the Divine presence. The authorities of Holy Writ shew that the sons of God, the orthodox patriarchs, used no other form than the altar in the grove, until it pleased the Almighty, for reasons about to be stated in subsequent pages, to ordain the construction of the tabernacle in the wilderness, which, after numerous removals, obtained finally a permanent site and solid construction in the temples builded in succeeding ages on Mount Sion in Jerusalem.

The simple altar and fenced grove did not suffice the theories devised and maintained by the theologues of the Gentile nations. Adopting the doctrine that the world or created universe was not only the symbol of the divine presence, and the abode of the divine spirit, but that it was God himself, they deemed it indispensably necessary that

[z] Humboldt's American Researches, vol. ii. p. 107.

their temples should bear the same form as the world. The observations made in successive ages, led them to adopt different opinions on this subject, and these induced them to vary the forms of their temples, so that they might accord with the cosmographical theories of the age and nation. Hence it came that the altar became a pyramid variously formed, and the enclosure was circular, quadrangular, or octangular, according as such forms might, for the reasons above given, gain the approval of the builders.

The materials composing the inclosure, containing a grove whenever that could be obtained, were very various, as circumstances might admit. In some instances, the altar or barrow was surrounded by a platform, bounded by a trench, or a trench and *vallum* or raised bank; in others by rows of upright stones or pillars, perhaps with imposts as at Stonehenge, often without. Improved means changed these inclosures into regular and magnificent colonnades, as with the temples or pagodas of India, where the votaries, sheltered from storms or shaded from the sun, performed the sacramental rites of the sacrifices and oblations offered within the inclosed court and in front of the pyramidal structure, the symbol of the presence or the person of the god.

In the forms of the structures already described, there is no resemblance to the present forms of Christian churches. The consecration of the areas or inclosed grounds by which the churches of the present age are surrounded, is, however, owing to the ancient and universal practice of giving sanctity to the platform that surrounded the barrow, the high place, or the pyramid. Such a cincture was always held to be a necessary appendage to the sacred structure, and is so deemed still. The barrow or high place being regarded as desirable for sepulture, introduced the practice of interment within its bounds, and of devoting churchyards to the same purpose, in cases where it might not be expedient to inter within the structure itself, as in the barrow or pyramid.

The exposition of the rationale of these inclosures or churchyards is not perhaps without its interest; it shews that the universal practice of consecration did not originate in chance, but was adopted for reasons which wisdom will not fail to approve. The means by which the churches and cathedrals of Christian countries obtained their towers, spires, naves, ailes, and chancels, remain to be developed. This will be done in the following chapters by a reference to the primal principle, the obligation to render the temple or church a proper symbol of the divine presence, from the resemblance it might be supposed to bear to the created world.

CHAPTER III.

ON SACRED STONES AND PILLARS.

It has been shewn, in the chapter introductory to this treatise, that, according to the popular opinion of ancient ages, the earth was borne up and sustained in its place by pillars standing on some unknown substratum, but figuratively represented by various symbols. Upon the authority of this theory, a pillar was adopted as a symbol of strength and firmness; a symbol also of the divine power, and, by a ready inference, a symbol or idol of the Deity himself. The use of the symbol as significant of strength has been instanced, first, in the act of the patriarch Jacob, when, on his journey to Haran, he set up a stone as a sacred pillar at Bethel, as a testimony of his resolve to serve the God of his fathers; and secondly, in the stone set up by him for a pillar, at the foot of the mound or altar heaped up at *Galeed*, on his agreement with Laban. Such use of the pillar is sanctioned in Holy Writ, as may be seen by other instances already noticed. Thus far the use of the

symbol is authorized by Holy Writ; but when it is taken to represent the person of the Deity, then it becomes an idol, and its use is a breach of the divine commandment. The justness of this distinction the following instance will clearly shew.

When Solomon king of Israel built his famed temple at Jerusalem,[a] he set up two pillars in the porch of the temple: the pillar on the right hand or entrance he called *Jachin*,[b] a word significant of *strength and of power effectually applied;* the pillar on the left he called *Boaz,* meaning *reign and dominion firmly established.* Scriptural authorities[c] shew that the king builded according to plans and instructions which his father king David had communicated, having received them from the prophet Nathan, who had received them from God himself by special revelation. Hence it is evident that the form and the furniture of the temple were, like the tabernacle in the wilderness, such as the Deity especially approved: and consequently the use of these pillars and their symbolical import were approved also.

Commentators are not agreed as to the import of these pillars. It has been suggested that they bear allusion to the two memorable pillars of fire and of the cloud which went before the Israelites at their exode from Egypt.[d] The allusion is, however, so remote as to appear almost improbable, more especially as no such structures were set up during the sojourn in the wilderness. The pillars may rather be understood to have been symbols of the import above stated, as the following authorities will shew.

The Hebrew word עמד *omad*, by which these structures are named in Holy Writ, and rendered in our translation *pillars*,[e] signifies a column which stands, or is self-sustained, and supports other things. A pillar is, therefore, an apt repre-

[a] 1 Kings vii. 21. 2 Chronicles ii. 7. Jeremiah lii. 21.
[b] Hutchinson, vol. xiv. p. 82.
[c] 1 Chronicles xxviii. 11, &c.
[d] Pyle, Comm.
[e] Parkhurst in voc.

sentation both of the power of the Almighty, and of the exercise of that power. The form and dimensions of the pillars of the temple are equally significant of the same sentiment. Taking the cubit to be the cubit of the sanctuary, or about twenty-eight inches, their height was about forty feet, and their diameter nine feet, proportions which exhibit great strength and stability. The top of each pillar was finished with a capital of what is called lily-work. This, it is presumed, was a combination of the flowers of the *nymphæa lotos*, an aquatic plant, the growth of warm climates, which was used not only by the Egyptian, but by the Indian theologues also, to represent the world borne up above the waters in its calyx. The same use of the flower may still be seen in many of the columns lately brought into our country from Egypt. The dimension of these capitals being four cubits, greatly exceeds the proportions of the capitals in the architecture of the Greeks and the Egyptians; but they were expressive of great power, and are not without their parallels in Indian architecture. These cups or calyxes of the lilies are called the bowls of the chapiters, which were bodies sustained in cavities formed in the upper surface of the capitals. These chapiters were spheres of the diameter of five cubits, for their height is stated to have been five cubits.[f] Over the surface of both, were wreaths of pomegranates, forming nets of chequer-work, particularly dense on the belly, or that portion of the sphere which projected over the capital of the pillars. Such were the characteristics of these remarkable structures.

The import of these structures is very evident and certain. The pillars represented the sustaining power of the great God. The flower of the lotus or water-lily rises from a root growing at the bottom of the water, and maintains its position on the surface by its columnar stalk,

[f] Hutchinson, vol. ii.

which becomes more or less straight as occasion requires; it is, therefore, aptly symbolical of the power of the Almighty constantly employed to secure the safety of all the world. The chapiter is the body or mass of the earth; the pomegranates, fruits remarkable for the number of their seeds, are symbols of fertility; the wreaths, drawn variously over the surface of the chapiter or globe, indicate the courses of the heavenly bodies in the heavens around the earth, and the variety of the seasons. Such was the symbolical import of the pillars *Icin* and *Boaz*. They were properly placed in the porch or portico of the temple, for they suggested just ideas of the power of the Almighty, of the entire dependence of man upon him the Creator, and doing this they exhorted all to fear, to love, and obey him. The pillars *Icin* and *Boaz* were symbols worthy of their place in the porch, the entrance into the temple. To the contemplative they could not be without effect.

In front, and before the entrance into a cave called the *Indra Subba*, or court of the god *Indra*, excavated in a hill near Ellora, in the province of Dowlatabad, stands a column of exactly the same import as the pillars above described.[ε] It is raised on a quadrangular base of three feet. The shaft is round, fluted, and elegantly tapering; the top or capital consists of three prolate spheroids crowned by a small gibbous dome. The whole structure is elegant, and decorated with laboured sculptures. Near it, on the right side of the entrance, is an elephant, cut out of the same rock, as are the pillar and the whole of the *subba* or temple of the god, a work of wonderful labour and ingenuity.[ε]

There can be no doubt that the import of the pillar is exactly the same as of those of the temple at Jerusalem. The base and shaft of the column represents the power of the Deity; the three spheroids the three regions of space, important objects in the Hindù rites. The dome atop is

[ε] Asiatic Researches, vol. vi. No. 10.

the abode of the god, according to the doctrine of the *Sastra*. The elephant is the *vahana* or vehicle of *Indra*, the god supreme, and, therefore, a personification of the world. The elephant, like the pillar, is also a symbol of the sustaining power, as is the contiguous pillar a symbol of the divine power. Thus do the pillar and the elephant accord in import with the *Icin* and *Boaz* of the temple of Jerusalem. The vast and solid structures which stand on either side of the entrances of many of the temples of Egypt, are most assuredly of the same symbolical import, as were also the more elegant obelisks, which were placed at the entrances of some temples.

The reverence shewn to columns, as symbols of the power of the Deity, was readily converted into worship paid to them as idols of the real presence. This change did not, however, take place without much violence and outrage practised by the advocates of the new doctrine towards their opponents. It was so, at least, in India, as may be gathered from the following figurative history given in what is called the *Nara-Singa*, or Man-lion *avatara*, recorded in the *Sastra*.

A youth named *Paralodha*, a name implying much purity and virtue, contended in opposition to his father, a monarch named *Hiranyacasipù*, that is, the monarch of the golden battle-axe, that the divine spirit was actually present in a certain pillar which the youth worshipped. This the father boldly denied. The youth repeated the assertion: "Then," said the father, "I thus defy your god of the pillar;" and immediately he struck it with his battle-axe. Instantly, says the fable, the pillar opened, and forth rushed a personage having the body of a man with the head of a lion, who, after a long struggle with the monarch, put him to a cruel death by tearing out his bowels.[h]

This fable contains a figurative history of the first use, at least in India, of upright stones and pillars as idols repre-

[h] Maurice, Anc. Hist. Hind. vol. ii. part 1.

sentative of the actual presence of the Deity. Hitherto, as may be learned from the earlier *avataras* of the Fish, the Boar, and the Tortoise, the Deity had been feigned to bear the form of animal symbols only; but by the *Nara-Singa avatara* it was positively insisted that inanimate bodies might with equal fitness be available for the same purpose, especially after the performance of certain rites of consecration. That this advance in the progress of idolatry was made in an early age of the world, is evident from the injunctions contained in the Mosaic Law, requiring the Israelites to destroy such objects. The idolatrous use of pillars was evidently adopted long before the exode of the Israelites, or more than fifteen hundred years before the Christian era. This fact strongly confirms the claim of Hindù records to great antiquity, which even the extravagances of their chronology cannot overthrow. The testimony of these records is of much importance, not only in respect of the history of idolatry in general, but particularly the history of the Celtic religion and Druidism. It shews the early date and origin of their worship of pillars and stones, beyond which the Druids never passed; for, notwithstanding their numerous personifications of the Deity in the different forms or powers of Nature, it does not appear that they ever adopted any idol either of the animal or human form, but addressed their acts of devotion to such objects only as claimed religious reverence in consequence of the *Nara-Singa avatara.*

The violence by which the votaries of the pillar established their doctrine and mode of worship, prevailed very successfully for a certain, perhaps a long period; but the power and influence of the sect was finally overthrown by the votaries of the *Sastra,* and the general establishment of Brahmenism, at least in the kingdoms and provinces of Hindosthan. The history of this revolution is recorded in the following *avatara* distinguished by the title of the *Bamùn* or *Dwarf.*

The god *Vishnù,* assuming the form of a person in stature

a dwarf, in shape deformed, and in condition a mendicant, approached *Balì*, an Indian monarch nobly generous, but proud and arrogant. The monarch beheld the beggar with kind compassion, and bade him ask, and promised to give whatever he might desire. The beggar asked a small spot of ground, merely sufficient to set up his *tì* or umbrella, and to hold his books and his staff. The monarch, surprised at the small request, urged the beggar to ask for more. The beggar replied, "A Brahmen (such was the character and condition of the applicant) wants no more; give me these gifts and ratify the donation by an oath, and I shall be content." The donation was made, and ratified by an oath, taken in a form which was then customary, and which seems to have rendered the oath irrevocable. The king poured water on the hand of the Brahmen as he spoke the words of obligation. While the king was speaking, the dwarf began to increase in size, and ere the rite was ended, his head reached heaven. Then with one stride the Brahmen measured the vast expanse of the earth, and was about to encompass the whole region of *Patala*, when *Balì*, convinced that the dwarf was none other than *Vishnù* himself, fell prostrate in adoration, and yielded freely to the god the whole of the earth, the third region of the universe. *Vishnù* took the reins of government into his own hands, new modelled human society, and divided men into castes or classes.[1]

Whence came this mendicant, who wrought such a revolution in Gangetic India, does not appear. Perhaps the sect sprang up from among the people themselves, who may be supposed to have been won over to the new religion by the shewy use of images, representing the persons of the deities worshipped aforetime under the forms of upright stones and pillars. This admitted, it follows that the age of the *Bamùn avatara* was one of the earliest antiquity,

[1] Maurice, Anc. Hist. Hind. vol. ii. b. 2, c. 4.

for images as well as pillars are mentioned in the law of Moses. This introduction of the use of images superseding the worship of pillars, may be termed the extermination in India of Celticism, or rather the Hyperborean religion limited to the use of stones and pillars. Lest it should appear an unfounded assumption to affirm that the Celtic religion, which prevailed during many ages in Western Europe, ever prevailed in India, it may be expedient to offer the following evidences in proof of the interesting position.

That the religion of the Celts did once prevail in India is evident from the following facts. Pillars or upright stones had become the objects of worship in India after the *Nara-singha avatara*, for such pillars or stones are still the objects of religious reverence in various parts of Hindosthan; and cromlechs exactly the same in all respects as those still extant in Britain, are found in countries on the coast of Malabar.[k] *Bali*, the name of the monarch subdued, is in truth the same as *Beil*, a principal deity in the Celtic pantheon, and is pronounced *Beil* by the natives of the provinces of Hindosthan. The change effected by the *Bamùn avatara* being of much importance in the history of pillar worship, it may be expedient to adduce some additional facts relating to that event.

The Hyperboreans were, as appears from the authority of Herodotus and Pliny,[l] a fabulous people, having their abode in the north-eastern regions of Asia, on an eminence said to be so elevated as to rise above the wind of Boreas, and to be a terrestrial paradise, in which spirits of the departed dwelt for a long period; whence they came to be known by the name of Macrobii, or beings of long life.[m] This fable has been adopted by the Brahmens, and the

[k] Higgins on Druidism, introd. p. 84.

[l] Herodotus, lib. iv. c. 32. Plin. Hist. Natur. lib. iv. c. 12. lib. vi. c. 17.

[m] Orph. Argonaut. v. 1110.

abode of the Hyperboreans was the same as the Mount *Merù* of the Hindùs.

But all the Hyperboreans were not superhuman beings. An order of priesthood bearing the same name, had its abode in the supposed vicinity of the fabulous paradise above-mentioned. It is far from being improbable that the Gylongs, the monastic votaries of the Lama of Thibet, form a priesthood, continued by a transmission of ecclesiastical authority from the ancient Hyperboreans, with some, but not very great, change of doctrine.[n] Be this as it may, the reality of an Hyperborean order of priests is proved by the facts recorded by Herodotus, from which it appears that a frequent, and for a long time a regular intercourse subsisted between them, and all the Celtic nations of the west. The visit of the Hyperborean Abaris in Greece forms an important incident in ancient history: and the Grecian antiquary makes frequent mention of Hyperborean priests presiding at Celtic ceremonies, and of Hyperborean virgins attached to the temples at Athens and other places.[o] The intercourse with the Hyperboreans was in some cases not casual but regular. It appears from the Hymn to Delos, given by Callimachus, that offerings which he calls *tithes*, were sent to that isle, at stated periods, from the Hyperboreans to Apollo the god of that place, which was regarded by all nations as of peculiar holiness; whose inhabitants (the spiritualized inhabitants it is presumed,) enjoyed, according to the poet, every kind of delight, and were, like the inhabitants of the Indian *Merù*, exempt from disease and infirmity of any kind.[p]

This intercourse with the Hyperboreans extended far beyond Greece; it reached, at least occasionally, even the British Isles. This is shewn in the following passage, translated from the Ode of the great Theban poet, and given in

[n] Turner, Trav. in Thibet. [o] Pausan. lib. iii. c. 13, §. 2.
[p] Callim. Hymn. in Del. v. 275.

lines of the same measure, but the English language can ill supply the musical rhythm and express the spirit of the original:

> By ships, not feet, proceeding,
> Thou mayest find a wondrous way
> To the Hyperborean throng;
> With whom Perseus their chief
> Feasted in olden time. Entering their halls,
> He saw them offering to their god
> Hecatombs assinine.
> In such, their sacred feasts,
> Apollo much delights. Laughing, he views
> The vigorous wanton brutes.
> Never recedes the Muse
> From manners such as yours.
> On all sides virgin choirs
> Sound twanging lyres and flutes melodious;
> Binding their tresses
> With laurel leaves of gold,
> Joyous they feast;
> Disease and wasting age
> Their sacred race know never.
> Toil and battle far away,
> They dwell escaping free
> From vengeful Nemesis. [q]

The poet might seem to be describing in these lines the manners and enjoyments of the Hyperborean Macrobii, or of those of the isle of Delos, or even of the Indian *Merù;* but circumstances shew that he refers to none of these, but to beatified spirits of other Hyberboreans.

Such were to be found, according to a well-known passage of Diodorus,[r] in an island opposite the coast of Gaul, which must have been either Great Britain or Ireland, for it was not less than Sicily. The historian speaks of a temple in the island; which is generally supposed to have been Stonehenge. This determines the question. That the visit of Perseus should have been made to the Hyperboreans in Britain will be

[q] Pindar. Pyth. Od. x. v. 46.

[r] Diodor. lib. ii. p. 91.

admitted, when it is observed that the hero was born, as one fable relates, in Apulia in Italy, where the Celtic religion then prevailed; that he travelled far, the wings given him figuratively signify; and that he extended his travels from Italy to Mauritania, and must have passed near Britain, and consequently that he visited the Hyperboreans, not of Delos, but of a country (an island) far more distant. The scenes, however, described in the Pythian ode, must have been utopian and imaginary; for priests and minstrels of a terrestrial temple cannot be supposed to have been exempt from disease and wasting age. The condition can only belong to departed and beatified spirits. The scenes described by Pindar, and their supposed locality, being determined by Diodorus, reveal a truth hitherto unknown, that the Celts of Britain entertained the same doctrine of a terrestrial paradise as did the Hyperboreans of Asia, and the priesthood of Delos; whence it is to be inferred from these as also from other circumstances, that their tenets and doctrines were exactly the same in all respects.

The history of the *Bamùn avatara* given by the Brahmens, is silent as to the question whether violence and persecution were exercised towards *Balì* and his votaries. It is certain, however, that force was used to subdue the worshippers of pillars, and to induce them to adopt the worship of idols and images. To escape the prevailing severity of the Brahmens, many of them left their native country; others took refuge in the mountains of the borders, where, under the name *Bhils* in the west, and *Puharrìs* in the east, they maintain an hereditary animosity and border warfare against the disciples of the *Sastra*. Bishop Heber observes, that both have all the characteristics of the Celtic race, and appear almost to be Welch.[s] Many interesting facts might be adduced concerning these tribes, but the recital would lead into a digression. The statements already given

[s] Heber, vol. i. chap. 9; vol. ii. chap. 24.

will suffice to prove, that, according to the authority of the *Sastra*, the worship of upright stones and pillars, as idols of the real presence of the Deity, was first established in India. Such was the worship of the Celts and Druids; but these, though entertaining together with the Brahmens the doctrine of a terrestrial paradise, of which the Garden of Eden was the prototype, never adopted the error of image-worship, but with a more steady adherence to early usages than some of the Celtic mystagogues of other nations, they limited their idolatry to religious reverence given to pillars, idols of the person of the Deity.

Notwithstanding that such was the primal and general import of the pillar, the idolaters of Hindosthan of the present times give to it a name indicative of a different reason for its sanctity; they, or rather, some of their sects, call the pillar a *linga*, in accordance with the Priapic worship of the antediluvian world. This error is adopted to such extent in Hindosthan, that not only the pillar, but even the barrow and every sacred high place is termed a *linga*.[t] As this doctrine may seem to impugn the general principle on which the true symbolism of the pillar depends, it imperatively demands at least a hasty notice.

It has been shewn, by evidences stated in preceding pages, that the confusion miraculously excited among the builders of the Tower of Babel, arose from disputes concerning the respective pre-eminence of the generative and productive, or, as they were figuratively designated, the male and female powers of Nature. This question of the pre-eminence does not appear to have occurred to the antediluvians; it was unaccountably and miraculously raised among the builders, and produced the intended effect. It rendered uncertain the first principles of idolatry; it produced doubtful disputations, followed by angry assertion, bitterness of spirit, outrage and war; it rendered intercourse

[t] Asiatic Researches, vol. v. No. 2.

impossible; some fled, the victors pursued and scattered their opponents over the face of the earth. Thus were the men of the three families of Shem, Ham, and Japhet induced to retire into those countries which had been by the patriarch assigned to each in the days of Peleg,[n] and which, notwithstanding almost countless migrations, they may be said to occupy to the present day.

The distinction of Nature into active and passive, or male and female powers, may be supposed to have been known to Adam, for it regulates the distinction of nouns into masculine and feminine, and suggests the opinion that there were gods and goddesses even before the deluge. This distinction of the sexes of deities, known only to idolaters, may be held to be as ancient as idol worship, from the known antiquity and universality of its use. Proper and just opinions on this subject are necessary to the due understanding an important event in sacred history, and also to the vindication of the true symbolism of sacred structures; and therefore the following facts are adduced in proof.

The animosity that existed between the worshippers of the igneous and aqueous principles has been already instanced in the Auritæ or Shepherd Kings, who invaded and subdued Egypt, in the ages immediately preceding the settlement of the Israelites in the land of Goshen. It appears that the Egyptians never ceased to entertain apprehensions of invasion from the Asiatics, and always maintained a strong military force on their north-eastern frontier. The deficiency of historic records and length of time have buried in oblivion the lesser inroads that were mutually made by the hostile sects upon each other; but the expedition of the Egyptian Sesostris against the Asiatic nations can best be ascribed to religious animosity. The invasion of the Babylonian kingdoms by Pharaoh Necho, and the vengeance

[n] Genesis x.

afterwards inflicted by Nebuchadnezzar on Egypt, can hardly be attributed to any other cause. The Babylonian, as in after times did the Persian, directed his fury, with all its force, against sacred fabrics; and among other acts of outrage, he violated the tomb of Psammis, scattered around the embalmed remains of that mighty monarch, and reduced every part of the cave sepulchre to the state in which, after an interval of more than two thousand years, it was discovered by the ingenious and indefatigable Belzoni. These facts clearly demonstrate the violence of the animosity which subsisted between the votaries of the male and female principles. The following transaction, recorded by the Greek lexicographer Suidas, will shew the long continuance, or rather the interminable character of this religious feud.

A party of Chaldeans visited Egypt, bearing about the sacred fire, the god they worshipped, proclaiming the pre-eminence of their god, and challenging any of the gods of the country to a trial of power.[x] The idols of Egypt, whether composed of metal or of stone, were destroyed by the force of the Chaldean element, and the challengers confirmed by these means the truth of their pretensions. At length, however, they met with defeat. A priest of the Egyptian city of Canopus, placing a head on a vessel used for filtration, made an idol of Serapis, and having smeared the inside with wax and filled it with water, defied the Chaldeans and their god, and challenged them to a contest. The fire applied to the vessel melting the wax, permitted the efflux of the contained water, which extinguished the fire-god of the Chaldeans, and completely effected their defeat.[y]

The lexicographer, who lived in the thirteenth century of the Christian era, recites the above as a tradition commonly received in his age, and consequently relating an event of occurrence in the later ages of idolatry. There can be little doubt of its truth, and it must have occurred at a time

[x] Suid. Lex. ad voc. Καινοτος. [y] Jablonski, Panth. Ægypt. lib. v. c. 4, s. 8.

when both Chaldea and Egypt were under the dominion of the same, and that a foreign, power; for while Egypt was an independent kingdom the Chaldeans would not have dared to enter the country, much less defy the gods. The transaction must have taken place during the reign of a Roman emperor, and probably in the first or second century of the Christian era. It proves the permanence of the dissension concerning the Powers: the following facts will prove the antiquity.

The god Priapus was held to be one of the oldest of the gods, by both Greeks and Romans; but yet he belonged to no established pantheon of any age, and was nothing more than an appendage, not necessarily attached, but yet not unknown to any. The like may be said of the Bona Dea, the female deified principle of the Romans. They were both ancient. India was long divided, in early ages, in regard to these principles. It had its *Chandravansas* and *Suryavansas*, or sons, that is, worshippers of the moon, or aqueous, and of the sun, or igneous principle. Under these the *bhaga* or *yoni* became one of the signs of the Indian zodiac, and the *linga* became the columnar support of *Vishnù* in the *courma avatara*. The female symbol became the Phœnician cone, in the temples not only of Syria, but even at Parnassus, the *mesomphalos* of Greece. The deification of either the male or of the female principle may be affirmed either from the abominations of Sodom, the *pitura* of the Syrian Venus, or the worship of Baal-Peor, as exhibited in the matter of Zimri and Cosbi recorded in the book of Numbers in our sacred history.[z] These idols and their worship constituted a portion of the abominations of the degenerate Israelites. It is recorded that Ahab made a *grove*,[a] (evidently an idol,

[z] Numbers xxv.

[a] 1 Kings xvi. 33.—That these *groves*, אשרות *ashurah*, were idols, is proved, Selden de Diis Syris, Syntag. 2, c. 1, p. 236. The Septuagint renders the word by *Astarte*; St. Jerome by terms signifying Baal-Peor:

for he could not make trees) and placed it in the temple or house of Baal. It appears, from the double sense assignable to the original word rendered grove in the authorized translation, that he united the worship of the male and female principles: as also did Maacha, the mother of Asa king of Israel; she made an idol in a grove, which her son Asa destroyed, and burnt it by the brook Kidron.[b] In times thus remote a combination was made of the two sexual principles, and an idol formed, such as those called the *linga*,[c] exhibited in all the Hindù temples. One of these idols is seen in the Museum of the East, at the India House in London. The idol forms a kind of cross, standing on a quadrangular platform. It is called the throne, and is seen without offence, except by persons who understand the figures of the Hindù pantheon.

According to the fables or figurative theology of Egypt, the limbs of Osiris, the male power, having been found by Typhon in the coffin or place of their interment, were scattered over all Egypt. Isis or the female power raised *taphi* or temples over every limb, wherever discovered, except over the *αιδοια*, *aidoia*, which were never found.[d] This fable accords with the doctrine of the sons of Ham, the advocates of the female or aqueous principle. It intimates, by the fabled absence of the parts never discovered, that the male deity Osiris was not a proper object of worship, except it were conceded as a special favour by Isis, the personification of the female aqueous principle. Such favour was conceded to the fullest extent to some of the Egyptian deities. These are exhibited holding the *crux*

whence it seems that the word, derived from a root signifying *effusion*, is applicable alike to both gods.

[b] 1 Kings xv. 13.

[c] The real exhibition is what the historian Gibbon describes, in one of his notes, *stylus in pyxide*.

[d] Plut. de Isid. et Osir. p. 257.

ansata, or key in form of a cross. This key is evidently the *linga*, and intimates, like the compound *linga*, that the double power of generation and production is vested in the divine personage entitled to bear this distinctive symbol.

The Theogony of Hesiod testifies of the contests between the advocates of the male and female principles.[e] Ouranus, the god of *aur* or fire, was hated by his consort Gaia or earth, for his cruelty to his own offspring. She urged them to avenge her wrongs. Saturn, being supplied by her with the means, emasculated the tyrant god, and asserted the pre-eminence of the female principle; which was worshipped in Greece till the sect of Jupiter changed the established religion, and gave an apparent superiority to their god and the male principle, leaving only an optional pre-eminence to the female principle, exhibited in the mysteries of the Ceres of Eleusis.

The pre-eminence of the female goddess *Ket* over the male deities of the Celtic pantheon is so well known, that the names of male deities, that of her son Beil or Apollo excepted, are rarely noticed or regarded. The contests by which she obtained the superiority over the males, were doubtless recorded in the thousands of verses or sentences which were learned with great labour by the Celtic neophytes, but which perished with them whose remembrances were the only registers of what may be called the Celtic code.

In the worship of priapic gods, licentiousness was a duty, notwithstanding the symbols were only intended to be significant of the power of the Deity exercised in the dispensation of animal life. The instance of Zimri and Cosbi has been given above; others have been also noticed, which shew the reason why, when the Apostles in the first Council held at Jerusalem exempted the Gentiles from the observance of the Law of Moses,[f] they required them to abstain from fornication; so called from the *fornices*, the secret or perhaps

[e] Hesiod. Theog. v. 154, &c. [f] Acts xv. 20.

subterranean recesses near the temples. Some of the Celtic rites in Britain were accompanied by practices of the strangest indecency;[g] and similar usages, attended by excesses in women and wine, prevail among some of the sects into which the disciples of the *Sastra* are divided.[h] It is true that the votaries of the most indecent rites do not readily acknowledge their worship to all, especially to Europeans; but with their own countrymen little secrecy can be necessary, when it is notorious that female prostitutes, called *Bayaderes*, or dancing girls, form a part of the establishment of every temple of eminence, and the wages of their licentiousness are regarded as an important article in the revenues of the place.

The author of the Celtic Researches, on the authority of a Gaulish poet, mentions an idol commonly denominated the Gallic, but more properly the Celtic *Tau*. He describes it in the following terms: "This *Tau* was the symbol of the Druidical Jupiter. It consisted of a huge giant oak, deprived of all its branches except only two large ones, which, though cut off and separated, were suspended from the top of its trunk like suspended arms."[i] This idol was in reality a cross, the same in form as the *linga*. It was on a very magnificent scale; a proof of the rudeness of the people, but also of their zeal and religious reverence of the Creator as the great source of animal life. Had the cross on which the Redeemer died any such symbolical import, is a question which may be asked, but which even conjecture may hesitate in giving an answer.

On an eminence not far distant from the high hill of Bardon, and nearly in the centre of Charnwood Forest in the county of Leicester, grows an aged oak, called the Copt Oak, which, from several extraordinary circumstances, may be believed to have been an object held sacred by the British Druids, and to have really been a Celtic idol called a *Tau*.

[g] Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxii. c. 1.

[h] Asiatic Researches, vol. vii. No. 8, p. 280. [i] Davies, Celt. Res. p. 143.

Such idols were formed, as above stated, by cutting away the branches of a gigantic oak, and affixing a beam, forming a cross with the bare trunk. The epithet copt, or copped, may be derived from the Celtic *cop*, a head, and evidently indicates that the tree had been *headed* and reduced to the state of a bare trunk. That it was gigantic when entire is evident from an actual measurement in its present state. The remains of the trunk, which is twenty feet high, the height proper for the *Tau*, shew that the circumference at the ground was, or rather is, (for by boring the earth an accurate measurement has been made,) twenty-four feet; at the height of ten feet the girt is twenty, giving a diameter of near seven feet, or more than two yards.

If the tree ever formed a Celtic *Tau*, it must be more than two thousand years old. The present state suggests the idea that this is very possible. This vast tree is now reduced to a mere shell, between two and three inches only in thickness, being about two-thirds of the original circumference, perforated by several openings, and alive only in about one-fourth of the shell; bearing small branches, but such as could not have grown when the tree was entire: then it must have had branches of a size not less than an oak of ordinary dimensions. This is evident from one of the openings in the upper part of the shell of the trunk, exactly such as a decayed branch would produce. These remains stand just without the bounding wall of the area or consecrated yard of the chapel newly built, and called the Copt Oak Chapel. There is no surrounding wall or fence, nor are there any appearances of such inclosure. It is very probable that when first consecrated it was surrounded by an open glade in a grove, which constituted a Celtic temple; such grove has, however, been felled, yet the Copt Oak has been spared, but it stands in the vicinity of a wood, once part of the supposed grove, and not one hundred yards distant.

The ancient and long continued celebrity of the Copt

Oak accords with the opinion of its former sacredness. It was, before the inclosure, as writes the animated and accurate Potter, the historian of the Forest of Charnwood, one of the three places at which *Swanimotes* were held, always in the open air, for the regulation of rights and claims on the Forest; and persons have been known even in late times to have attended such *motes*. The active-minded historian above named observes, "At this spot, it may be under this tree, Edric the Forester is said to have harangued his forces against the Norman invasion; and here too, in the Parliamentary troubles of 1642, the Earl of Stamford assembled the trained bands of the district." These facts mark the Copt Oak extraordinary, and shew, that notwithstanding the lapse of two thousand years, the trunk was at that distant period a sacred structure, a Celtic idol; and that it is illustrative of antiquarian records. At all events the Copt Oak is a venerable vegetable ruin, such as may not be equalled by any other, in any county of this kingdom.

These statements concerning the sexual character assigned to pillars, invite the following remarks. First, that the priapic import given to the symbolical pillar was an idolatrous invention, destitute of any sound principle, and always abhorred by the orthodox worshippers of the Deity, the true sons of God. Secondly, that when received as a sacred symbol, the advocates for the use differed widely as to its proper import, whereby the symbol never acquired the solidity of truth. Thirdly, the use of the symbol even when adopted, was only partial, and did not by any means supersede the more ancient and general reference to the primal high place and the mundane system. It can hardly be said to have been generally adopted, for a priapic pantheon was never formed. The priapic use of the symbol was an excrescence of idolatry. These reasons clearly prove that the sexual import given by idolaters to the pillar, is an anomaly altogether arbitrary, and does not in the slightest degree weaken,

much less overthrow the general principles on which the true import of columnar symbolism depends.

These questions having been discussed with as much brevity as seemed possible, the attention now reverts to the history of the true symbolical import of sacred upright stones and pillars.

Aversion to the use of upright stones and pillars as idols significant of the actual presence of the Deity, was not found in India alone, neither was it very readily adopted in any country; its introduction was certainly resisted by the Phœnicians. The theology of that people, recorded by Sanchoniatho, of the age of the Assyrian Semiramis, and early in the fifteenth century anterior to the christian era, begins with the history of the creation of the earth; which, though so figurative as to appear strange, yet is such as an experienced geologist might reconcile with the Mosaic history of that great event. In an age long anterior to the birth of the Grecian Saturn, that is, before the establishment of his worship, there lived in Tyre a personage (whether figurative or real is of little importance) named Usoüs, who taught the art of navigation to that afterwards commercial people. This Usoüs set up and dedicated two pillars to the elements of air and fire, and worshipped them by offering the blood of the animals which he took in hunting. After the death of this Usoüs and his brethren, between whom and him strife had prevailed during the whole of their lives, the succeeding generation consecrated upright poles and pillars in honour of the elements above mentioned, and observed certain days as festivals every year, in reverence of their power.[k]

The following inferences may be drawn from this record. The worship of pillars was not introduced into Tyre without much opposition even by brothers, figuratively signifying persons previously entertaining the same religious opinions

[k] Euseb. Ev. Præp. lib. ii. c. 10.

and observing the same rites. The proposal of the worship of the pillars as symbols of the elementary powers was likely to be popular with a maritime people, whose pursuits were always dependent more or less on the elements; but still it was not readily admitted. At length, however, the advocates of novelty prevailed. Pillars were venerated with religious rites, and were set up, like the pillars of Hercules at Gades, and many others, on heights and promontories near which the Tyrian mariners passed. These pillars were honoured by them either with religious rites performed by landing at the place, or by acts of reverence performed on the waters as they were passed.

A maritime people, when they undertake long voyages, always find it necessary to make settlements at places where they may obtain refreshment and supplies for voyages of farther enterprize. The Phœnicians were obliged to adopt such measures, and to plant colonies in many places. The same reasons that induced them to erect sacred pillars on eminences as sea-marks, induced them to do the same at their new settlements; the pillar was convenient to mark the approaches, it was indispensably necessary as an idol of the patron god of the place. The name given to these pillars expressed the divine character of the idol. *Col*, *On*, were radicals signifying *high God*.[1] The word *aia* signifies *the land*, or *country*, in different ancient languages. These three words compounded form *colonia*, signifying *the country* of the god to whom the pillar set up might be dedicated. The application of the word *colony* to such settlements, shews that provision for the exercise of religious worship was always a primary consideration with the heathen Phœnicians. Is the same attention given to the same purpose by christian settlers in new countries?

[1] Bryant, vol. i.—In the Welch language, *col* is *peak*, *awn*, *sting*, that is, like pole or obelisk; *on* is that which is continually existent, that is, the God.

The pantheons of idolatry have ever been formed by the subdivision or personified distinction of the powers or attributes of the one God supreme. This is clearly shewn by the Theogony of Hesiod. Hence it is to be inferred that the worship of the one undivided Deity was of earlier use than the worship of his divided powers. By this rule the institution of the worship of the elements in idol pillars must have been of later date than the *Nara-Singa avatara*, in which the pillar was an idol of the undivided God. This favours the claim to a very remote antiquity made by the Hindù fables, and renders it probable that the date of the *Nara-Singa avatara* was at least as remote as the institution of the Mosaic Law, in which idols of this form are noticed.

It is stated in the twenty-third Iliad, that a stone Belus stood in the plain of Troy, in the immediate vicinity of the Grecian camp.[m] This was an idol of the Celtic *Beil*, or *Balì* of the Hindù *avatara*. It was what is termed by modern antiquaries a Druidic stone, and it shows that Celticism had long been established in the Troad, and that this stone Belus must have been an idol of times long anterior to the war of Troy, that is, the thirteenth century before the Christian era.

According to the fabulous history of the gods of the Grecian pantheon, it was agreed by Saturn and the Titans, that no child born to him should be permitted to live.[n] This contract must be understood to signify, that no addition should be made to the gods at that time personified and worshipped. In compliance with this contract Saturn is said to have devoured his children as soon as born. To save them from such fate, Rhea their mother hid Neptune in the ocean, and Pluto in Hades; by which the fable intends that the worship paid to those sons should be concealed, or at least not interfere with that aforetime paid to the Titans, the terrestrial gods. On the birth of Jupiter, the mother saved

[m] Iliad. Ψ. v. 202. [n] Hygin. Fab. cxxxix.

him from being devoured by giving the father Saturn a stone wrapped in swaddling clothes, which, as the fable states, was devoured and destroyed according to engagement. The history, understood literally, is so strange as hardly to be worthy the attention of a schoolboy; but classical authorities explain the purport of the fable, and render it illustrative of the present question, the antiquity and use of sacred stones.

The lexicographer Hesychius affirms, that the stone swallowed by Saturn was a betylium,[o] that is, a *beth-el*, or house of God; or, in plain terms, a stone informed by the Spirit of God, and consequently an idol, the object of religious worship. The antiquary Pausanias, whose enquiries nothing escapes, states that the stone received by Saturn from Rhea was set up by him on an eminence near Chæronea in Bœotia, called *Petrarchos*, a name which signifies a stone of great honour, a *cromlech*.[p] This stone was therefore an idol; but being, like many others of the same kind, an object of worship then in common use, it was not a new god, and not a violation of the engagement of the father Saturn. The antiquary writes, that an image of Jupiter is set up on the eminence rising above Petrarchos, which intimates that this very stone became the means of the ultimate prevalence of the worship of Jupiter. It were foreign to the present question to enquire how that may have been acquired, but this disposal of the stone shows that the use of upright stones, as idol representatives of the deity, prevailed generally in Greece during the time of the worship of Saturn, and long before Jupiter was regarded as the chief and father of the gods.

Passing from Greece to ancient Italy, the same columnar structures are found, and of the same character. The poet Ovid notices them in words of the following purport:

[o] Hesych. in voc. [p] Pausan. lib. xi. c. 41, s. 3.

Whether a stake or stone, in lonely field,
From old times, Terminus, thou hast thy name.[q]

Other objects of the same character were held to be sacred. Most of them are enumerated in the following passage of Apuleius. "An altar adorned with garlands of flowers, a cave bedecked with flowers, an oak[r] bearing horns, a beech crowned with skins, a little hill or barrow consecrated by an inclosing fence, the trunk of a tree moistened by a libation, a stone anointed with ointment."[s] It were easy to shew that all these objects derive the sanctity of their character from the claim they may have to a symbolical representation of the Deity, founded on a resemblance, more or less exact, of the form or character of the pillar. Even milestones partook of the same sanctity. In India, stones marking distances on the road are called *minar* or pillars, and are sacred to the god *Hanuman*, the patron protector of travellers. A Roman milestone found some years since near Leicester, was dedicated to the Emperor Hadrian, denominated in the inscription *divus* or *divine*. The sanctity of these objects may be inferred from the rites performed at their consecration, and the worship occasionally paid to or at them. Their consecration is thus described:

"When they set up Termini, they placed the stones on the bare ground near the spot where they intended to fix them, and anointed them with ointment, and decorated them with veils and crowns. After sacrificing a victim without blemish, and holding burning torches in their hands, they covered their heads, and dropped blood by drops into the trench, and threw in corn and frankincense. They farther added honeycombs, and wine, and such other things as custom had made sacred to the Termini. The remnants of the feast being all

[q] Ovid. Fast. lib. ii. v. 641. Terminus may be a Latin form given to the Celtic words *tor maen*, the rising or tower stone.

[r] Query, Is not such a structure the *Celtic Tau?*

[s] Apul. Florid. lib. i.

consumed by fire, they placed the stones upon the hot embers, and fixed them firmly with the utmost care."[t]

Rites similar to these of dedication were occasionally repeated at these columnar idols, which rendered them objects of indignation to Christians, and occasioned their overthrow, agreeably to ecclesiastical edicts, as is noticed in a former chapter. Lines of Prudentius of the following purport afford sufficient proof of this practice. Exulting on the progress of the religion of the Gospel, and the decay of heathenism and idolatry, he writes:

> It irks us not to labour on the spot
> Where once the stone had stood in olden time,
> Which error foul was wont with bands to swathe,
> Or with the lungs of hen propitiate.
> The Terminus now stands a broken mass,
> Nor howlings o'er the entrails longer hears.[u]

This authority favours the opinion, that the rude stones which are now found in the Celtic circles were not originally so misshapen as they now are, but that they were once as perfect as the uprights and imposts are at present in Stonehenge, and that their present rude form has been given them by violence intended to desecrate them by breaking and disfiguring their original and perfect forms.

The Christian Father and Advocate Lactantius affirms, in his treatise on *the false religion of idolaters*, that when Tarquin the last king of Rome built the temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline hill, he enquired by augury whether the several gods having shrines or small temples on that eminence were consenting to the removal which was necessary to obtain a proper site for the magnificent structure he intended to erect. All the gods consented, except Terminus, represented by a stone. This having stood uncovered open to the heaven, it was thought necessary to build the temple of Jupiter in such

[t] Jac. Ouzel. Animad. ad Minuc. Felicem, p. 13.
[u] Aurel. Prudent. lib. ii. contra Symmachum.

a manner as to leave an opening in the roof, that, as the Father tauntingly observes, the divine stone might enjoy the benefit of the fresh air as usual.[x] This pertinacious obstinacy of the god proves that he was of a pantheon or system of divinities in which the great Jupiter had no place or authority. This justified the resistance, and proves the god was regarded as being an ancient god in the third century after the foundation of Rome, and that the stone having been a personification of the God supreme, could not be reasonably required to yield to Jupiter himself in dignity and power.

The Maypole was a sacred pillar, an object of much interest, especially in country villages, till late in the eighteenth century. It was set up with festive usages, described in the work on the Popular Antiquities of the British Isles. These poles receive their name from the goddess Maia, the mother of Mercury, and a personification of the female or productive power of Nature. It is with great reason affirmed, by the author of the Treatise on the Celtic Druids, that at the time when the name was given to the month of May, the vernal equinox fell on the first day of that month, and that the festivities then practised were expressive of joy on the return of the productive season of the year.[y] If these observances began at that time, the author shews, from the precession of the equinoctial points at the rate of a degree in seventy-two years, that the festivities of May must have been first instituted four thousand years ago, and that if their observance were duly regulated by the equinoxes, they ought now to be kept on the twentieth day of March, when the sun now enters the sign Aries, instead of being kept on the first day of May. This event, according to authorities cited, must have taken place in an age not long posterior to the creation, and consequently that these festivities must have been practised even in the days of Adam.

[x] Lactant. lib. i. c. 20.

[y] Brand, Popul. Cust. vol. i. 193.—Higgins on Druidism, chap. ix. sect. 1.

The antiquity of any usage may be inferred from the extent of its observance. The pranks practised in India on the days of the *huli* win the attention of the European residents; and with ourselves the original rites of May have been transferred to the first of April, and ought not to be still farther advanced to the twentieth day of March.

The historian Justin, speaking of the age of Romulus, the founder of Rome, observes, that in all those times kings held a spear in their hands, which the Greeks called *σκηπτρον*, *sceptrum*, a sceptre, instead of wearing a crown, for that in early times the ancients worshipped spears as gods; in memory of which images of the gods are even now, says he, added to spears.[z] Such, it is well known, were the standards of the Roman legions. The same use of the spear was common in the earliest ages of Grecian history. Pausanias writes: "The people of Chæronea worship a sceptre, which, Homer says, Vulcan made for Jupiter. It was given," says the antiquary, "by Mercury to Pelops, and transmitted by descent to Agamemnon."[a] This sceptre is also termed a lance: the Greek name implies a staff. Such, it seems, was the origin of the use of the sceptre by kings. It is the symbol of divine power: but the import is derived from the sacred pillar, which a spear set up in a camp most aptly represented. The sword worshipped by the Scythians was of the same import, derived from the same symbol: thus universal was the figurative import of the pillar of the world.

Of the many upright stones or pillars extant in our Isles, that standing in the churchyard at Rudston in the East Riding of Yorkshire is one of the most remarkable, and invites notice.[b] It gives the name to the village in which it stands; a proof of Druidical antiquity. It does not appear to be red, as the word *rud* implies, but it may have gained the name from having been so coloured, according to ancient

[z] Justin. Hist. lib. xliii. c. 3. [a] Pausan. lib. ix. c. 40, s. 6.
[b] Higgins, p. 74.

usage, signifying the great energy and vigour of the god of the idol. The stone is twenty-four feet high above ground, and of equal depth below. Had it been double the present height above ground, it would have represented the three regions of space, *earth*, *sky*, *heaven*, of the *Sastra*,[c] and *hades*, *earth*, and *heaven*, of the Hindù and Grecian mythologies. The rugged state of the top of the stone shows dilapidation, and suggests the idea, that when perfect it had that height, and was a pillar, a symbol of the world, and consequently an idol of God. Several of these pillars, exhibited by the antiquary from whose reports these accounts are taken, have evidently been greatly mutilated; but some standing in the churchyard of Penrith in Cumberland, though somewhat broken, are sufficiently perfect to show that, when set up, they had been well wrought, and that their tops bore forms, indicative, like the pillars of the temple of Solomon and others already noticed, of the divine power, and, according to the theory of idolatry, of the presence of the god. Near the tops of these pillars are crosses, formed in relief on the stone, in such

[c] In the rites and ceremonies of the Hindùs, frequent mention is made of these three regions of space, and of the three steps taken by *Vishnù* into those three regions. By these steps it is intimated that the power of the god was coextensive with those three regions, or, in plain terms, that he was omnipotent. This theory will explain the import of that extraordinary symbol, the three legs, or feet, which are used as the arms of the Isle of Mann. According to Tacitus, (De Morib. German. sect. 2) Mannus was a god, the son of Tuisto, and the founder of the German race or nation. The Isle of Mann was sacred to that god, as the name implies. His votaries claimed for their god universal dominion, like *Vishnù*, and they used the symbolical feet indicative of the three steps, and of unbounded power. The name of the German god ought to determine the orthography of the island—Mann. It appears from Carte's History of England, that Inis Prydain was the first name of Britain, and that the name is not properly compounded of *brit*, *painted*. Prydain was a personage or god of the Britons, the son of *Hu-Gadarn*, and of the same rank as Mannus. Hence the name given by the natives to their country was Inis Prydain, the Isle of Prydain. See Davies' Celtic Researches. With other nations it was Prydain *aia*, or Prydain's Land.

manner, as to prove most decidedly that they were wrought by the idolaters that first set them up, and not added by christian hands, as has sometimes been imagined.

The county of Cornwall affords more remains of Celtic superstition than any other district of our island. Among these, the upright stones called *tolmen*, though differing in form from the pillar, belong most assuredly to the same class of religious structures. The name is a compound of the Celtic words *tol*, signifying a hole or opening, and *maen*, a stone. The Cornish antiquary[d] notices several of these; some standing alone, of large dimensions, nearly spherical, supported on the points of rocks, between which and under the mass they support there is an easy passage, which gains the name of *tolmen* to the vast and wonderful structure. Some of these stones are accompanied by and apparently connected with other stones, in such manner as to form a systematic structure, available to the performance of sacred rites. One of the *tolmens* is a stone thin and flat, and four feet high, fixed firmly in the ground. In the middle is a hole fourteen inches in diameter. Other stones, at short distances from each other, are placed in forms which do not admit the idea that they ever were intended to be temples. In one instance, the stones appear to have been placed in the form of a cross; in others they have formed rings or circles. The greater part are so dilapidated that the *tol* is not remaining; but it is highly probable that they were, when perfect, proper *tolmens*. Some reasonable conjectures may be formed of the uses of these stones, from the following facts.

The permanence of popular superstitions is wonderful. Some still extant in Cornwall show that the *tolmens* are, even in these times, supposed to possess supernatural powers. They are oracular; for pins are often, says the antiquary, laid upon them, and responses learned by changes in the

[d] Borlase's History of Cornwall, book iii. c. 3.

position of the pins, on a visit made after some interval of time. They are believed to possess miraculous powers in healing diseases. People creep through the *tol*, or hole, to be cured of pains in the limbs. At certain seasons of the year, some parents draw their children through the hole for the cure of rickets and other infirmities. It seems that, in the Shetland Isles, the people pour libations of milk and other liquids through these holes, in honour of a spirit called Browny. It is recorded that victims about to be offered in sacrifice were passed through the openings of these stones, which not only cleansed them from all impurities and cured all defects whatever, but secured to the wretched human victim the most boundless favour of the gods in heaven. These premises clearly prove that the *tolmens* were supposed to be informed by a divine spirit, and were, like pillars, idols or rather actual personifications of God.

The Celtic religion having been during some ages established in Hindosthan, it will not be any cause of surprize if the superstitions of that distant country should be found to be illustrative of the Celtic rites of ancient Britain; as is the following instance.

Two Brahmens, sent by the Mahratta chief *Ragoba* on a political mission to England during the reign of George the Third, crossed on their return the river Indus at Attock, the usual place of transit. The Hindù, but particularly the Brahmen, is forbidden by the *Sastra* to quit his country, which they term *Anaverta*, the land of respectable men. The ambassadors having crossed at Attock, the *ataca*, that is, the forbidden point, their transgression was notorious; and they were sentenced to the loss of caste, which is a punishment equivalent to a rigid excommunication. The culprits being men in every way respectable, a strong desire was entertained that they should be spared the grievous punishment, which, in the furtherance of a laudable purpose, they had unhappily incurred. Many assemblies of Brahmens were held, and

much deliberation had, on the matter. At length it was decided, that if, being included in an image of pure gold of either a woman or a cow, they should issue from it by the natural passage of parturience, they might then be regarded as new-born persons, to whom the offences of a former state could not attach. But a difficulty occurred: the quantity of gold necessary for the process as above described, was not had. It was, however, overcome by forming a figure of the sacred *yoni*, through which the men were drawn, and thus rendered *new men*, altogether pure and innocent. Can there be a just reason for surprize at the question asked by the Jewish Rabbi Nicodemus, "Can a man enter a second time into his mother's womb, and be born?"[e]

The Celtic *tolmens* were most assuredly destined to the same offices. The new birth encouraged the belief that the ills of the former man might be miraculously done away by the new birth, and that even the reverential mention of the *tolmen* might be salutary in cases of ordinary birth and delivery. These evidences prove that the *tolmens* were sacred idols, exhibiting the presence of *Ket*, the female ruling goddess of the Celts. The perforations of some *tolmens*, especially those which appear to belong to a systematic arrangement with other similar stones, are small, so as to be utterly incapable of the transit of any living creature. The uses of these may be shown by a reference to ancient Indian usages described in the *Ramayana*, a poem of great celebrity in the *Sanscrit* classics.

The poet *Valmici* gives a description of an *aswameda*, or sacrifice of the horse; a rite which, from the conditions prescribed for the performance, could have been offered only by a monarch of absolute power, of almost universal dominion, and unbounded riches. The account of the preparatory proceedings may be omitted, being altogether irrelevant to the present question. On the day of sacrifice, twenty-one

[e] John iii. 4.

yupa, or pillars of the most valuable kinds of timber, all covered with gold and decorated with cloth and flowers, were fixed, as the poet states, firmly in the ground, and the horse, together with three hundred animals of various kinds, were fastened to them. After the performance of many rites, which, with the Hindûs, as with other idolaters, constitutes almost the whole of their piety, the horse was loosed from his *yupa*, and was slaughtered by the king with his sacred scymitar. This done, the rest of the animals were slaughtered by the officiating priests, who dressed them agreeably to prescribed rules. The king having confessed transgressions, the parts of the horse were consumed in the fire, and the flesh of the other animals was eaten by the attending multitude.[f]

This Indian sacrifice may be taken as an instance of Celtic sacrifices, even those given on the smallest scale and lowest cost. The *tolmens* with small openings were the *yupas* to which the victims were tied previously to their slaughter in sacrifice.[g] It cannot be doubted but that human victims were often bound to these *tolmens* before they received the fatal stroke, and were burned in the wicker images which British history records. Each of the *tolmens* was a pillar, representing, it may be supposed, some one of the many gods of the Celtic pantheon, and that a sacrifice was offered to that god, to whose pillar the victim was bound. The imagination may readily picture the murderous cannibal scenes that were often acted at these *tolmens*. How great the blessing to be born in an age when rites such as these have been suppressed, and when the religion of the Gospel enjoins the duty of affectionate benevolence as the true worship of the Creator, instead of rites of blood and horror!

The obelisk is a species of column which, occurring in considerable numbers in ancient Egypt, has been erroneously supposed to have been first constructed there, and to have

[f] Ramayana, book i. s. 12, p. 115.

[g] Borlase, book iii. c. 3.

belonged exclusively to that country. Its form is always quadrangular, but yet the area of the base is never, it seems, an exact square. The diameter bears but a small proportion to the height of the shaft. The transverse sections at different heights diminish slowly, and consequently the form is taper. The proper obelisk never terminates in an acute point, but in what may be called a terminating obelisk, forming a cap, whose height is small in proportion to the diameter of its base, and it is therefore comparatively flat. The shafts of these columns consist of one stone variously oramented, in Egypt with hieroglyphics. Many of these structures are now standing in Rome, brought by the Roman emperors with great cost and labour. They were all wantonly thrown down during the troubles which prevailed at the fall of the empire, but have been since restored. Their heights vary from one hundred and forty to about thirty-five feet. The only one now extant in Egypt is situate near Memphis. It is about sixty feet high; and the traveller Clarke, judging from the rudeness of the sculpture, is of opinion that it was the first set up in the country.[h]

The architecture of the Egyptians being of a character altogether low and massive in proportion to the height, and pillars being only used in the structure of their colonnades, the obelisk may be regarded as altogether anomalous to the taste, or rather the religious theories of the nation. The history of the introduction of the obelisk, given by Herodotus, confirms the truth of this observation.

A king named Pheron, the immediate successor of the great Sesostris, having committed an act of impious outrage towards the divine river Nile, was deprived of his sight by the offended god. After the lapse of eleven years he was told by an oracle, that having been then sufficiently punished, his sight should be restored by the use of a lotion particularly described. Grateful for his recovery, he deposited offerings,

[h] Clarke, vol. v. chap. 4.

all of great worth, in all the temples; but to the temple of the sun he gave two structures most worthy of inspection—two obelisks, each formed of a single stone, one hundred feet long and eight broad.[i]

The doctrines of the two great sects into which the heathen were divided, being duly considered, the reason why King Pheron should make the obelisk an offering to the sun, will be sufficiently evident. He had suffered for an insult offered to the aqueous principle; the vengeance of that power had been restrained; and his gratitude was very naturally turned toward the opponent principle, that of the sun and the element of fire. The influence of this example produced a kind of schism in the ancient religion of the Egyptians, for many obelisks were afterwards set up in the country. Ptolemy Philadelphus erected one of eighty cubits in gratitude for the affectionate kindness which he had received from his Queen, his sister Arsinoë.[k]

The express words of Herodotus make it most certain that the obelisks were all dedicated to the sun, the symbol of the igneous principle, whose votaries all adopted the symbolical use of pillars. When, therefore, the Persian Cambyses subdued Egypt, and persecuted the Egyptian gods or worship with a violence equal at least to that exercised by the *Auritæ* of former centuries, after utterly destroying the celebrated and holy city of Thebes, he spared the mighty obelisk there found, partly because in principle it accorded with the Persian worship of the male symbol, fire, and partly because it impugned the worship of the female principle, which the disciples of Zoroaster held in abhorrence.

The Roman naturalist, and almost all writers that have noticed the subject, maintain the opinion that the obelisk is held sacred to the sun because the tapering form resembles the divergency of the solar rays. This might be a reason for devoting all the columns of all the orders of architecture

[i] Herodotus, lib. ii. c. 111. [k] Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxxvi. c. 9.

to the sun likewise, for they all have a certain degree of divergency; the upper transverse sections in all pillars diminish. Were the obelisk intended to represent the divergency of the solar rays, it would have been extended to a point, and not have terminated in a cone, quadrangular and almost flat. The obelisk owes its sacred character to the same causes as all other pillars, to the symbolism of the Divine power by which the world is sustained; the intended import being held up to demonstration by the quadrangular flattish cone which always crowns like a chapiter the tall and tapering structure.

Pheron, the son of Sesostris the great Egyptian conqueror, reared the first obelisk, according to the evidence above cited. The age of Sesostris is not by any means determined. It has been thought to have preceded the exode of the Israelites from Egypt.[1] It may be conjectured to have been in those years which followed the arrangement of the affairs of that nation made by the patriarch Joseph, which consolidated the power of the empire, and enabled Sesostris to undertake those expeditions both by sea and land, which may be believed to have been in retaliation of the invasions of Egypt by the shepherd kings. The history of the world is too well known to admit the supposition that the conquests of Sesostris were made after the exode and the settlement of the Israelites in the land of Canaan. This admitted, (and if rejected, nothing but utter uncertainty remains) it follows that the first obelisk was set up by king Pheron, the son of Sesostris, before the exode, perhaps during the bondage of the sons of Israel. Pliny states, that the first obelisk was erected by *Mitras;* mistaking the name of *Mithra,* the sun, the god to whom it was dedicated, for the person Pheron, by whom it was constructed.[m] The mythologist Bryant cites several authorities, shewing that the obelisk was anti-Egyptian as to

[1] Rollin, Anc. Hist. vol. i. book 1, part 3.
[m] Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxxvi. c. 8.

principle, and in reality of Chaldaic origin.[n] This historical question has invited a short notice, because the first use of obelisks in Egypt is connected with the theory of the pyramids given as above; a subject of no little importance in the history of sacred structures.

The obelisk being of a form anomalous to the general character of Egyptian architecture, cannot be supposed to have been of Egyptian invention, but to have been introduced from foreign countries. The expeditions of Sesostris into the Ethiopian countries south of Egypt must have offered many such objects to the wonder of the invading armies. In the age of that conqueror they were in all probability numerous. Many are still extant in these countries, notwithstanding the lapse of time, and the neglect ensuing from the nominal rather than real establishment of Christianity. The traveller Bruce makes mention of many obelisks seen by him, some standing, but the greater number thrown down. At Axum in Abyssinia the traveller Salt found one standing and entire. It is about eighty feet high, formed out of a single block of granite, and of excellent proportion. The summit is crowned with an oblong cap, supported by a narrowed neck. Its sides, covered with ornamental sculpture, are divided into nine parts by nine girdles, which may be supposed to represent symbolically the nine spheres, or spaces, into which, according to some theories, the universe is divided.[o] Not far from this obelisk is an Abyssinian church. Whether any relation may have been intended between the obelisk and the church, or some temple superseded by the church, is uncertain.

The word obelisk signifies a *spit;* and, according to Herodotus, the name was given to the column because of the resemblance it had to that culinary instrument. A reference to such an ordinary object cannot be supposed to have been applied to a sacred structure, nor was it, for Pliny expressly

[n] Bryant, Myth. vol. iv. p. 311. [o] Valentia's Travels, vol. iii. chap. 3.

declares that the word obelisk signifies a dedication to the sun.[p] How the name might bear this signification, the naturalist does not show. The Analyst of Ancient Mythology may by an use of his radicals supply the defect.

He affirms that the word *obelisk* is compounded of the radical monosyllables *oph*, alias *ob*, a serpent, and *el*, a designation of the Deity, and that the word indicated that the structure was dedicated to the *serpent divine*, which, he says, was the sun.[q] The grammarian Horapollo will guide to a better conclusion. When the Egyptians intend to signify the world, they draw the figure of a serpent taking into his mouth his own tail. Thus it appears that the serpent, *ob*, is the world, and consequently *ob-el* means the *world divine*, the *world god*.[r] Hence it appears that the import of the word obelisk is *the world sustained by the Deity*. When two obelisks are placed on the two sides of the doors or entrances of temples, they are the same symbols as the Icin and Boaz of the temple of Solomon; when singly standing alone, the obelisk has the same general import, it signifies the power of the god to whom it is dedicated.

It has been shewn in the introductory chapter, that the Deity was supposed by the early patriarchs, figuratively at least, to dwell on high hills: by the idolaters, especially in later times, every high hill was believed to be the abode of gods. The Ascrean poet affirms that high mountains were created by *Gaia*, or earth, for the very purpose that they might be *the loved abode of gods*.[s] Virgil describes the belief of early ages concerning the Capitoline hill, which, though at the time of which he wrote, a wooded waste, had become in the time when he wrote the splendid scene of Roman magnificence. As the description given to Æneas by the Arcadian Evander is illustrative of the present subject, it is here subjoined.

[p] 'Ita significatur nomine Ægyptio.' Hist. Nat. lib. xxxvi. c. 8.
[q] Bryant, Radicals, vol. i. [r] Horapoll. Hiero. lib. i. c. 1.
[s] Hesiod. Theog. v. 129.

He brings the hero to Tarpeia's point,
Where all the Capitol, now bright with gold,
Was horrid from old times with thicket growth:
For then the holy terrors of the place
Impressed with awe the simple pavid hinds;
They trembled at the scene, the wood, the rock.
This grove, said he, this hill with leafy head
A god inhabits; but what god we say not.
Our Arcades believe that they have seen
The very Jove, as held in hand he shook
His blackening ægis, and called up the clouds.[t]

This belief of the locality of the abode of gods influenced the actions of mankind during all the patriarchal ages, even to the time of the promulgation of the gospel. The orthodox descendants of Abraham regarded eminences as the objects towards which they ought to turn in prayer; the idolaters, although dissenting from the true faith, not only turned towards high places in prayer, but fixed their idols on their summits, and regarded them as gods in reality, and in person present. As so present they gave them worship, expressed in words and actions, exactly the same as might have been proper had the material idol been able to hear, see, and understand. These practices were the worship rendered by idolatry; by orthodox servants of the Deity they were always avoided.

The upright stone and pillar, being regarded as an idol of the divine presence, was very commonly set up atop of the high place or barrow. The following instance of such use of the pillar is given in the Argonautics of the Rhodian Apollonius, a work which may be called a geographical romance, but which recites events and customs well-known in the age of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and therefore the following statement may be admitted to be of indisputable authority as to ancient practice.

Jason and his Argonauts having arrived at the Mysian

[t] Æneis, viii. 347.

colonæ, or columns set up at the entrance of the Bosphorus, performed solemn rites, described by the poet in verse of the following purport:

> A sturdy vine-stem grew within the wood,
> Knobbed with age. This first they felled, to form
> A sacred image of the mountain goddess.
> This, trimmed by Argus, piously they reared
> High on the rugged summit of the mole,
> Beneath the sheltering shade of beeches tall
> Which stood within the wood rooted most firm.
> In front they heaped an altar of small shale,
> And crowning this around with oaken sprays,
> They duly 'gan the rites of sacrifice,
> Dindymia, mother dread, of Phrygian birth,
> Invoking.[u]

The leader Jason, having poured libations on the burning sacrifice and addressed many prayers to the goddess, gave orders for the performance of the *betarmus* or military dance, and the rites ended.

Dindymia, or Cybele, as the goddess was also named, was a personification of the female power adopted in the earliest ages of idolatry; and the structure above described being dedicated to her, intimates, that as it was most rude and simple, so it must be regarded as a proof that the use of the pillar set upon the *taph*, or barrow, was of the earliest ages also. The practice was continued through many generations, till at last it expired on the suppression of Druidism in Britain; that it long prevailed in Greece the fables recited by ancient writers clearly shew.

Niobe is a personage of much celebrity in the fables of profane antiquity. She was the daughter of Tantalus, and sister of Pelops, and therefore of an age in which the principal cities or states of Greece were founded. According to fabulous, that is, figurative history, she vied with Latona, and her numerous sons and daughters were slain by the

[u] Apollon. Arg. lib. i. v. 1116.

arrows of Apollo the son and Diana the daughter of the offended goddess. The fable is a figurative history of the contest of idolatrous sects, and the violence of the victors. The mother, overcome by grief, became, according to the Roman poet of the Metamorphoses, a stone, which was placed on the top of a mountain, where occasionally it shed tears.[x]

The Greek authorities will explain this fable. Electra, in the tragedy of Sophocles distinguished by her name, speaks in one of the choruses as follows:

> Niobe, thee I honour as a goddess,
> That in thy stony taphos
> Ah! ah! still weepest.[y]

Pausanias mentions this taphos of Niobe in the following terms. "I saw this Niobe as I passed over Mount Sipylus. The rock when viewed from a near distance is very steep, but does not exhibit to the spectator the form of a woman either weeping or otherwise; but when at a distance, you may imagine you see a woman dejected and weeping."[z] According to the statement of the Greek tragedian, the antiquary had no reason to expect to see a rock in the form of a woman, for that her *taph* or rock alone was extant. This was none other than a columnar rock in which her spirit was supposed to abide. The hill or mount was the barrow, the symbol of the earth; the steep rock, the pillar, was the idol of the deified personage. The tears occasionally shed by her *taph* were probably those drops of dew or rain which, being collected in the shallow cisterns called rock basins cut in the surface of our Druidic monuments, were collected by the attendant ministers and reserved for special purposes. It is more than probable that the Niobe of Greece was the *Ket* of Britain.

It has been already stated that Saturn was worshipped in

[x] Ovid. Metam. lib. vi. c. 4. [y] Sophocl. Elect. v. 151.
[z] Pausan. lib. i. c. 21, s. 5.

the form of a stone, and that Jupiter himself received divine honours in an idol of the same form also, before he was exhibited by an image. He may be truly said to have actually deposed his father, for he received the worship of his votaries, addressed to the same stone which had been the idol of Saturn. According to Pindar this transfer of religious reverence was established by Hercules. The oracular and helibatal stone, for such was the character of the stone inspired by the spirit of Saturn, became the most high and oracular stone or high place of Jupiter.[a]

The form of these sacred stones or pillars was very various. The Greek word usually adopted to designate these sacred structures signifies not merely a column, but includes all stones set up on some base, whether they be fixed or moveable. The idol vine-stem set up by the Argonauts had certainly the character of a column or pillar, but that representing Niobe was a steep and conical rock. The one noticed by the Theban poet was a *πετρα*, a loose stone placed on an eminence, a *βωμος*, a steep ascent. Its oracular powers depended upon its mobility, as will presently be shewn.

Before the attention is led to the consideration of stones differing in form from the common column, or the application of pillars and stones to sepulchral or other purposes than as idols or images of gods, the celebrated pillar still standing in the vicinity of the city of Alexandria in Egypt, called Pompey's pillar, demands a notice, not from any relation to the great Roman general of that name, but from the signification of the name, which, being compounded, as Bryant affirms, of the radical words *pi, om, phi,* signifying *the divine oracle,* claims for the structure the character of a god.[b]

[a] Pind. Olymp. Od. vi. v. 109. Helibatal is not necessarily a high stone, but a stone inhabited by a god. The Scholiasts err in their interpretation when they teach that an helibatal stone is one so high that it first receives the rays of the rising sun, or that it is so high as to be accessible only to the sun. Hesiod (Theog. v. 283,) calls a cave helibatal, that is, a cave inhabited by a god.

[b] Bryant, vol. i. p. 323.

This famed structure consists of three parts, a pedestal, shaft, and capital, altogether of the height of one hundred feet, of which the shaft is one entire stone sixty-three feet high and eight in diameter. It stands on a mound of earth about forty feet high, which contains remains of constructions contributing greatly to its stability. The capital is of the Corinthian order, not flat atop, but hollowed by a circular cavity; on the square plinth of the base is an inscription which states that it was dedicated to the Emperor Diocletian. The order of the capital is such as was likely to have been used in that reign, but the shaft of the column and the substructure of the mound are not likely to have been Roman works, but must have belonged to a much earlier age. The capital and inscription shew that the pillar had been set up in the reign of Diocletian; it must, therefore, have been thrown down in some former age and lain perhaps many centuries, till at length some Roman governor, influenced by a desire to imitate the practice of erecting Egyptian obelisks at Rome, re-erected the column at Alexandria, and with a servility not uncommon in his age, dedicated the restored pillar to the presumed divinity of the reigning prince. To render the dedication more complete, a sphere or chapiter, the symbol of the world, was placed, perhaps in accordance with old tradition, in the cavity on the top, by which the whole was rendered complete, like the pillars of the porch of the temple of Solomon, and others, which have been mentioned above.

The radicals of the name justify the presumption that the pillar had been first reared in the early ages of Egyptian history, but not by Egyptian authorities. The theology of Egypt did not invite the construction of lofty fabrics, for their obelisks are anomalous to their principles. This pillar was not therefore properly Egyptian. The stone within the mound, on which it principally rests, is covered with Egyptian hieroglyphics, but they are found in an inverted

position. A similar affront to their religion, and an act of insolent triumph over it, had been practised by the tyrannous *Auritæ*, or Shepherd Kings, the builders of the pyramids. The same being repeated by the constructors of the Pompey pillar, may with great reason be ascribed to the same people. This insult was sure to provoke the anger and vengeance of the Egyptians, when, as afterwards it happened, the *Auritæ* were defeated and driven from the country. Then was the pillar or god of the oppressors thrown from its base. This outrage, expressive of national indignation, dissuaded all the subsequent reigning powers from restoring it, till the Gospel had paralyzed and almost suppressed the religion of idolaters, and afforded a safe opportunity to a servile governor of paying a flattering compliment to the prince under whom he held the reins of power. The history of Pompey's pillar confirms the arguments adduced above concerning the Shepherd Kings of Egypt; it confirms also the theory here maintained of the principles to which pillars owed that sanctity of character which they long retained, as the following remarks will show.

The characteristics of this pillar prove most decidedly that it was a symbolical representation of the Deity sustaining the world. It stood, like the rude idol of Cybele set up by the Argonauts, on a conical mound, itself symbolical of stability. The shaft, consisting of one single stone of vast size, was an apt symbol of the strength and power of the Deity upbearing the capital, which, at the first rearing of the fabric, was most probably, like many other Egyptian capitals, the plain simple lotus. The Roman governor, untaught in the use of symbols, had substituted the complex Corinthian. On this capital rested a sphere, for which a receptacle was prepared. This sphere was evidently necessary, to give a finish to the fabric, which would be otherwise offensively imperfect; but thus crowned, it would be the same, as to general form, as were the pillars of the

temple of king Solomon, and that standing at the entrance of the *Subba* of Indra, near *Ellora.*

The scientists of France, studying the antiquities of Egypt while their armies occupied the provinces, perceived that the flower of the lotus ruled the form of the capitals of a great portion of the pillars of the temples. They were not aware of the reason why that form might have been adopted; it is seen in the Indian fable of *Brahmà*, a personification of the world raised above the primal waters in the calyx of that plant. That the Egyptians did adopt that form for their capitals with a reference to the sustaining power, is made certain by some instances in which capitals were composed of the heads of their goddess Isis. This practice accorded with a common exhibition of her figure, having the head horned, and bearing a globe between the horns. The Persians adopted a symbol of the same kind; they formed the capitals of some pillars of the horned heads of bulls, the symbol used by them of power and strength.

The aptness of the lotus for the capital of pillars symbolical of the sustaining power, was such as secured its adoption in the several orders of architecture. It may be seen in the heavily compressed capital used by the accomplished Tuscans in the structure of their columns. In them the lotus-flower of the capital is low in the calyx, as though borne down by a heavy incumbent weight; but yet the whole of the column is firm, and intimates that the Deity was amply able, though great the effort, to sustain the world. The Doric order of the Greeks is, like the Tuscan, indicative of great strength. It was held to be the proper column for temples dedicated to the powerful Jupiter. The lotus of the capital in this is, like the Tuscan, heavily compressed.

The curved volute of the Ionic order exhibits the lotus in a state as though curved and depressed by the incumbent weight. The structure, however, exhibits strength and stability fully adequate to the support of the weight. In

the capital of the Ionic column the curled, broken form of the flower, opened on the side, implies exertion relatively great in proportion to the power possessed. The Tuscan and Doric orders were symbolical of the male powers; the Ionic may be taken to represent female powers, and on that account this order is appropriate for the temples of Juno, Minerva, and other female deities.

These remarks being extended to the Corinthian order, suggest the idea that the leafy capital adopted in it is indicative of the double-flowering lotus, applied, like the single flower, to the support of the world. The tale of the acanthus wreathing the flower-pot is so puerile, that it ill deserves the notice it has received. The leaves of this capital imply, like the volute of the Ionic, a depression indicative of laborious effort, though yet effectual, but such as might be supposed to be necessary with a female deity. This becomes more probable, when it is observed that the proportion of the Ionic and Corinthian orders are those of the female matronly and maiden forms, whereas those of the Doric and Tuscan are masculine and gigantic. The composite order adopted by the Romans may be termed a whimsical combination of the Ionic and the Corinthian, and consequently it comprehends the principles of both. These positions being admitted, a symbolical import attaches itself to each of the orders of architecture, and reasons are found why the fabric of the pillar ought to suggest pious sentiments in the beholder, and not allow him to confine his inspection to the excitement of an idle and unmeaning admiration of architectural beauty, elicited by the mere observance of the arbitrary rules of proportion.

Zetes and Calaïs, the sons of Boreas, were mythological personages who formed a part of the company that sailed under Jason, in the figurative ship Argo.[c] They belonged to a pantheon, or system of divinities, worshipped in Greece

[c] Apollon. Arg. lib. i. v. 211.

and other countries before the pantheon of Jupiter now made familiar by the Iliad and Odyssey of Homer and other classic writers was admitted into the civilized countries of Asia and of Europe. The fables relate that these sons of Boreas were slain by Hercules in times subsequent to the voyage; signifying that the religious honours aforetime paid them were suppressed by the Heraclidæ or worshippers of Hercules, but that, desiring to conciliate at least a portion of the votaries of these personages, the objects of their wonted worship, they raised a barrow over the place of their burial, and placed *stelæ* or tall stones upon the top of it, as stated in lines of the Rhodian of the following purport:

> Them, when returning from the funeral games
> Of Pelias, he slew within the bounds
> Of Tenos' sea-girt isle. O'er them he heaped
> High up, the soil, and crowned the massy mole
> With pillars two, of which the one, O wondrous!
> Vibrates as oft as whistling Boreas breathes.[d]

Of these pillars, the one so easily moveable cannot be supposed to have been a stone bearing the tall form of a column, for such a structure, if moveable by a breeze, must have been overthrown by a storm. The moveability must have been the result of a nice balance of the parts around the pivot point on which it rested; the stability must have been secured by the weight and magnitude of the mass.

The vibrative property of the moveable stone suggests the following remarks. It is evident that such a stone could not be a tall structure resting on a small basis, such as is the column or pillar, properly so called; it must have been of a form somewhat bulky in proportion to the height. The etymology of the word itself will confirm this opinion. The Greek word στηλη, *stela*, is derived from a verb signifying *to stand up*. Hence the word *stela* may be taken to signify any stone that has been placed in such a position as that it

[d] Apollon. Arg. lib. i. v. 1304.

may be said to stand, whatever may be its shape. The word *stela*, commonly rendered pillar, may signify any stone that can be said to stand. The occurrence of stones of large dimensions, capable of vibration, and at the same time properly *stelæ*, appears from the following authority.

Homer, in his fourth Odyssey, makes mention of stones called *Gyrean* stones, which, from the name, must have been capable of a motion similar to that of the logan stone, or the vibrating *stela* above described. Describing the personal escape of Ajax the son of Oïleus, he writes:

> Neptune him first on the *Gyreans* drove,
> Rocks of large bulk, but saved him from the waves.[c]

The manner in which the hero was saved from drowning is stated as follows:

> Wielding his trident in his mighty hands,
> The god inflicted on the rock *Gyrean*
> One blow of weight. A part was severed straight;
> The mass uninjured on its site remained;
> The fragment fell within the foaming wave.
> Sore scathed, on that the hero took his seat.

That these Gyrean rocks were logan or rocking stones will appear from the following facts.

First, these rocks were well known, for the poet does not deem it necessary to determine their locality by the notice of any descriptive particulars. That there were several of them may be inferred from their number not being mentioned; that they were detached from the substance on which they stood, is plain from the fact stated, that one of the two fragments into which the stone was severed fell into the sea, and afforded a seat on which the hero, greatly hurt, as it should seem, by being dashed against it, sat safe and beheld the sea foaming on all sides. This fragment must have been of large bulk, since it afforded a seat to Ajax, elevated above the waves of a stormy sea; but the mass from which it had

[c] Odyss. Δ. v. 500, 506.

been severed was much greater, for it still stood, being little affected by the loss of a large part. It is evident from these circumstances that these stones were not rocks forming part of a solid formation, but stones standing loose upon a solid substance beneath them. Why they were called *Gyrean* will be known from the import of their name. Eustathius, commenting on the passage, observes that Γυρεος, (*gyreos*,) is derived from γυρη, (*gyrè*,)[f] whence our English word *gyre*, signifying a motion called gyration, which is the circular motion of a body of irregular shape, or of a system of bodies, round a given axis. The magnitude of these *gyrean* stones, at least of that from which a mass was severed of size sufficient to afford a safe station to Ajax amid a stormy sea, without affecting the gyrean quality of the stone from which it was severed, forbids the idea of communicating to it a circular motion by any efforts. A vibratory motion in any direction might be given without much difficulty; the mass being duly balanced, indeed, such motion alone was possible, and therefore such must have been the gyrean motion intended by the poet. The gyrean rocks capable of such motion, were none other than enormous logan stones, the favourite structures of our Celtic ancestors.

Stones of this character were doubtless frequent in the early ages, in which these now described were of such celebrity, especially in countries where the Celtic religion prevailed. Pliny mentions a stone at Harpasa, in the province of Caria in Asia Minor, which was easily moved by a finger, but stood immoveable to the thrust of the whole body.[g] A property marvellous, and attributed most probably in those times to the humour of the spirit that animated the stone, rather than to the true reason, the manner in which the force was applied.

Many stones vibrating, not indeed by the impulse of the wind, but by a moderate effort, were extant in modern

[f] Eustath. in loc.

[g] Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. ii. c. 96.

times in the British Isles, and especially in the remote county of Cornwall. The historian antiquary of that district describes one in the parish of Sithney, near Helston, called *Maen-am-bar*. It was eleven feet long, six wide, and four deep. It was so nicely poised on its small base that a child might move it. It now lies, says the historian, an immoveable mass, to the great regret of the country. After having continued in a state capable of easy but wonderful vibration, being an idol of former, yet extinct idolatry, it was overturned by the labouring efforts of a party of soldiers belonging to the puritanical army of Cromwell.[h]

One of these logan or shaking stones still remains in a state of perfect vibration, near the extreme point of the Land's End. It is of large size, and is situate on a rocky cliff, from which it was in all probability severed by art, for the stone is of a quality exactly the same as that of the rock on which it rests; but such is the height of its station, that it seems impossible to suppose that it can have been raised into its situation by any known force. This stone confirms the opinion that many of the ponderous masses of Celtic superstition were rocks separated by art from their native mass, and brought to the intended form by the hand of patient labour, directed by considerable ingenuity. A few years ago an officer of the British Navy amused himself and his crew by the wanton overthrow of this stone from its balance. On representation properly made, he was obliged to restore the stone to its former state at his own cost. It would have been well if the idle and foolish visitors of Matlock had been compelled to do the same to the logan stones at *Rowtor*[i] Rocks, near Bakewell in Derbyshire. In the year 1793

[h] Borlase, Cornw. book iii. chap. 4. *Maen-am-bar* are Celtic words signifying *stone-the-high*. Amber is an abbreviation of the word.

[i] Rowtor is the Celtic *rhol-tor*, the round stone. Being Celtic, the name was doubtless given in the age of Druidism. They were of celebrity when Borlase wrote.

there were, on an eminence of about the height of a common barrow, three stones in a state of perfect vibration. Two of them were small, not perhaps a yard high, but one, nearly spherical, was about ten feet high; and could be made to vibrate by continued though easy pushes. It should seem that a little cost might restore the stones to their ancient state of vibration. The act would be gratifying to the rational antiquary, and reprove that idle and indeed wicked propensity to wanton mischief in which Englishmen of almost all ranks are eminent above the people of all other nations.

The rare occurrence of rocking stones may be owing, not to the fewness of the numbers set up during the prevalence of Celticism, but to the facility with which they may have been destroyed. That they were once almost universal in all quarters of the globe, may be inferred from the account of those already described, as also from the following, seen in the island of Amoy on the coast of China. The stone was, according to the report of the person who saw it, of an oblong form, apparently about forty feet in length, and between forty and fifty feet in circumference at the larger end. It was so exactly poised, that a sensible vibration might be produced by thrusting with a cane. The stone did not lie in a form exactly horizontal, but was notwithstanding steady and firm. It projected in part over the sea, and therefore cannot have been very accessible; a circumstance to which, in all probability, it owed its safety. In the vicinity were several other stones, perfectly smooth; one of large size lay near it.[k] It should seem from this circumstance, as also from Homer's mention of the Gyrean rocks, and from Rowtor rocks also, that these rocking stones usually formed part of a system of stones of symbolical import.

The spirits of men departed were in many cases believed to be endowed with certain portions of the divine spirit, varying

[k] Bryant, vol. v. p. 205.

according to their character and actions during life. The spirits of persons who had become eminent for their virtues and excellent qualities, were believed to be so elevated after death as to be ranked among the gods. This was the principle on which the worship of heroes was founded; upon this same principle the Emperors of Rome adopted the title of *divus* or divine, and the flattery of their poets when they assigned them a place among the gods was not thought to be either strange or extravagant. Strange it may appear, but temples were built as well as altars raised for worship even during their lives. A plain single *stela* was the lowest of these honours. The same reasons that affixed the pillar upon the tops of the taphoi, or high places of gods, authorized the practice of affixing what were thought to be appropriate symbols on the summits of the mounds raised over the bones or the ashes of men. They were, in fact, sacred structures in pious reverence of the spirits departed.

From the numerous instances that are recorded by the classical writers of Greece or Rome, the following may be given of the sepulchre or barrow raised over Misenus, a person of high respectability who had attended Hector, and sounded the trumpet in the battles of Troy, and had afterwards undertaken the office of pilot of the Trojan fleet of Æneas in his voyage to Italy. These several offices were signified by the symbolical oar and trumpet. The body having been reduced to ashes on the funeral pyre, and the ashes gathered and deposited in a proper urn, the poet writes,

> On it Æneas piously upheaped
> A mighty mound sepulchral. The *oar*, the trumpet,
> Arms of the man, the airy summit crown'd,
> From him Misenus named. It still retains
> That name, and holds it through the lapse of time.[1]

The oar and trumpet, symbols of the spirit and the office of Misenus, were not without a parallel. An oar had been

[1] Æneis, lib. vi. v. 232.

set up on the taph of one of the Argonauts under similar circumstances.[m] A spear was fixed on the tumulus of the Trojan Hector when the city had been burned and his countrymen were migrating to other parts of the world.[n] No proof more decisive of the sanctity of these affixes than instances such as these. It was evidently expected that they might be allowed even by enemies to remain till they perished by natural decay. Honours of this kind were desired because they were thought to be conducive to the happiness of the departed spirit inhabiting the taphos. Iphigenia at her immolation earnestly requests Orestes not only to raise a mound over her remains, but to fix upon it some apt memorial of her.[o]

A pillar or upright stone was in most instances fixed on the top of these mounds. Homer relates that Paris wounded Diomedes from behind the pillar on the barrow of Ilus. The barrows of the Grecian heroes who fell at Troy were surmounted by pillars; and Alexander the Great on his first crossing the Hellespont, performed solemn games at them, and anointed with perfumes the *stelæ* on their tops.[p] The barrows are still extant, but the *stelæ* are gone.[q] A *stela* stood on the taph raised over the Athenians who fell at Marathon. It recited their names and tribes. In the time of Pausanias it was entire.[r] The inscription containing all the names seems to have required a large stone rather than a column; it is now gone. A similar structure was placed on the taphos of the Lacedæmonians who fell at Thermopylæ. The base only is now to be seen.[s] It may be conjectured that these *stelæ* were removed when the Christian religion was established in Greece, as being idolatrous symbols: but still the idea of the sanctity of such structures is retained

[m] Apollon. Arg. lib. iv. v. 517.
[n] Euripid. Troad. v. 1138.
[o] Euripid. Iphigen. in Taur. v. 703.
[p] Diodor. lib. xvii. p. 570.
[q] Clarke, vol. iii. chap. vi. p. 210.
[r] Pausan. lib. i. c. 32, s. 3. Clarke.
[s] Clarke, vol. vi. chap. 8.

for *stelæ;* the gravestones set up in our churchyards in accordance with ancient impressions, plead for safety by professing to be sacred to the memory of the person at the head of whose grave they stand.

The symbol, whether a pillar, a spear, or an oar, set up atop the taphos or barrow, was significant not only of the character or spirit of the person interred, but was indicative of the actual presence of that spirit. It was the belief universally adopted by almost all nations, that the soul or spirit continued to abide near the mortal remains so long as they retained any continuance; whence the importance attached to the performance of due rites in honour of the departed, which contributed, as was supposed, to their dignity or respectability on entering into the society of disembodied spirits. The doctrine of the misery endured by the spirit while the corpse remained uninterred accorded with this idea. It was said to wander in misery, the result of the want of an abode, for at least one hundred years. It were easy to bring many facts in proof of the supposed continuance of the spirit in or near the place where the mortal remains were deposited. The vulgar notion that churchyards were places where ghosts are often seen to walk, is even now not unfrequently entertained.

The spirits inhabiting the taphoi, or barrows, were generally believed to possess powers both for good or evil, proportionate to their degree or eminence in the world of spirits. The spirits of young men dying unmarried were, as the *Sastra* teaches, possessed of great power. They punished by the infliction of mischiefs and misfortune those who neglected the performance of due acts of reverence at their tombs:—they rewarded by events of good fortune the due performance. Perhaps the care with which the graves of departed relatives are, in some countries, decorated from time to time with flowers, may be owing to some such belief, as well as to affectionate remembrance. There can be no doubt that such hopes and

fears rendered the funeral structures safe from injury and violation, and also enforced the observance of the obligation by which every person passing by was required to add a stone to the *carnedd*, or a clod to the barrow, and to perform at every *cromlech* or bowing-stone certain bows and genuflexions. Whether the same fears influence those religionists who perform similar rites before the Christian cross, or the altars, as the communion tables of our churches are improperly called, they themselves best know.

The power of doing mischief to an enemy or offending person was supposed to be almost unlimited in that spirit which leaves the body under circumstances of supposed injustice or cruelty. This notion is entertained to the most extravagant extent in Hindosthan, and is often carried into actual practice in what is called the *dherna*. A person makes a demand upon another which he may happen to consider just and reasonable; if refused, he takes his station opposite the abode of the adversary. The demand is loudly and repeatedly made. The demandant observing a strict fast and imposing the same observance on all the family, prohibiting with malignant threats all ingress or egress at the house, generally gains his point; for the person denounced is persuaded that if the demandant die, any evil that the departed spirit may choose to inflict must befall him.[t]

The following fact is an instance of the extent to which this doctrine may be carried. Two brothers, Brahmens, had a dispute with a *Hindù* named Gowry about a piece of land not exceeding eight acres. The dispute was attended with an act of outrage, in which a sum not exceeding five pounds was taken from the brothers in distress for payment due. The brothers, outrageous at this supposed wrong, adopted the following course. They took their aged mother to a rivulet near the village, demanding of the whole population the restoration of the sum taken. No answer being received,

[t] As. Res. vol. iv. No. 22.

one of the brothers with his scymitar cut off at one stroke the head of the mother, who just before she received the blow declared by her last words that she would blast Gowry and all connected with him.

Opinions and sentiments exactly the same as these were entertained by the ancient Greeks. They are recorded by their tragedians, who cannot be supposed to have stated in their works anything of which their sensitive auditors entertained the slightest doubt. In the Œdipus Coloneus of Sophocles, the wretched hero of the tragedy tells Creon, king of Thebes, who had refused him abidance within his territories, that his avenging spirit would ever haunt the country, and vex it with continued misfortune.[u] In the Antigone of the same poet, the soothsayer Tiresias threatens the same Creon with evils inflicted by the avenging spirits of Pluto.[x] In the Orestes of Euripides, Clytemnestra his mother, whom he had killed in obedience to the command given by the spirit of his father, deprecates her vengeance while she urges the spirits of Pluto to torment him and overwhelm him with the paroxysms of madness.[y] Æschylus, in his tragedy of the *Supplices*, makes the event of his drama turn upon the threat of the fifty Danaidæ of the chorus that they would destroy themselves by hanging unless the king of Argos complied with their request, notwithstanding the apprehensions he very reasonably entertained of an invasion from a powerful enemy.[z] These facts are most interesting and deserve attention, for the Greek tragedians record many of the opinions entertained in ancient times concerning the power of these spirits of the taphoi or barrows. Their statements are interesting, because they relate to doctrines received during the time when the religion of the Celts prevailed in Greece, and may therefore be regarded as being illustrative of the doctrines of the British Druids.

[u] Sophocl. Œdip. Colon. v. 822.
[x] Antig. v. 1088.
[y] Euripid. Orest. v. 249.
[z] Æschyl. Supplices.

This presumed power of departed spirits may perhaps explain the reason why some of the generals and commanders of the Chinese forces, in the late war with that people, destroyed themselves and families with strange desperation. They expected to be able to avenge themselves on their conquerors. It may be presumed that the Decii of Rome devoted themselves to death in battle upon the assurance that after they had fallen their spirits might bring defeat and disaster to the enemy. The act of Quintus Curtius, the Roman knight who leaped into the chasm which had opened in the Forum, acted upon the same belief, that after the devoted sacrifices of himself and the horse on which he leaped into the gulf, his spirit would possess extraordinary powers. The act, though almost incredible, was so accordant with Roman feeling and acknowledged principles, that it may be regarded as really true.

Spirits of such powers must have always received every kind of religious worship. Orestes desired to pray at the tomb of his father Agamemnon; hoping for relief from the miseries he endured in punishment of his command issued from the taphos to kill his adulterous mother Clytemnestra.[a] The same duties are still performed by the disciples of the *Sastra*. They worship spirits admitted to be of the lower orders, and also the *Pitris*, the spirits of their forefathers and departed friends.[b]

On many occasions sacrifices were offered to more than one deity. This practice implies a hope that the rites might secure the concurrent favour of the gods. In some instances, the intercession of a particular or patron god was sought, to induce some more powerful divinity to favour the patronized suppliant, and to aid the patron deity in the accomplishment of the desired purpose. The figurative histories of the Iliad and the Odyssey, as also the Æneis, afford many instances of such intercession. This notion of vicarious influence was

[a] Euripid. Orest. v. 788, 1226. [b] Asiatic Researches.

the natural result of prayers addressed to the spirits of the departed; it tended not a little to lower the god supreme in the estimation of the sincere worshipper, and to encourage the idea that the divine dispensations were administered under the influence of favouritism rather than of perfect justice. The practice thus originated prevails in every department of the heathen world; and it is admitted even by the Christian Church of Rome, who ask the intercession of the Virgin and patron saints rather than of Christ, the only mediator, one and the same as the great God himself.

Together with the power of conferring benefits or inflicting evil, sacred stones were held to be oracular. Pindar, in a passage cited in a former page, speaks of the oracular stone of Saturn, which still continued to be oracular when it afterwards became the idol of Jupiter. The German antiquary, Keysler, cites the following instance of such power. A sacred stone, while addressed by Thorstein prostrate in prayer, spoke and told him that his enemy Indrid would assail and slay him ere he reached his home. Indrid was near at hand, and slew the man almost as soon as he had risen from prayer.[c] It is easy to imagine what may have been the oracular power of the stone.

The Logan or rocking stone could utter oracular responses without speaking. The number of vibrations, their direction, the sweep of each vibration, or the continuance of the motions, admitted of different interpretations. The manner of the vibrations must have depended upon the will of the vibrator, who, well acquainted with the balance of the stone, could communicate such motion to the mass as might best serve the purposes of the ministering priests presiding over the process, whose interpretation of the motions, restrained by no rule, must have been fanciful and arbitrary. There cannot but have been much trickery in all these processes, as in all other oracles of the heathen

[c] Keysler, Antiq. Septen. cap. i. sect. 8.

world. The traveller Clarke has discovered the frauds of several of the oracles once of high celebrity in Greece.[d] The conductors of those impositions on the credulity of their ages called them, it is presumed, pious frauds; and, like their imitators of later times, held it to be right to do evil that good might come. That good, however, was little else than their own gain, often enormous: the evil was falsehood, often mischievous, often wicked, and always tending to lessen respect for the Deity, and reliance on his power and goodness.

In most instances only one *stela* was erected on the taphos or barrow. On that of Zetes and Calaïs two were placed. A structure of still more *stelæ* is recorded in the following account of the taphos of Opheltes, an infant killed by a serpent while left by his mother near a fountain when she went to guide the army of Adrastus, king of Argos, to a well of water. The death of the child was so mourned by the Argives, that they instituted the Nemean games to honour his memory, calling him the Nemean Jupiter. His taphos is thus described by Pausanias:

"There (in the district called Nemea) is the taphos of Opheltes. It is surrounded by a fence of upright stones. Within the inclosure are several altars. There is also a high mound of earth, a memorial of Lycurgus,[e] the father of Opheltes. The spring they call Adrasteia."[f] Thus in terms most concise does the Grecian antiquary describe a structure having all the marks of those commonly designated Druidic temples.

This taphos was dedicated to a god worshipped in an age nearly a century anterior to the war of Troy; one of such eminence as to be entitled the Nemean Jupiter. The

[d] Clarke, vol. iii. chap. 8; vol. vi. chap. 8.

[e] Bryant shews (vol. iv. p. 55) that Lycurgus was a name of the Deity. His radicals *oph, el,* give the meaning of the *serpent divine* to the name Opheltes. *Archemorus,* his second name, seems to be compounded of Celtic words signifying the *Great One.*

[f] Pausan. lib. ii. xv. iii.

structure was more complete than the generality of the taphoi or barrows hitherto described, and yet of the same character, though much improved. The antiquary does not speak of a vallum of earth, by which these structures are generally surrounded; but it is highly probable that, during the lapse of fifteen centuries, the time between the construction of the taphos and the age of the writer, the vallum may have disappeared. It was encompassed by a θριγγος, *(thringos)* which signifies a wall of upright stones, forming a pointed or embattled fence. Within this inclosure were several βωμοι, (*bomoi*) or altars; that is, barrows or sacred high places, on which or near which sacrifices were offered to Opheltes, and perhaps to other divine personages connected with his history. No mention is made of any inclosure of these altars; but the usages of the age of Opheltes suggest the probability that the altars were surrounded by upright stones, similar to the outer fence. According to this view, this taphos of Opheltes consisted of several taphoi within a taphos, and was merely a more complicate form of the simple taphos. The high mound of Lycurgus was an eminence or hill, not within the inclosure, but near it. The spring Adrasteia was near also, and seems, from the description, to have completed the system of sacred places and objects connected with the worship of Opheltes. The county of Wilts affords, in the Celtic temple of Abury, an exact resemblance of the taphos of Opheltes. The account of this temple given in the excellent history of Wiltshire is briefly as follows:

Abury is situate in a plain, in which rises an eminence of gentle descent on all sides. The inclosure of the temple forms part of a line of avenues, on nearly opposite sides, bounded originally by upright stones, of which, though many are now gone, yet their situation, when the avenues were entire, may yet be traced. These avenues bore the form of a serpent, of which one circular fold formed the inclosure of

the temple. This circular fold consists of an outer vallum or mound of earth, within which stands a row of upright stones, inclosing a circular area of something more than twenty-eight acres. Within this space are the remains of two circles of stones, forming two temples, each of diameter of between three and four hundred feet. Within each of these circular temples stood, as may be presumed, an idol stone, having, as in the temple of Stonehenge, a flat altar-stone, on which the human victim combated for life or sacrifice with an adversary assailing him from the area.[s] Thus fought Theseus in the Labyrinth of the Minotaur of Crete; and so also fought the victims of the Mexicans on the *teocallis*, the altars of their gods.

Near the termination of that serpent avenue, which may be regarded as the head, rises an eminence called Hackpen hill, signifying in the Celtic the *pen*, or headland of *haga* the snake. On the other side of the hill issues the water of a copious spring, supplying a great portion of the stream of the river Kennet flowing near. On the south of the temple, at the distance of about half a mile, and in a line which might join the head and tail of the serpent avenue, stands Silbury hill, an artificial mound supposed to have been dedicated to Mercury, or rather perhaps to *Tuisc*, the great god and father of the Teutones, or German race.

This temple of Abury so nearly resembles the taphos of Opheltes or Archemorus, that it may be said to have been made in imitation of it, and to be a symbolical exhibition of the fabled history of the Nemean Jupiter. The spring flowing into the Kennet is the spring Adrasteia of Nemea; Silbury hill, the χωμα, (*choma*) or high mound of Lycurgus, a deity of elder worship than Opheltes; the serpentine avenue exhibits the monster that slew the infant; the temple is the taphos of Opheltes erected by the grateful Argives in vindication of a mode of worship which long prevailed in

[s] Higgins, Introd. Abury.

Greece, which was finally suppressed by the victory of Apollo over the serpent Python. The circular temples within the inclosure are the *bomoi*, the altars or temples of the Nemean god. *Bomos* is often used in this latter sense. Should it seem to any person that this resemblance is imaginary and idle, let it be observed that it is far from being improbable or even uncertain. The resemblance between the Grecian and the British temples is very close, and surely very obvious. The intercourse between the Hyperborean Celts and those of Britain has been shewn to have been frequent, so that the history of Opheltes may have been familiar to both countries. The symbolism is such as accords with the religious opinions entertained by both in the age to which the history of Opheltes, the serpent god, is assigned. The veneration of the Celts for the symbolical serpent was such as might well suit a votary of the Grecian Python. These undeniable facts render it certain that the temple of Abury was constructed by a people or sect who accorded entirely in religious theory with those who built the temple at Nemea in Greece, and first instituted the Nemean games, which continued to be celebrated at the stated periods during all the ages in which the Greeks continued to be one of the most renowned nations of the world.

The vicinity of Abury to the more famed temple of Stonehenge invites remarks interesting and closely connected with the present subject. The oval form of that structure is, again let it be observed, a symbol of the mundane egg of creation: the principal entrance opens to the point of sunrise at the summer solstice, and tells that it was dedicated to the sun, known in different countries by the names of Lycurgus, Apollo, and Beil. This reference to the mundane egg implies a philosophy somewhat more profound than the circular form of Abury, for this latter refers to the opinion of the earliest ages that the earth was a circular plane surface, the former to an abstract theory of the

creation originating in an egg. The architecture of Stonehenge is much more complex than that of the Abury temple. It consists of a succession of oval inclosures, arranged with great relative precision. The imposts, which imply the exercise of great architectural skill and power, are perhaps peculiar to that temple; whereas, judging from the short account given of the Nemean temple, of which Abury was an exact imitation, the outer fence of the former being embattled and pointed, authorizes the opinion that there never were imposts on any of the stones used in that British temple. These premises decide that Stonehenge must have been constructed at a later age than Abury, and that Abury cannot be supposed to have been the work of an age much later than that of the expedition of the Seven Kings against Thebes, that is, in the thirteenth century anterior to the Christian era. It might be wished that some clue equally entitled to confidence could be found to afford a reasonable conjecture of the age of the construction of Stonehenge.

Whatever may be the form, whatever the magnitude, whatever the complicated structure of these and all other hypæthral temples, they all derive their growth from the simple barrow, the altar and temple of the patriarchal ages. The vast pagodas of Indian Asia, the pyramids of Egypt, the beautiful, the magnificent temples of Greece and Rome, and even the temple at Jerusalem, its courts and colonnades, may all be traced through continued extensions and improvements, from the same primal structure, made by the Deity himself when he planted and prepared the Garden of Eden, the first scene of probation of newly-created man. The temples of Egypt, containing closed cells and apartments, owe their introduction and use to a principle which has not yet been noticed—a principle altogether foreign to the taphos or barrow; but, with the exception of cells, even the colonnade may be said to have derived its adoption from

the taphos or barrow. The walls by which temples were first inclosed, were only stones placed in an horizontal position, in layers continued to a height equal to the fence of upright stones, and of more easy construction. Colonnades were nothing else than imposts, such as those still extant at Stonehenge, continued not only longitudinally from pillar to pillar, but transversely also to opposite supporters. Being placed in close contact, these transverse blocks formed a ceiling, which, if carefully adjusted, might be equally as impervious to rain as to the rays of the sun. The colonnades of temples may be affirmed to be the next, or nearly the next step made in the progress of sacred architecture, advancing beyond the upright and impost stones of Stonehenge.

Conjecture may, perhaps, with confidence affirm that the colonnade appeared first in a warm climate, being well calculated to afford shelter from the sun. The constructors must have been a people of sufficient ingenuity to devise, and sufficient skill and power to carry the luxurious work into execution. Such were the nations of Egypt and Hindosthan. Their ancient works still extant, whether in ruins or entire, may be said to decide the question, partly from the perfection to which the works have been carried, and partly from the antiquity of the structures to which they belong. Wherever or however invented, the merits of the colonnade have gained its admission into the sacred structures of nations of religious opinions and social habits very widely different. The proud and fanatical Mussulman has not shrunk from the imitation of the taste and magnificence of the Hindù infidel whom he holds in scorn, and the colonnade of the pagoda was adopted by him to give dignity to the mausoleums, and even of the mosque of kings. Neither have Christian nations been backward in the reception of the colonnade; for, taking in colder countries the well-protected form of the cloister, it appears to have been regarded as a desirable appendage to the cathedral and monastery also, and to have

been annexed to those structures whenever the means for the construction have been forthcoming.

The form of the spire, and its use in sacred structures, may not be so immediately traced from the high place and altar, as those portions of sacred structures which have been the subjects of preceding discussion. It may be classed not improperly with the obelisk, as far as appearance constitutes identity; but it properly belongs to the pillar, or slender column, as the following example clearly shews.

Amid the ruins of the city of Pegu, once the capital of the Birman empire, stands a temple dedicated to *Shoemadoo-praw*, properly *Shù-maha-deo-prà*, that is, the Golden-great-god-lord.[h] According to the figurative diction of the East, gold or golden signifies *excellent* or *supreme*. This title shows that the temple is dedicated to the God supreme, the Lord of the universe. The following is the form of the structure.

Upon a square platform of one thousand three hundred and ninety-one feet, about ten feet above the surrounding level, rises another platform six hundred and eighty-four feet square, and twenty feet higher than the former. On this highest platform rises an octagonal spire of brick, each side of the octagon measuring at the base one hundred and sixty-two feet. The height of the spire, which is three hundred and thirty-one feet, is so greatly contracted immediately from the base, that the structure greatly resembles the form of a speaking-trumpet. The whole is covered with fine stucco. A large *tì*, or umbrella, made of iron bars and gilded, is fixed on the top of the spire, above which an iron rod bears a flag. This *tì* has been newly fixed atop by the present Birman monarch. The act of fixing was considered as of the greatest importance to the sanctity of the temple, and was attended with a variety of solemn ceremonies.

Around the base of the first and lowest platform a wide ledge of earth is raised six feet above the adjacent level. On this

[h] Asiatic Researches, vol. v. No. 7.

ledge are fifty-seven small spires, placed at equal distances. On the higher platforms are many spires, each surmounted by a *ti*. At each angle of the uppermost platform and on the same level as the great central spire, stands a spire sixty-seven feet high, of the same trumpet-like form, surmounted also with a *ti*. On this same platform there are several figures larger than life, of which one, half beast half human, represents the destroying power of nature. Two human figures, one, a man holding a pen, is the recorder of good and bad actions, the other, a woman, the preserving power, protects and sustains the universe, till the time shall come when it must be dissolved, and, as the Buddhists teach, destroyed everlastingly. On the north side of the temple three bells are suspended at a small height, to be sounded with a deer's horn used by each votary to strike the bell and announce his approach to worship at the temple.

Nothing can be more obvious than that the several parts of this complicated structure are additions made to the primal and patriarchal altar by a progress regulated by the cosmographical theories of the Buddhists. The forms of the spires differ little from the Egyptian obelisk, and clearly explain their intended use, which is to signify the power of the deity constantly exerted in sustaining the created universe. In them we also discover the true origin of the spires and pinnacles that rise above the towers of our churches, and their symbolical, but by us forgotten, import. Like the spire at Pegu, the spires of our churches are octagonal, and are therefore symbols of the same import. They may be regarded by the Christian, not as an idol of the deity as they are regarded by the idolater, but as a proper symbol of the power of the Deity giving stability to the created world. That such is the symbolical import of the spire in the opinion of the disciples of the *Sastra*, the following idol, as described by Bishop Heber, may serve to shew:

"I received to-day an explanation of some very singular

images which stand in different streets of Calcutta and its neighbourhood, representing the figure of a female, or at least of a youth, rudely carved in wood and painted, standing erect on the back of an elephant disproportionately little and with a monstrous sort of spire or shrine on its head. Such figures are used as a sort of hatchment, being erected on the death of wealthy Hindùs, and are generally suffered to remain till they fall in pieces."[i]

Symbols similar to this render the import of these images very evident. The human figure is a representation of the Deity standing on strength, or firmness, signified by the elephant. The spire on the head is a symbol of the world sustained by the Deity. This interpretation is confirmed by the use of the figure as a hatchment. It relates to the doctrine of the immortality of the soul. It intimates, in accordance with the *Sastra*, that the soul of man survives death till that period arrive when the world shall vanish altogether, that is, when *Brahmà* shall sleep or cease to act, and, with the exception of the power of revival, cease to exist. To understand this doctrine and the import of the image, it will be necessary to state that the *Sastra*[j] denies the reality of matter, and affirms that the universe is mutable, but consists of immutable ideas; that these ideas owe their existence to the agency of the divine mind, but whenever that agency is suspended, then the ideas are no longer excited, and the whole universe vanishes "like the baseless fabric of a vision, and leaves not a rack behind." The mind must be profoundly metaphysical that can have imagined such a conception of things. The theory shews that there have been in Hindosthan philosophers as profound as any who have lived and reasoned in Europe.

To these evidences relative to the forms of sacred structures, the following invite attention relative to the localities of such structures, concerning which a difference in practice pre-

[i] Heber, vol. i. chap. iii. p. 66. [j] Menu, chap. i.

vailed between the early patriarchs and the idolaters of later times. Of these some held it to be expedient to build their altars and temples and perform their religious rites on eminences, because such places, being the abodes of the gods, the votary, by approaching near to their presence, was most likely to gain attention and success to his petitions: but the early patriarchs, and even the idolaters of early ages, adhered to the primary practice observed by Adam after his expulsion, who raised his altars and performed his religious duties at the foot of the mount of the Garden, making the summit the *kebla*, or point toward which he turned in prayer.

The first intimation of the proper locality of the altar, and consequently of the temple when the altar became a temple, was given by the Deity when he commanded the patriarch Jacob to depart from the land of Shechem, and fix his abode and build an altar at Bethel. The words of the command are thus recorded: "Arise, go up to Bethel, and dwell there: and make there an altar unto God."[k] The words *go up* might be taken to signify that Bethel was situate on an eminence, were it not evident from circumstances that the place was in a valley, and that the words only intimate immediate compliance. This interpretation of the words is justified by the following reasons.

When Jacob made Bethel the place of his lonely rest, on one of the nights of his journey to Haran, he made the stone his pillow which he in the morning set up and consecrated. It were strange to suppose that he should choose his place of rest on the exposed eminence of a hill, rather than in the sheltered retreat of a valley. The valley must have been the place preferred both for secrecy and shelter, and there was fixed the stone which he set up. Had it been thought right in his day that sacred structures ought to be placed on eminences, he would either have borne his hard pillow to the height above his place of sleep, or have chosen

[k] Genesis xxxv. 1.

a stone lying there, and have poured the oil upon it. It is evident he did not set up the stone in any other place than that in which he found it, and that the stone on which he slept. His extraordinary vision induced him to think that the place of his repose was especially sacred; that it was a *beth-el*, the house of God, and the most proper place for setting up the stone and giving it consecration. These arguments receive confirmation most strong and decisive from the testimony of the traveller Clarke, who, having seen Bethel, states that the town is situate, not on a hill, but in a valley between high hills.[l] This question being thus determined, it leads to this most true conclusion, that the Deity, when he commanded Jacob to build an altar at Bethel, a place situate in a valley, approved such a situation for the altar of sacrifice; and since no remark or direction accompanied the command, that a situation at the foot of an eminence was regarded in the time of the patriarchs as being most proper for sacred structures.

The patriarch Abraham took up his abode and planted a grove at Beersheba; his son Isaac resided at the same place. There they had their altar in the grove. It appears from the following circumstances that the altar and the grove were in a valley, and not on a hill. The well at this place was of great celebrity for the abundance and excellence of its water. The search for water was not likely to have been made on the top of a mountain, but at the bottom. The traveller states that there is at this day an excellent well at Beersheba in the valley.[m] The altar of Abraham and Isaac was most assuredly in the valley near the well.

The earliest temples of pagan antiquity were situate at the foot, not on the heights of mountains. Such was the situation of the temple of Jupiter at Dodona. It was built at the foot of a hill, or rather a ridge of hills, called *Tomarus*, a name sounding like *Merù*, and suggesting the idea of a relation to that Indian mount. It was once sacred to Saturn,

[l] Clarke's Travels, vol. iv. chap. 7. [m] Maundrell, by Clarke, vol. iv. chap. 7.

but was afterwards assigned to Jupiter.[n] The temple was built by the Pelasgi, after a period in which an oak and an altar under it had long been the only scene of religious rites. The temple was built near the oak, or rather grove of oaks, which were oracular. The foot of the mountain being the site of the temple, and not the summit, proves that in the Pelasgian age the lower parts of mountains or eminences were held to be the proper sites for temples, and not the summits. The valley of Joannina in Epirus was, according to the opinion of travellers of the present age, the place in which these celebrated objects once stood.

The famed temple at Delphi was situate on an eminence at the foot or rather on the side of Mount Parnassus,[o] which has been noticed in former pages as being the *Mesomphalos* or Mount *Merù* of Greece. This site of the temple must have been thought a proper site in the earliest ages of idol worship. The temple, whatever might be the structure, was first dedicated to *Gè*,[p] or the Earth, the consort, according to Hesiod, of Ouranus, the oldest god of the oldest pantheon. Neptune, a deity presiding over the aqueous or female principle, and therefore differing little as to symbolical import, next succeeded. Themis, or truth, a female principle also, next succeeded: then the serpent-worship of Python, which was superseded finally by the worship of Apollo. These successions of deities exhibit the instability of the worship of idolaters; they shew likewise that the altars, or rather the temples of ancient worship, were not built on the summits of hills, but at or near the foot of the hill on whose summit the deity was believed to reside.

This choice of the site of temples in Greece was invariably observed by the Celts and Druids, and they never varied

[n] Pausan. lib. i. chap. 17, sec. 5; lib. viii. chap. 25, sec. 4. Strab. lib. vii. chap. 328. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. iv. chap. 1.

[o] Strab. lib. ix. p. 418.

[p] Pausan. lib. x. chap. 5, sec. 3.

from it. The Celtic temple on a low eminence at the foot of Mount Gargarus, of the chain of Ida, may be cited as one instance: the temple at Abury may be cited as another, with this remark, that such was the supposed necessity of an eminence when a temple was constructed, that no natural eminence being near, it was deemed to be indispensably necessary to raise an artificial eminence, called Silbury hill, to afford at least an occasional residence to the god of the temple. The hill is said to have been the sacred abode of Mercury; it was more probably the abode of Lycurgus, a personification of the God supreme. Whether a similar appendage was ever attached to Stonehenge is uncertain. If ever there were one, it has been thrown down, in obedience to ecclesiastical edicts; but it may be affirmed that the Celtic or Druidic temples were always placed indeed on eminences, but yet in the vicinity of higher eminences, the supposed abodes of gods.[q] In this, like the Greeks, the Celts deviated from the primal practice of constructing the altar at the very foot of the hill. They evidently imagined that some elevation was conducive to the efficacy of religious rites.

The idolaters of later ages ventured to stand before the divine presence, and ascended the very summits of hills to build their altars and their temples at the very footstool of the supposed throne of their gods, such place being supposed to compel attention.

In accordance with this principle the Persians worshipped on the tops of mountains; the shrine was placed on the pyramid by the shepherd kings of Egypt; the pillar on the

[q] Among the hills of Charnwood Forest in Leicestershire are two, the one called Inglebarrow, the other Hiveshead. The former, as may be inferred from the name, was the site of the altar on which sacrifices were offered to the god or gods abiding on the higher Hiveshead. At Humberstone, in the same county, a village owing its name to an *amber* or sacred stone within its boundaries, the *amber*, at which religious rites were performed, was on an eminence in the vicinity of a higher ridge, which, according to the common belief, was the abode of gods.

eminence by the Phœnicians; the Parthenon on the Acropolis at Athens; the temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline hill at Rome, a hill which the Arcadians of old Evander did scarcely dare to approach. In new settlements the temple was commonly included within the fortifications of the acropolis. The temple at Jerusalem was also on a hill, so placed in compliance with the prejudices of the times: but it opposed the usages of the idolaters, for the entrance was at the east; so that the sons of Abraham, when they sought the Lord, turned from the sun, the general symbol of the Deity with the Gentile nations.

The idea of a near approach to the god, which had led to the construction of altars and temples on the summits of hills, became at length the reason for building them in every variety of place. It being supposed that gods frequented groves, they came to be regarded as proper sites for temples. When fountains and rivers were worshipped, the altar or temple was placed near the issue of the water, or on the banks of the stream. The same principle induced men to worship in caverns, and even to form caverns for religious worship. Thus did the desire of a near approach to the god weaken, and ultimately overthrow, the principle which had for many ages influenced practice; and at length it came that any site was deemed equally efficient, and sacred structures were built in any situation, as convenience might determine or caprice invite. In the present times, and especially since the establishment of the religion of the Gospel, the site of the sacred structure, whether high or low, public or private, is held to be a matter of perfect indifference; for it is universally admitted that sincere worship will be heard and accepted wherever it may be offered. Perhaps a retired situation, when sufficiently commodious, may be most desirable, as being most conducive to solemn thought, and somewhat removed from ostentation. The symbolist will not consider these remarks altogether

foreign to the present subject, or the question of locality of site one that might have been omitted in an inquiry concerning the origin, progress, and figurative import of sacred structures. To these the following remarks are subjoined, as being equally entitled to notice.

The symbolism of the spire will be the subject of subsequent consideration, and therefore it needs not any farther notice at present; but lest it should appear strange that any part of a Christian church should have been constructed in imitation of a heathen structure, it may be proper to repeat the observation made in a former page,[r] that other religionists, equally abhorrent with the Christian of the observances of idolatry, have not hesitated to imitate idolatrous structures in the architecture of their buildings regarded by them as sacred. The tomb of the Mussulman saint, and the tomb of the emperor Acbar, described in former pages, may be cited as instances. The tomb of the saint is, in all its parts, the form perhaps excepted, a funeral barrow, surmounted by a pillar, of which India and other countries afford many examples. The worship paid to the saint can only be rendered on idolatrous principles. This is evident from the concurrence of the disciples of the Brahmens, who eagerly availed themselves of the opportunity of seeking the patronage of the Mussulman saint. This concurrence in the practice of the same rites shews the influence of the religion of the Brahmens over the zealots of the Koran, and that these may be led by example to practise the same religious rites as well as imitate the sacred structures of a religion which they hold themselves bound by the most solemn engagements to suppress and even exterminate.

Of the tomb of Acbar, it may be observed, that it is an exact imitation of the Hindù pagoda. The inclosure, the gates, the plantations or groves, are such as accord most exactly with the heathen temples of the most eminent nations

[r] See page 110.

of Gangetic and Eastern Asia. The high pyramidal structure in the centre is such as is seen in the most magnificent temples of all ages and countries,—it is a mausoleum, like the pyramids of Jizeh; the stages or stories of its structure resemble those of the temple of Belus at Babylon; the tomb on the platform of the summit corresponds with the chapels or shrines which were set up to that god, and also those in similar situations by the Mexicans. The tomb, placed deep below the base of the pyramid, holds a situation in the structure similar to that occupied by the bones of the *Thacur* in the temples of *Buddha*, or by the relics deposited in the earth near the *sar-natha* of Benares.

Had Acbar been a Hindù, it might have been suspected that he had claimed the birth of an *avatara*, and the character of a personification of the preserver *Vishnù*. But this is known to be impossible: he was a disciple of the Koran. The resemblance of his tomb to the sacred pagodas of his idolatrous subjects can only be ascribed to an approval, perhaps an admiration, of their sacred architecture, and even to an assent to its symbolical import. This will appear the more probable from his worship at the tomb of the Mussulman saint, and the still continued worship at that tomb by Mussulmen, although such worship is evidently founded upon idolatrous principles. The emperor might desire reverence like that paid to the saint: the form and magnificence of his tomb invited it.

If the Mussulmans of India could thus imitate the sacred structures and religious observances of their Hindù subjects, whom they affect to hold in scorn and contempt, other Mussulmans of other countries may be supposed to have had less repugnance to the adoption of the style of Indian architecture and Indian symbols. What their brethren of the Koran had done in India, the Mussulmans of other countries might imitate. It may however be with greater reason affirmed, that the Christians of Western Asia had already adopted the

architecture of India, before the cross was compelled to bow before the crescent, and the armies of the Caliphs of Bagdad had overwhelmed the populous provinces inhabited by degenerate Christians. The form of the Round Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem rather advocates the opinion that the Christians anticipated the Mussulmans in the adoption of Indian sacred architecture, for the Round Church greatly resembles in form the Indian pagoda, or rather, perhaps, the primeval barrow, surmounted by its tower. Whether Christians or Mussulmans had been the builders, it is certain that sacred structures such as had existed long in India, were found in Palestine by the Christian Crusaders. Like the Saracens against whom they fought, they admired the boldness of design, the substantial lightness, the tall magnificence of the churches of the East: they almost abhorred the low, clumsy, barbarous, semi-Roman form of the churches of the British, the Saxon, and first Norman ages. On the return from the Crusades, they adopted with zealous taste the gothicism of Palestine, which afforded models for all the ecclesiastical structures of Western Europe. There the Gothic architecture of Palestine had been cultivated and improved, till it may be said to have sometimes rivalled, but it never has surpassed, the splendid magnificence of its parent in India.

CHAPTER IV.

ON SACRED TOWERS.

A TOWER is a column or pillar of dimensions so enlarged as to admit of apartments within, available to a variety of purposes. The term is equally applicable to all structures, even when destitute of a roof, provided the diameter does not greatly exceed the height. Being such, towers must be regarded as an improvement of the pillar; and they have been substituted for pillars in many instances, serving for the same purposes, and adopted upon the same principles. The English name, *tower*, the Greek τυρσις, *tursis*, and also the Latin *turris*, are evidently derived from the Celtic *tor*,—it may be, from the Hebrew תור *tur*, also—words which signify an eminence of any kind whatever. It may be understood to denote either a single fabric of masonry, or such fabric surmounting or standing upon a natural or artificial eminence, consisting of materials of any kind whatsoever. When such structures form fortifications, they are not properly sacred, even though, as often in India, the names receive in the

composition, the name of a god; but when the tower is devoted to religious uses, it is as sacred, and that for the same reasons, as any other structure so applied whatever.

The tower is, like the pillar, a symbol of the power of the Deity; but of power exercised, not in bearing up and giving stability to the world or universe, but in affording protection and safety to such persons as may be not undeserving of divine favour. In this figurative sense the tower is regarded by king David, in the following text: "The Lord is my rock, in him will I trust; he is my shield, and the horn of my salvation, my high tower, and my refuge."[s] The royal author of the book of Proverbs writes to the same effect: "The Name of the Lord is a strong tower: the righteous runneth into it, and is safe."[t] The Hebrew word תור *tur*, being thus significant of strength, was given to the bull, because the bodily powers of that animal are aptly available to designate the faculty of strength, which he occasionally exercises, especially when in a wild state, standing foremost in the defence and protection of the whole herd.

The symbolism of the heathen or idolatrous nations originated in objects the same as those adopted by the early patriarchs, and used in holy writ; but the heathen theologues, fond of novelty, and led by what may be denominated philosophical theories, carried the application of their symbols beyond all just bounds, and made the symbol of the symbol the symbol of the Deity himself: they made the animal the symbol of the strength of the tower, and the animal and the tower symbols of the God supreme.

The ancient Mneuis and the later Apis, the chief of the male gods of Egypt, were represented by the bull. Jupiter, when he bore away Europa, assumed that form. Italus, a name which signifies a bull, was the Tolus of Italy; a bull was the symbol of the great god of that country.[u] A bull

[s] 2 Samuel xxii. 3. [t] Proverbs xviii. 10. [u] Hesych. ad voc.

was the symbol of the sun with the Persians.[x] With the Hindùs the same animal, named *Nanda*, was the *vahana* or sustaining power of *Sivà*, and a symbol of the god himself.[y] Even the Scandinavian god *Thor*, the god supreme of the nations of the north of Europe, is said to have owed his name to the *taurus* or *tor*.[z] Thus did the symbolical import of the tower, derived from the earlier symbol, the pillar, introduce the symbolical use of the bull: this afforded an example, which, once approved, introduced the like use of all animals, and in consequence of all things created, whether animal or vegetable. Thus may all the strange extravagances of idol-worship be traced up to the *tor* or tower, and thus did error issue from truth.

The opinion of the mythologist Bryant accords with these symbolical interpretations of words and things. He contends that the Minotaur of Crete was a sacred structure; that the famed Labyrinth was a cavern, consisting of intricate passages, formed in a pagos or barrow of large dimensions, on which stood a tower, which, joined with *mèn*, signifying the moon, or female principle of Nature, gave name to the deity there worshipped by cruel rites of human sacrifice.[a] According to this interpretation of the word, and this worship of the Minotaur, it appears that Minos was not a person, but a sect. This will give countenance to the suggestion, that the word Minotaur was really compounded of the Celtic words *maen-y-tor*, which signify the *stone tor*, or tower, probably a vast *betylium*, or divine stone, the object of ancient Celtic worship. This etymology will be received as probable, if not certain, when it is understood, that the ingenious author of the treatise called Etruria Celtica has clearly shown that the language of the Etruscans, a colony of Phœnicians which flourished long before the foundation of Rome, was a dialect of the present Erse of Ireland, which is the purest of all the

[x] Hyde de Rel. Vet. Persar.
[y] Moore, Hind. Panth.
[z] Parkhurst. Lex. ad voc. תור
[a] Bryant, vol. ii. iii.

dialects of the once numerous and wide-spread tribes of the Celts.

The learned analyst affirms, that the *tors* or bulls breathing fire, so celebrated in the fabulous or figurative history of the Golden Fleece of Colchis, were towers bearing lights in brazen vessels, by which the approach of any person towards the golden or sacred fleece was made certainly discoverable, and the abstraction of the sacred symbol impossible, because of defenders ever ready and near. He shews also from the analysis of many names, that towers exhibiting lights for the midnight safety of mariners were exceedingly numerous, at least on the shores of the Mediterranean and Euxine seas; and farther, that they were always held to be sacred to *Adorus*, the *ad-aur*, or great light, the symbol of the god supreme.[b] From this their sacred character, they were called *Tinador*, the *tine*, fire, and *ador;* whence the Greeks formed the names Tyndarus, Tyndaris, and Tyndaridæ, and gave them to such persons as worshipped lighted towers. "The Ammonians," says the same author, "esteemed every light a fountain, and styled it *ain* or *aines;* and as they built light-houses upon every island and insular promontory, they were in consequence of it called Aines, Agnes, Inis, Inesos, Nesos, and Nees: and this will be found to obtain in many different countries and languages."[c] The great usefulness of such lights to the seaman might well excite his gratitude and win his devotion. Of these lights no one in our island can have been more ancient, because most necessary, than the light upon the promontory called Flamborough Head, near Bridlington, that is, the town of the Llyn or bay of the Celtic goddess *Brid*,[d] in the East Riding of Yorkshire. The word

[b] Bryant, vol. ii. p. 105.

[c] Ibid. p. 111.

[d] Brid, or Bride, or Bridghit, was the Celtic goddess of wisdom—was their Minerva. Vallancey de Reb. Hib. Her name is known as a Christian saint, and is given to a church—St. Bride's, Fleet Street, London.

borough is the same as *barrow*, a sacred eminence or *tor*, on which a flame was, as the name indicates, constantly maintained, meriting, and doubtless receiving the religious reverence of the crew of every vessel passing by in the days of Druidic antiquity, whether they were natives of distant Phœnicia, or of the countries adjacent to that eminent promontory.

The statements given as above, on the authority of the learned mythologist, are undoubtedly of much importance, being illustrative of the manners of ancient times, when history had not advanced beyond the primal form of figure and of fable. The proofs rest principally upon the etymology of names, which, depending much upon the fancy of the etymologist, may justly be regarded as precarious; and therefore, although the statements may give a reasonable assurance of the position, that towers, or columnar buildings containing apartments, were constructed upon the taphos or barrow of earlier use, yet positive facts give greater certainty to the conclusion drawn: facts, therefore, and not words only, are now subjoined.

The tragedian Æschylus exhibited, in his tragedy of the Suppliants, the father Danaus, thus addressing his fifty daughters, who feared the power and violence of the sons of Ægyptus, and sought protection from the citizens of Argos, whither they had fled.

> In this emergency it is best, O maidens,
> To sit beside this mound of the great gods:
> The altar of the tower is better still;
> It is a shield that never yet has failed.
> Haste! No delay. And holding reverent,
> With hands and fortunes good, as suppliants,
> Crowned with white wool the forms symbolical
> Of venerated Jove, reciting duly
> The solemn words most indispensable
> With strangers seeking hospitality,
> Clear uttering sounds that give escape from blood.*

* Æschyli Supplices, v. 203.

This passage of the poet proves beyond the possibility of denial or doubt, that in the age of Danaus, that is, in the earliest times of the inhabitancy of Greece, the tower occupied at least occasionally the place on the top of the taphos or barrow, where in former times the solid pillar had been customarily raised. In the case here cited, the mound consisted most probably of heaped earth: such was the common signification of the word *παγος*, *pagus*. The *πυργος*, *pyrgos*, or tower, stood upon it, and contained at least one apartment, ready to afford at the altar within it a more secure asylum to the suppliants than might be had from a seat taken at the foot of the mound. Some idol forms, upright stones, perhaps, exhibited the presence of the god, and gave validity to the claim of sanctuary. The sacred structure thus exhibited, indicates a progress in the form of the fabric far advanced beyond the simple barrow with a stone or pillar on the top, the most compound form which sacred structures had aforetime received.

It may be properly observed, that the scene described above was merely the invention of the poet, and that it was not necessarily a description of reality. In answer it must be said, that the poet cannot be supposed to have dared to exhibit to the nice and quick sensibility of an Athenian audience any scene that had not the most exact resemblance to the reality, and of a reality which either had not or might not have been verified by actual experience. In the time when the *Supplices* was first exhibited in the Athenian theatre, it is very possible that the structure of which he speaks was then actually extant at Argos, and was the *χωμα*, or mound, in the agora or forum of Argos; in which, according to Pausanias, the head of the Gorgon Medusa, a sacred relic, was buried.[f] Besides this, there were doubtless then extant, in different places, many instances of towers placed on taphoi or tumuli, perfectly adapted to the purposes of

[f] Pausan. lib. ii. c. 21, s. 6.

sanctuary. This the following structures, described from actual inspection by the Grecian antiquary, will clearly shew.

That minute recorder of every interesting object seen by him in Greece, makes mention of many temples of Carneian Apollo. That the god derived this epithet from Carnus, the son of Jupiter and Europa, is an idle supposition.[g] The name is most assuredly taken from the *cairns* raised by the Celts in honour of the same personage known with them by the name of Beil or Sun. Whether all of these *cairns* noticed by the antiquary, were in his time surmounted by towers, may be doubted. In the present age the mound in Argos is no longer seen; in the time of Pausanias the tower was gone, though the mound remained; but that many then remained is sufficiently certain from the following instance, in which the *cairn* was crowned by a *vaos*, (*naos*) or inclosed sacred place.

Near the town Carnassius in Arcadia, is a temple of Neptune, which, as if alluding to its great antiquity, has remained, observes the antiquary, even to our times.[h] It consists of a ἱερον, a hieron, or small structure, situate on the top of a hillock, λοφος: within is a square stone, an idol. The temple and mound are surrounded by a sacred grove. The sons, that is, the worshippers of Lycaon, were its inhabitants. The worship of Lycaon, which was a personification of the God supreme, and his transformation into a wolf, meaning the use of that animal as an idol, were events anterior to the establishment of the worship of Jupiter and the gods of Homer, and therefore Pausanias might well marvel at the antiquity of the temple of Neptune. The whole accords with the Celtic worship.

The *hieron* or small temple of Juno *Bounia*, that is, of Juno of the Hill, may be noticed in proof that these tower structures on mounds or artificial eminences were built for

[g] Hesych. ad voc. [h] Pausan. lib. viii. c. 35, s. 6.

female as well as male deities.[j] This practice was not limited to Greece. When Romulus was deified under the name of Quirinus, temples were built for his worship, and a hill or *bomos* bearing his name was also raised.[k] The mention of the temples, together with the hill, both of artificial construction, suggests the belief, that as the elder Quirinus was worshipped on the old Quirinal hill, so the younger Quirinus had a temple of worship placed on the new Quirinal. The temple of the elder god being built upon the hill, affords the fullest assurance that the temple of the younger was built on the summit of the artificial mound. The structures sacred to both were, it should seem, only towers or small inclosures, probably without a roof, for the temple of Terminus on the capitol was hypæthral. The cupola of the celebrated Pantheon was open in the centre, in imitation of the ancient and common practice. Pausanias mentions such as being extant in Greece in his time, especially one sacred to Apollo, standing on a mound, and inclosing upright stones or pillars. Thus did the tower occupy that place on the mound or barrow which had been previously consigned to the sacred pillar or stone. Changes in matters connected with religious usages are in general gradual; it may be presumed that the change began with the insertion of a simple figure in the shaft of the column, and that much time elapsed before the pillar became a tower containing altars and chambers in stories rising high, and furnished with idols and images of gods. When towers had become structures such as these, they still retained an affinity to the pillar; and though altered in form, they still retained the same character. A due attention given to ancient records and to works still extant, will shew that the construction of sacred towers was influenced by the same opinions and principles as led to the

[j] Pausan. lib. ii. c. 4, s. 7. *Bounos* is the same as *bomos*.—Hesychius.
[k] Ovid. Fast. lib. ii. v. 511.

raising the upright stone or pillar. The tower was, like the pillar, the symbol of the strength of the deity, but of strength employed in affording security to the votary; and according to the practice of idolatry, which ever represents the cause by the effect, the tower became the idol, the actual representation of the deity himself.

A confident persuasion that a spirit held its abode in every taphos and mound, whether the sepulchre of a departed mortal or dedicated to a god, was followed by a desire of a visible exhibition of the personage to whom that spirit had belonged. This desire sought gratification under circumstances which ill accorded with its earnestness; and was attempted in ages rude, and when art and means were almost utterly unable to afford any reasonable execution of the attempted purpose. In nations highly advanced in civilization, the skill and ingenuity of the statuary answered satisfactorily the demand. In ruder ages strange substitutes were allowed, and these were relinquished as unworthy of notice when better things were had; and in most of the civilized countries have fallen beneath the reforming hand of Christianity. In other countries, examples of the first attempt to represent the immortal spirit or the divine personage are still extant. The provinces of *Hindosthàn* having been the theatre in which idolatry has been practised in all its various forms, and in which a purer religion never prevailed, are found to afford examples of idolatrous practices in all their varieties. It is there, therefore, that evidences will be found best illustrative of the process by which the simple altar or barrow became surmounted by the tower.

Buchanan, the intelligent surveyor of the provinces of Mysore, observed in the course of his circuit some sepulchral cairns of stone, in which the spirits of the departed, possessing extraordinary powers, were believed to inhabit.[1] On one side of each of those cairns he observed a small cavity, con-

[1] Buchanan, Mysore, chap. vi.

taining a rude and shapeless stone, which was occasionally anointed with oil and reverenced as an image of the indwelling spirit. The proper god of the caste is called *Trimula Dévaru*, to whom a celebrated temple is here dedicated. The temple is an immense mass of granite, accumulated on the summit of a low hill. Under one side of the hill there is a natural cavity, painted red and white inside, with streaks of lime and reddle. In this cavity is placed a rude stone, an idol of the god. It is attended by a *pujari*, or priest. Once every year all the people of the district resort to the place, bringing victuals, which after being dressed by the *pujari*, or priest, and consecrated by being placed before the idol, are distributed and eaten by the people present. Rites such as these, it may be presumed, were performed by the Greeks and Romans at the time when the towers above described were constructed and regarded as sacred. There can be little doubt that idols, the same as those of the Mysore, were once attached to many of the British barrows, and that in their time they also were duly worshipped. The traces of such idolatry were doubtless destroyed in obedience to the edicts of the Christian ecclesiastical authorities. Had they remained, they would have illustrated the origin of sacred towers furnished with idols, by an evidence as decisive as the cairns of Mysore.

All the idols used on these occasions were not thus rude. When art afforded the means, they received form and proportion. This may be instanced in an image in a rock near *Matura*, a fortified town in the southern extremity of the isle of Ceylon. It is thus described by a gentleman who, having visited the place, made his report to the Asiatic Society. "Near *Velli-gam*, ten miles north of *Matura*, by the road side, which passes through thick woods and plantations, is the figure called the *Coutta Rajah*, sculptured in a rude block of granite thirty feet high. It is cut out of the stone in relievo, but is sunk in a hollow, scooped out, so that it is defended

from injury. The figure may be about fourteen feet high. The countenance is mild, and is not distinguished by any of the sectarian marks of the Hindùs."[m] The figure is said to represent a certain prince who had been cured of a cutaneous disease, and that he taught the inhabitants of the district the use of the cocoa-nut, which forms a principal part of the food of the Cingalese, especially those of the lowest orders. Another stone of the same size, but without any figure, stands opposite, at the distance of twenty feet. The area between them has been made level, affording a full view of the idol stone.

The figure described is clearly an idol belonging to the sect of *Buddha*. The vicinity of the opposite stone to that in which the figure is engraved shews that they both formed together a systematic structure, and were the objects to which religious rites were performed in the area between them. The *Coutta Rajah*, the trivial name given to the sculptured rock, cannot be supposed to have been the name of the person represented by the figure, but must have been intended to signify that the figure represented the spirit that inhabited or presided in the *cutta*, or tower-rock, such being the signification of that *Sanscrit* word, *cutta*. It is seen in *Calcutta*, the capital of Bengal; a name which declares that that city owes its name to a similar *cutta*, that is, a rock or tower, sacred to and containing an image of the goddess *Cali*. The symbolism of the rock or *tor* of the *Coutta Rajah* being thus interpreted, affords an illustration of the progress made in sacred structures, and of the means by which the solid upright stone or column was converted and improved into the sacred tower.

To prove the universality of this theory, it were desirable that other similar instances should be produced from several parts of the world. But such are not now, it is believed, to be found; for when the Christian religion prevailed, which

[m] Asiatic Researches, vol. vi. No. 11.

was the case in almost every part of the world, Eastern Asia excepted, the ecclesiastical authorities found it necessary to destroy every idol, as the only means of weaning the populace from the idolatrous superstitions to which they had been accustomed. The general use of shrines of the gods may, however, be cited in proof of the present question. They were held to be as necessary in every household as the *bogh* is with the Russian of the present day. The forms of these shrines were, doubtless, very various; but many in all probability consisted of a kind of upright ark or chest, containing an image of the patron god of the possessor, in form not altogether unlike that of the *Coutta Rajah*, and bearing no very remote similitude to the towers raised above the tops of sacred mounds.

By means such as these now described, the sacred tower became the frequent successor, and a substitute for the sacred pillar, and may be called the lineal descendant from the primal altar raised by the great Creator when he planted the Garden of Eden, and prepared it for the reception of Adam. Arguments and authorities having been offered, which, it is presumed, will have proved at least the probability of the truth of this theory, it now remains that the theory be applied to the different kinds of sacred towers that are now extant in different parts of the globe, by which it will be seen that the same principle has influenced the constructors of the sacred towers now extant, as the men of ancient times, who builded others, which, though now perished or in ruins, have been described by authors of ages past.

Sacred towers being an advance or improvement of the pillar, and pillars being either square or round, all towers, whether square or round, high or low, may be taken to have owed their construction to the same principle, the symbolical representation of the power of the Deity, exercised in giving increasing and steady support to the world. Ancient authorities have been cited, which shew that all structures,

both circular and square, or even multangular, provided they were equiangular or nearly so, were of old regarded as towers, whether covered with a roof analogous to the plinth of a capital, or open atop and uncovered. Since no limit can be affixed to the dimensions of structures, whether circular or square, so all sacred structures of those forms may with great truth be classed together with towers of the smallest dimensions. According to this rule, many structures, even magnificent temples, may be regarded as pillars and towers in principle, however they may seem to be remote from them as to form. A few of the many instances that might be adduced will shew the truth of this position.

The following remarks made by the poet Ovid on the temple of Vesta may illustrate these observations, while at the same time they exhibit the rude poverty of the early Romans, and contrast it with their wealth and splendour at the time when he wrote.

> What now is roof'd with brass, was then of straw,
> And the slight osier formed the wattled wall.
> This spot, that now the fane of Vesta bears,
> The palace was of Numa, king unshorn.
> 'Tis said the form is now as erst of old;
> And the true reason may be well approved,
> Vesta and Earth are one. A ceaseless fire
> Burns in them both, and both alike pervades.
> The Earth, a globe supported by no prop,
> Hangs, heavy weight, in all subjected air.[n]

The poet lived in an age when observation and reflexion had led to the belief that the earth was a globe; but still the temple of Vesta retained the form of a circular tower, agreeably to opinions entertained during many ages concerning the form of the earth. In later ages a nearer approximation to the circular form was made by the cupola roof, the invention of which will be the subject of subsequent discussion. The fire unceasingly maintained in this temple is a matter of

[n] Ovid. Fast. lib. vi. 261.

general notoriety. The poet determines the import of the symbol, when he mentions the ceaseless fire, or rather heat, that subsists within the globe of the earth. Symbolical fires were maintained in the temples of many other gods, besides that of Vesta. Pausanias saw them burning in the temples of the Olympian Jupiter, of Ceres and Proserpine, and of Pan.[o] The same practice was carefully observed by the ancient Persians,[p] and is still continued by the *Parsis* of the present times, who, though averse from the use of inclosed temples, as being incompatible with the ubiquity of the Deity, yet admitted the structure of such buildings, some with and some without roof, as might serve to defend the sacred fire from disturbance by storm. These buildings were generally of a circular form, and for the same reason as that adopted in the temple of Vesta.

Several sacred structures of ages anterior to the christian era, but still extant, may with great propriety be said to owe their origin and their import to the pillar. The Choragic Monument of Lysicrates at Athens, commonly called the Lantern of Demosthenes, is little else than a pillar; for though it be a peristyle temple, the diameter of the tower is not more than six feet. This is a tower, a symbol of the earth and of the deity. Was is not a temple of Vesta? The ancient octagonal structure called the Temple of the Winds, still standing in the same city, must be held to be of the same import and for the same reason. Its octangular form was doubtless adopted in consequence of a division of the surface of the earth into eight parts, instead of the more simple and early division into four; a division made on the supposition noticed in some of the cosmographical theories of the Hindùs, that the boundaries of the earth formed an octagon.

That most celebrated and magnificent structure, the Pan-

[o] Pausan. lib. v. 14, 5; lib. viii. 9, 1; lib. viii. 37, 8.
[p] Hyde de Vet. Persar. Rel. cap. i. 2, 29.

theon at Rome, is a tower, and of the same symbolical import as those noticed above. Although the external diameter be one hundred and eighty-eight feet, and the height one hundred and forty-eight, it in reality owes its origin to the column improved into the tower. Like all other similar structures, it is a symbol of the world, like the temple of Vesta, for it is circular. It is crowned with a dome, in accordance with the improved opinion of later ages concerning the form of the earth, for it represents a hemisphere; but it is open at the top, and therefore is not crowned, as in ordinary instances, with a structure which might be called a shrine and the special abode of a god; but it is crowned by the heaven, the true abode of all the gods. But all the gods are, according to the doctrines of the heathen mythologists, none other than personifications of the material elements of which the earth is composed, and the powers of Nature by means of which the elements become operative. Thus plainly does the Roman Pantheon represent the world; and therefore, as the theories of heathenism shew, it represents not only the divine presence, but the Deity himself.

Christian churches, when of a circular form, may be placed in the same class with columnar towers:—the church of Saint Sepulchre, at Cambridge, most decidedly. The circular tower surrounded by the sloping roof of the building, is, in fact, the tower approached by the mound or barrow. The structure is altogether such as that described above, from the Supplices of Æschylus, to which the father Danaus exhorted his daughters to fly in sanctuary. The Round Church at Cambridge was built by votaries returning from one of the early Crusades, in imitation of the church built by the empress Helena over the supposed tomb of the Saviour. That church was intended to exhibit a tomb, and therefore the pious builder adopted the form of the barrow with a tower, the structure most usually adopted for sepulchres in her age.

The periods during which the Christian religion prevailed in Western Asia and Europe, will have afforded ample occasion for the demolition of the greater part of such of the sacred structures of the heathen nations as were not readily convertible to Christian uses. Towers and pillars were generally destroyed: temples were commonly converted into churches. In Eastern Asia the Christian religion did not prevail to any great extent, and in consequence instances of the sacred structures of every age and sect are there found. It may be remarked, that the disciples of the *Sastra* have generally adhered to the use of the quadrangular pyramid in their sacred structures, and have not adopted the pillar or the tower: the disciples of *Buddha*, a god of a later age, have adopted both. Notice of their use of the pillar has been already taken: the following are examples of their use of the tower.

At *Bhagulpur*, alias *Boglipour*, in the province of Bahar, are two round towers, of great height and remarkable singularity. They have doors of entrance, but at such height above the ground that they can only be entered by ladders of considerable length. Nine circular mouldings pass round them, at about equal distances, above which the structure is octagonal, with four rectangular windows. The whole is surmounted by a cupola, flatly conical, standing on an octagonal plinth.[q] Another tower of the same character, about fifty feet high, has been noticed standing at *Sarnatha* near Benares. The author of the Etruria Celtica adduces many instances of similar towers in different and distant parts of India, all erected by the disciples of *Buddha*, and commemorative of some legendary history of his fabled life and actions. It is generally observed that these towers are not now held in high reverence by the natives of the countries where they are situate, but that they are visited by numbers of pilgrims from Thibet, the disciples of the *Lama*,

[q] Valentia's Travels, vol. i. chap. 2.

who is himself a form of the *Buddha* of Ceylon and Eastern Asia.

At Chittore, a town in the neighbourhood of Madras, stands a tower similar to these now mentioned, but it is square. It is of white marble, about one hundred and twenty feet high, elaborately wrought, and distinguished into nine stories by ornamental mouldings. Those of the upper stories project considerably. The whole is capped by a cupola. From information gathered on the spot, it was supposed that the tower, which is dedicated to *Sivà*, was built about five hundred years ago; but the freshness of the work appeared to the Bishop of Calcutta, who gives the account, scarcely to admit of an age so extended.[r] This opinion cannot, however, be admitted. The form of the tower evidently proves that it was built by Buddhists. The present Hindùs do not use single towers, like these, as sacred structures. The Buddhists were driven from the Indian provinces when the fabled *Ravana* was conquered by *Rama-Chandra*, the seventh *avatara* of *Vishnù*. That event certainly preceded, and was probably long anterior to the invasion of the Moslems, and even the *hejira* itself, for the Hindùs appear to have been at that time unanimous in their belief of the authority of the *Sastra*, even though they might be then divided, as they are now, into many sects. The dedication of the tower to *Sivà* accords with these arguments. Had the votaries of the *Sastra* builded a temple to the god, they would have given their structure a different form: but if it be supposed that the tower was builded by the disciples of *Buddha* before their expulsion from the provinces of *Hindosthàn*, it is very easy to believe that the magnificence of the work would not only save it from dilapidation, but induce the victors to dedicate the structure to one, the greatest, of their gods. The true dates of the *avataras*, the remarkable epochs in the history of the religion of *Hindosthàn*, are much to be desired:

[r] Heber, chap. xxiii.

the attempt to ascertain them were worthy the best labour of the most profound and learned *Sanscrit* student.

One very remarkable circumstance is seen in all of these Buddhist towers, which has caused no little perplexity to all persons visiting them;—the opening or door by which they are entered, is placed high up the tower, and not at the surface of the area on which they stand. Some writers account for this extraordinary circumstance, by the supposition that these towers were constructed by *Parsis*, the worshippers of fire, and that the door of entrance was placed high, that the sacred fire burning in the tower below the entrance might be secure from annoyance from wind or storm. In answer it must be observed, that Buddhists, by whom these towers were built, did not worship or use fire in their religious rites. But were it admitted that they did use it, a door closed would have effectually obviated that inconvenience. It is stated by some authorities, that an entrance so placed is a mark of honour, and that persons of rank shewing themselves to persons below from such elevated openings, acted in accordance with their rank and maintained their dignity. To prove that this is something more than a mere conjecture, it ought to be shewn that persons of eminence and rank did so exhibit themselves, and then a reason ought to be assigned why the position of a door so placed should be honourable; but no evidences are found that give sanction to such opinions. The following may have been the reason why the entrance into these towers may have been placed in a part of the tower where it must have been inconvenient.

The sacred tower described in the Supplices of Æschylus stood upon, or rather, rose from the summit of a *pagus*, or mound of earth. It were impossible to give stability to a structure placed on the summit of a mass of loose earth; the foundation must have been laid on the solid surface on which the mound was raised. The entrance into the tower

being at the summit of the mound, must consequently have been in a part of the tower considerably above the foundation. Such must have been the situation of the entrance into every tower that crowned the barrow or mound. It may be presumed, that custom having placed the door in such situation above the foundation when a barrow or mound was raised, the same place would be chosen for the door when the tower might be builded without a surrounding mound. This supposition gives something like a reason for the extraordinary position of the doors of these towers; a reason far remote from improbability, and indeed, being unopposed by any known fact, may be truly said to approximate even to certainty.

The far greater portion of the population of China are of the religion of *Buddha*, whom they worship under the name of *Fo;* which is the name of *Buddha*, so changed by the peculiar pronunciation of the people. The mandarins and persons of the higher ranks are not Buddhists, but adopt the doctrines of *Con-fu-tsu*, known to Europeans by the altered name of Confucius. The temples used by the lower orders of the people consist generally of three quadrangular buildings of only one story each, standing in a wide space of the same form, inclosed by a wall.[s] These buildings are furnished with a great number of idols, the representatives of a portion at least of the numberless spirits held to be divine according to the mythology of *Fo*.

The structures commonly known by the name of Chinese Pagodas are of a form very different from these, and yet they are built with a reference to the same principle, a representation of the created world. They are tall columnar buildings of nine stories, often raised to the height of two hundred feet, but varying according to the height of the stories, which is equal in all except the first or lowest, which somewhat exceeds the rest.[t] The whole structure

[s] Gwilt. Hist. Archit. sect. 104.

[t] Ibid. sect. 105, 106.

stands on a square platform of considerable height, surrounded by a balustrade and ascended by steps. Each succeeding story is of less diameter than the inferior, and each is distinguished by projecting eaves somewhat resembling the form of a tent. Numerous little bells are suspended from these eaves, which continually tinkle as moved by the wind. The summit is conical, formed of a combination of iron rods, generally gilded, bearing a globe of considerable size and gilded also. The outside of the tower is commonly cased with tiles of porcelain, and the inside of every room of the different stories contains, as in ordinary temples, a great number of idols. These structures are erected for different purposes; some are temples for the reception of idols and religious uses, some are sepulchral, and some, it is said, are intended for the enjoyment of fresh air and the amusement of viewing a pleasant prospect. Such is the report of travellers; but there is reason to believe that they may be mistaken. A tower intended for taking a prospect cannot require the various apartments and appendages which are absolutely required in the pagoda.

The towers now described, whether Indian or Chinese, are each structures raised by the disciples of *Buddha*. Of the entrances, it may be observed, that all alike are placed in a part of the tower considerably above the base or foundation, but that the entrance of the Chinese tower is, like that described in the Supplices of Æschylus, approached from a *pagus*, an artificial mound or platform. This circumstance may imply that whatever be the age of any one of these structures, the fashion or form was of contemporaneous invention, or rather, that the invention took place in India and was carried into Greece. This possibility affords an argument in favour of the antiquity of the religion of *Buddha*, and accords with other evidences in support of the great antiquity of Indian history and Indian institutions.

The Chinese towers stand upon a quadrangular platform,

as does also the spire-like column of the Birman temple of *Shù-maha-deo-prà*. This structure has been shewn to have been a symbolical representation of the Sackewele, more properly the *Sac-ya-vala*, which forms the cosmography of the Buddhists. In the Chinese tower, the nine stories represent the nine regions into which the later philosophers of that sect divide the universe. The same is signified by the nine rings which are wrought on the tower of *Boglipour* and others described as above. The globe which crowns the Chinese towers is a symbol more correctly figurative of the world than the *ti* or umbrella of *Shù-maha-deo-prà*, or even the cupola of *Bhagulpùr*. Being placed on the top of the tower, the symbolical import is as plain as in the chapiters on the pillars Icin and Boaz of the temple of Solomon, and other structures of the same character, both in India and Egypt.

Certain structures occur in Ireland and Scotland, standing near, if not contiguous, to several of the churches of those countries, and called from their form Round Towers, bearing a resemblance so close to these of India and China, that the mention of the one almost necessarily leads the attention to the other, and suggests the idea that they were constructed upon the same principles, and by people entertaining the same religious opinions. That the towers of India and China were constructed by the votaries of *Buddha* is not doubted; that the Round Towers of the British Isles were constructed by men of that sect also will appear at least very probable, if not certain, when it is observed that the history of Hyperborean intercourse, not only with Greece, but even Britain, must have brought many Buddhists into the countries where the Round Towers are found, and that those immigrants not only established their doctrines, but also raised structures accordant with their opinions, and the fashion of the times in which they lived. The round form of these towers gives a certainty to this opinion. The

following notices of the tower of Ardmore in the county of Waterford, the most perfect of all others, and carefully examined in the year 1841, will shew the purposes for which these singular structures were erected.

The tower of Ardmore is about one hundred feet high, forty-five feet in circumference, and fifteen in diameter. It is divided on the outside by projecting bands into four unequal stories, with a window in each; shewing that such was the number of chambers within. The upper chamber has four windows opposite to each other. The door is fifteen feet from the ground. In the year above mentioned, the earth beneath the floor was examined by digging down to the foundation. About four feet above the foundation, an entire skeleton was found, lying on a bed of mould four or five feet in diameter, the head and feet resting on the stones of the building. Stones on the opposite part of the wall projected over the head and feet; which shews, the diameter of the tower being fifteen feet, that the foundation was broad and strong. Fine mould was laid over the body to the thickness of about two feet. This was covered by a compact floor of stone; over which lay other stones not compact, but exhibiting proofs of a former removal, which had not been extended beyond the compact floor above mentioned. The accounts mention the discovery of another skeleton without describing its situation; but it is presumed that it must have been laid in the same bed of soft mould with the skeleton first mentioned.[u]

According to some authorities, more than one hundred of these towers, some more some less perfect, might be enumerated, and that on the summit of some of them a figure of two points, somewhat resembling a crescent, had been extant some years ago.[x] The author of the Etruria Celtica states that several others of the towers in Ireland have been opened, but that they had all been previously

[u] Betham. Etrur. Celt. chap. 7.

[x] Penny Cyclopædia.

disturbed; and that nothing was found but bones mingled with earth and stone. Fragments, which were thought to belong to a funeral urn, were found; circumstances clearly indicative of interments. Many different opinions have been given concerning the uses for which these structures were intended; the following are submitted to consideration.

The learned antiquary, Vallancey, affirms that these round towers were constructed for the Persian worship of fire; to which purpose, he says, they are well adapted, for that the openings or windows beneath the cupola might well suffice for the escape of the smoke, the fire burning below being well defended by the walls. In confirmation of this opinion, he observes that in the language of the Irish they are called *Breocan*, which signifies a *fire-hearth*.[y] This word seems to have been taken for the name of Brechin, a town in the county of Angus or Forfar in Scotland, where there is a tower similar in all respects to that of Ardmore. In the Brechin tower two bells formerly hung, but now a clock with, it is presumed, one bell, holds their place. From this circumstance the towers have obtained the name of *clogh-teach*, or bell-houses. On the west side of the tower at Brechin there is, in a niche, a perfect representation of the crucifixion, which shews beyond the possibility of denial that this tower is of Christian construction.

The close resemblance between these towers and those of India and China, shews most decidedly that they are all of the same family, and, like them, owe their form to the same principle—the altar or barrow. That such towers were first constructed by the disciples of *Buddha* is equally certain from their constant use in China, and their constant rejection in *Hindosthàn*, where no such structures are admitted by the Brahmèns, the irreconcileable enemies of *Buddha*. It is to be observed that these towers are extant only in Ireland and the Highlands, the Celtic provinces of Scotland,—countries

[y] Vallancey de Reb. Hib. p. 203.

which were never in complete subjection to the Romans; whence it is inferred that their use was introduced by members of the Buddhist sect to the Celtic theologues after the Roman conquest of Britain, when the Christian religion overthrew Celticism, and of course forbade the construction of round towers within the boundaries of the Roman dominion. That the missionaries of *Buddha* should visit the British Isles will not appear extraordinary, when it is understood that Buddhism arose in India in consequence of abhorrence entertained of the murderous cruelties of the Brahmèn sacrifices, which, it is evident, the Buddhists nearly shamed out of practice in India; and that the same humane principle was equally wanted to restrain the cruelty of sacrifices in the Celtic provinces of Ireland and Scotland.

It being thus far certain that these towers were constructed upon Buddhist principles, it follows in certainty that they cannot have ever been used as *pyræa* for the rites of fire. The Buddhists never introduce that element in any of their religious rites. Had it been intended to have introduced fire into these towers, chambers would not have been admitted, for they would have so effectually obstructed the passage of the smoke as to have rendered the openings of the four upper windows useless for that purpose. That they should have been constructed to receive bells is almost impossible; their dimensions would not admit more than one at most, and that of little size.

The round towers have generally, perhaps in all cases, been used in the British Isles for interment. This must, perhaps, be admitted, although the towers of India do not appear to have been ever so applied, and certainly all are not so used in China. The interments appear to have been made according to Buddhist doctrines: no sacrifices of either men or animals appear to have been made at the funeral rites, for the bones of animals discovered in the towers are believed to have been introduced by accident only. Some fragments of

urns, such as contain the ashes of the departed, though rare, are said to have been found; but it is known that such urns occur in barrows where the interments of unburned bodies have been made, and their use is explained by the supposition that the person whose corpse was consumed by fire had died at a distance, from whence it was not possible to bring the corpse for interment at the desired place, and therefore the remains after being burnt were consigned to the urn.

Let it be admitted, that all the round towers of which there are any remains are sepulchral; yet it does not follow that all should have been appropriated, without exception, to that purpose. It is far from improbable that the towers may have been constructed and dedicated to *Buddha* and his host of divine spirits, and that the chambers of the towers may have been as fully furnished with idols as are those of China at the present day. If there were such, it must be presumed that those dedicated exclusively to *Buddha* were overthrown by Christian zeal, when in the fifth century Saint Patrick converted Ireland to the Christian faith. The same fate would await the round towers in Ireland, as had befallen the cromlechs and barrows of Britain a few centuries before. There the structures dedicated to gods were dilapidated or completely destroyed; those devoted to the memory of individuals, whether eminent or not, were spared, after being divested of their most offensive idolatrous appendages.

The reasons why the round towers should have been denominated bell-houses and fire-towers invite conjecture. It is well known that the relations and friends of the departed were bound by obligations, or induced by choice, to perform religious rites at the taphos or barrow. Alexander the Great did so at the taphoi of the Grecian heroes who fell at Troy, and the Celts performed the *deasuil* at the barrows of their ancestors or friends. The Celtic Buddhist, influenced by the same motives, might deem it necessary to make offerings at

the *daghope*, as the Buddhists would speak; that is, a round tower, beneath and within which the remains of his father or his friend were buried. When the votary made the oblation and began the rites, the rules of *Buddha* required and still require him to sound a bell. This rule rendered that instrument a necessary appendage to the tower. The zeal of friends might induce them to engage a person to perform these rites vicariously, as now the Romanist hires masses for the benefit of the soul. It might be required that these rites should be performed, as are some of those of the Romanists, at midnight hours. To secure the watchfulness of the minister, he might be enjoined to maintain a light, which, in a wild country, must have been of much use to the darkling traveller. Such were most probably the practices during the prevalence of the heathen religion. The ascetic exercises of the heathens have been adopted by persons calling themselves Christians. Paul the Hermit was a Christian *yogi*. This propensity will explain why a Christian round tower came to be erected at Brechin; in which the Christian anchorite, perhaps the constant inhabitant of the tower, shewed to the converted Buddhists, and to others, that the Christian could endure mortification as well as the heathen: the form of the building likewise shewing that the Christian had no objection to structures of heathen erection, especially when they had become familiar from long usage. The effect of this adoption of the Celtic rites and observances tended, no doubt, to lessen the reluctance of the idolatrous Celt to embrace Christianity, when he saw that they admitted such similarity of observances; and thus he must have been allured into the adoption of the Christian faith. This being admitted, it will not seem strange that a Christian should have adopted the round tower for religious rites.

The towers noticed as above, the structures of nations settled in various countries and living in different and distant ages, lead all alike to one and the following con-

clusion, that they were all constructed upon the same principle, and all conveyed the same symbolical import. The raised altar or high place of sacrifice and worship adopted by the earliest patriarchs as the symbol of the mount of the Garden of Eden, became by degrees, through inductive argument, an idol of the world; and, when idol worship prevailed, it became an idol of the Deity, the Creator of the world. The column reared on the summit of the altar, high place, or barrow, was regarded as the symbol of the divine power exercised in sustaining the world steadily and permanently. The column exhibited in a conical shape, such as were the pillars in the porch of the temple of king Solomon, was the form which columns bore in the ages when they were first constructed; columns were in fact nothing else than the conical mound, in which the height bore a great proportion to the diameter of the base. It has been shewn how the tower was adopted as an improvement of the column, but with a symbolical import somewhat different: the column signified the sustaining power of the Deity; the tower the same power employed in affording protection to persons in distress. As such it is regarded in Holy Writ. A tower was a safe asylum to the daughters of Danaus. The towers of Christian churches ought to be regarded as bearing the same symbolical import. They may suggest to the contemplative mind the important truth, that as in times of danger our rude ancestors often took refuge in the towers of churches from the insult and pillage of marauding invaders, so now the divine power may be found "a strong tower from the enemy,"[z] a defence against evils and mischiefs, a place of safety and repose to those that come unto it "labouring and heavy laden."[a]

[z] Psalm lxi. 3. [a] Matthew xi. 28.

CHAPTER V.

ON CAVE TEMPLES.

No practice can be imagined more foreign to the inclination and habits of man than that by which he was led into caves and caverns to seek in dark and gloomy recesses the favour and protection of his God by the performance of religious rites. The process must, in almost all cases, have been attended with inconveniences sometimes great and irksome, without being accompanied by any apparent advantage. It has been asserted that Adam and Eve, being, on their expulsion from the Garden, destitute of all accommodations, sought refuge in caves, made them their abode, and performed in them all the offices of life, both religious and domestic; and that caves thus became the first temples of Adam, reduced, as he was, to a savage state. The arguments already offered in this treatise have tended to prove that Adam when driven from the Garden was not an ignorant savage; that he had become acquainted with many of the arts most conducive to the conveniences of life, and therefore he was not reduced

to the necessity of skulking in caves like a wild animal. That he did so is a notion supported by assertion only, and far from probability; for surely when the Deity had taught our first parents to make themselves coats of skins, a single hint would induce them to make tents of skins also, and adopt that mode of life which the sacred history shews was led by the patriarchs, by Abraham and his immediate descendants. It is altogether unnecessary to offer much argument on this supposed origin of cave worship; no ancient authorities give countenance to the doctrine; but ancient authorities, of which many have been cited, shew that the patriarchs worshipped not in caves, but at altars in groves. All the sacred structures already treated on have been shewn to owe their origin to the altar in the grove, and it does not appear possible to trace their forms to any other source. The application of caves to the purposes of religious worship, though foreign to the patriarchal practice, was however of early adoption by the nations that deviated from the simplicity of the true religion, and was productive of great effects in the forms of sacred structures. The towers and the spires of Christian churches owed their origin and use to the altar and the barrow:—it will appear from authorities about to be stated, that the forms of heathen temples, other than those already described, and also the naves, aisles, and chancels of the churches built for Christian worship, owe their origin to the religious use of caves.

The desire to approach the presence of the god worshipped was entertained by many nations, because it was supposed to be attended by great advantages. It has been seen that some idolatrous nations, impressed with this notion, ascended the highest hills when they sought by religious rites the favour of the gods. Other nations builded their temples on the highest eminences, not perhaps without some reference to the heights of the Garden of Eden, where man once held personal conference with his Creator. This was

the practice of the early ages of idolatry, even in the time of Abraham, who obeyed the Divine command to sacrifice his son on a high place in variance from authorized usage, and therefore with an obedience most implicit. In later ages the doctrine that the earth was God in person was universally received, and this led to the conclusion that the Deity was more especially present within the body of the earth and beneath the surface, than in any place on the outer surface, the tops of mountains not excepted. This persuasion was greatly confirmed by the prophetic influences which were supposed to issue from caverns and fissures in the earth, as at Mount Parnassus; for there, as in many other places, certain mephitic vapours arising from fissures and other like openings in the earth being inhaled, produced a kind of delirium, which was regarded as of divine influence, and the incoherent expressions uttered by persons rendered somewhat delirious by the intoxicating influence of the vapour were held to be impelled by some supernatural agency. This and such like reasons confirmed the belief that the gods were to be met with in caves and caverns, and that in them the Divine Spirit more especially abided, and that the god was more especially present than in other localities. These circumstances justify the assertion, that natural caves were first taken for religious uses; and next, that the high opinions entertained of their perfect aptness for such uses, led, as will be shewn, to the construction of artificial caves where natural caves were not found.

No cave or cavern can be imagined more certain to have gained notice and excited superstitious reverence, than the cave in Mount Parnassus known to the ancients by the name of the Corycian cave. The description given of it by the antiquary Pausanias, as also by modern travellers, shews that it has been formed by natural agencies, most probably volcanic. Water continually dropping into the cave forms the most beautiful stalactitic pillars, which seem to support the

roof. The area is sufficient to contain three thousand persons. The difficulty of access secured most completely the reverential awe of the heathen ages; but that is now entirely lost, and it is made occasionally the den of banditti robbers.

That these peculiarities obtained for the cave the character of sacred, from the very first inhabitants of the country, will be seen from the following account of the several divine personages who in different ages were held to be the gods paramount of the cave. The Corycian nymphs, from whom the cave obtained its name, were personages whose history is lost in the darkness of remote antiquity: the only circumstance relative to them is recorded in one of the legends relating that the name of the city of Delphi was at first Lycoræa, from Lycorus, a son of Apollo, and a nymph named Corycia.[b] Hyamus, the son of this Lycorus, had a daughter named Celæno, the Harpy of the Æneis,[c] who bore Delphos the son of Apollo, from whom the city received the name Delphi, which it retained during the ages of ancient Grecian history. The antiquary recites other legendary facts, by which the presidency over the sacred cave and other sacred places on Mount Parnassus was successively held by the goddess Themis, the principal or presiding deity during some of the ages preceding even fabulous history. Pythis was the priestess during the fabulous ages of the presiding Python, who died by the arrows of Apollo. Other deities presided in succession, for all the systems of idolatry were continually varying; but these above noticed suffice to shew that the city of Delphi was held to be divine in the ages when Greece received its first occupants, and consequently that the application of caves to purposes of religious worship was coeval with the earliest pantheons or systems of gods adopted, perhaps in rapid succession, in that country.

In these mountains, writes Pausanias,[d] on which stands

[b] Pausan. lib. x. 6, 2. [c] Æneis, lib. iii. v. 211.
[d] Pausan. lib. ii. c. 15, s. 2.

the forest of Nemea, the cave of the Nemean lion is still to be seen. According to traditions recorded by him, this lion was a terrible creature that dealt destruction on all the surrounding country, till he was slain by Hercules after a severe and deadly contest. The moral of the fable intimates that the god of the cave, represented by a symbolical lion, and worshipped there by human sacrifices numerous and desolating the adjacent country, (for the lion wrought such evils,) was subdued by Hercules; that is, by his votaries; but not without long-continued efforts. At the city of Nemea, about three miles distant from the cave, there is a temple dedicated to Jupiter the Nemean, which, the antiquary says, is worthy of notice, but that the roof had fallen, and there was no image. These particulars, indicative of great antiquity, shew that the worship of Jupiter was substituted for that of the carnivorous lion, a symbol which represented the God supreme in ages anterior to that of Hercules; and the use of the cave shews that worship in caves had been practised during many ages anterior to the war at Troy.

In the Samicus, a district of Elis, is a cave not far from a river, sacred to nymphs called Anigridæ. Any person afflicted with the leprosy may obtain a cure at this cave by the following observances. The patient enters the cave, and there engages to offer prayers and a sacrifice of any kind to the nymphs: he then removes the leprous scales from his body, and swims across the river. By this process his disease is left in the water, and he returns wholly relieved from the disorder.[e] It appears from this statement, that miracles were wrought at these caves, seemingly upon the same principles as those at the Celtic *tolmens*. The name, Anigridæ, of the nymphs to whom this cave was sacred, not being found in the modern Greek pantheon, is a decisive proof that this cave was held in reverence during the early ages of Greece, and indeed of the world. The same may be inferred from

[e] Pausan. lib. v. c. 5, s. 6.

the following record of the cave near Corinth, in which the god Palæmon is said to be present, but in invisible concealment. If any person, whether Corinthian or stranger, make an oath in that cave, if he violate that oath he cannot by any device whatever avoid the consequences of the perjury.[f] The oath taken in the cave may be presumed to be thus obligatory, upon the principle that the person so sworn becomes a new man, by a new birth, on coming forth from the cave,—that any prior obligation then ceases, and the new obligation, single and strong, admitting no evasion whatever, because the violation becomes an act of his new life. From this transaction, it seems that absolution from the consequences of transgression was easily attainable by the votaries of the heathen gods.

The sanctity of caves may be said to have been generally admitted in all ages subsequent to the first adoption of the idea. The Grecian antiquary found sacred caves in every district of his survey. A cave called Steunos was seen by him, dedicated to Cybele, the mother of the gods, and in it an image, of wood, and consequently ancient.[g] Venus, a goddess of later ages, was worshipped in a cave near Naupactus, by widows desirous of marriage.[h] It were easy to adduce more instances, serving to shew that caves, either natural or artificial, were dedicated to every god of the several heathen nations; that, in fact, caves were used as temples. Perhaps this position is already sufficiently proved: it will be farther illustrated in subsequent pages.

The sanctity thus ascribed to caves in Greece may well be supposed to have been admitted by the idolatrous nations of Palestine. That caves were temples, may be seen from the following event of the history of the conquest of Canaan by the Israelites, under the command of Joshua. Five kings of the Amorites united their forces to attack and destroy the

[f] Pausan. lib. ii. c. 2, s. 1. [g] Ibid. lib. x. c. 32, s. 3.
[h] Ibid. lib. x. c. 38, s. 6.

city of Gibeon. Their armies were defeated with great slaughter, so that few of them remained; and those few fled to different cities and states for refuge, and the kings were left alone and utterly unattended. In this emergency they took refuge in a cave near a city called Makkedah, about ten or fifteen miles from the field of battle. From this cave they were taken, and put to death with circumstances of great indignity, by the express command of the victorious Joshua.[1]

Why they should retire to the cave rather than into the city near the cave, or why, like the remnant of their troops, they should not fly to distant cities, must seem inexplicable, unless it be presumed that they fled to the cave, open as it was, as to a place of sanctuary,—the cave being regarded as a sacred place, the temple of some god. This admitted, the conduct of the conqueror will be found to have been proper, and reason for the command for the utter extermination of the Canaanites will appear. It was a maxim universally adopted, especially in the early ages of antiquity, that the prosperity of nations, and especially success in war, depended on the pre-eminence of the power of the gods worshipped by each nation, for each nation had its patron god. To take the kings from the sanctuary of the cave would be regarded by the Israelites as a decisive proof of the pre-eminence of the God of their fathers above all other gods, when they saw that the god of the sacred cave was not able to give safety to his votaries, and that indeed he was no god, since he could not deliver them from the extremity of insult and suffering. Cruelties such as were practised on this occasion, were evidences, in those ages, of religious truth. It may be said, that the extirpation of the idolatrous inhabitants of Canaan was the only means by which the knowledge of the true God could have been maintained. The death of the kings of the Amorites, as an argument in vindication of the true God, would be most decisive with the Israelites on the supposition that

[1] Joshua x.

the cave near Makkedah was held by the nations to be a temple, a place of safe refuge, and capable of affording to the suppliants the sure protection of its god. That the unfortunate kings thought that they must have been safe in such an asylum is evident; otherwise their conduct in retiring to that cave must be ascribed to folly, and the insults inflicted wanton and uncalled for, even by the Mosaic Law.

During several ages of the early history of Greece, immediately following the simple idolatry rendered to Ouranus and Gaia, or the heaven and the earth, religious worship was paid to consecrated stones, set up as fancy led or occasion required. In times somewhat later, the religious rites addressed to these idols were performed in caves, of which several instances have been given. The history of the use either of sacred stones or of temple caves will not be properly intelligible, unless some account be given of the persons who paid such worship, and some notice taken of the circumstances which led to the suppression of that worship and the desertion of the cave, and the general use of temples built above ground, and improved continually till they attained to that degree of magnificence, which is beheld with wonder and admiration even when the structures are desecrated and in ruins.

The Theogony of Hesiod states that the activity of the idolatrous principle had in very early ages given personification to a host of divinities, which, though occasionally mentioned by profane writers, are almost unknown. At length Saturn, one of those divinities, offended at the ceaseless increase, with artful violence deprived his parent Ouranus of his divine privileges; and restraining the power of farther increase of the number of gods, endeavoured to secure to himself the right to religious worship. In this attempt, however, he was only in part successful. To enter into a farther detail of these circumstances were to give the history of idolatry instead of sacred structures: the attention is therefore invited to the following circumstances only.

All the profane authorities concurring state that Titan and Saturn were the sons of Ouranus, or Heaven, and Gaia, or Earth; that is, the worship paid to these figurative personages proceeded from that paid to the personifications of the male and female powers of nature, which earlier ages had been wont to honour with religious reverence. According to Diodorus, the worship of Saturn, a personification of Time, prevailed most especially in Africa; but that Titan, a personification of the Sun, was the deity most honoured by the nations of Greece and Eastern Europe.[k] The idols, the symbolical representatives of both these deities, were stones, for the most part rude and unwrought, not shaped by art: any other form or idol of the divine presence being absolutely prohibited, especially by Saturn, who swallowed, or, speaking fable apart, endured no other idol representative of the powers of nature than the simple stone sanctified by the customary rites, signified by the swathing clothes supplied by the figurative mother *Rhœa*. Such was the mode of worship in the countries where Saturn and Titan reigned, till both were at length overcome and their worship entirely suppressed, both in Africa and Eastern Europe, by Jupiter, and Hercules his son.

During their reign these gods were in high honour. The Orpheus of old, presented in his modern Athenian language, thus addresses the Titans, the personifications of the powers of their father:

> Titans, ye sons renowned of Earth and Heaven,
> Sires of our sires! O ye, who hold abode
> In homes Tartarean deep within the earth:
> Ye source, ye founts of ever-labouring man,
> Or things that live in seas, in air or earth:
> From you, for all on earth derive their being,
> On you I call to avert all heavy ire,
> Should such, sent from our sires, approach our dwellings.[l]

[k] Diod. Sic. lib. v. p. 231. C.

[l] Orph. Hymn. 37.

This hymn, containing the sum and substance of one of old originality, shews that in the time of the celebrated mystagogue the primal Titan had been resolved into several personages, forming a pantheon, which, superseded by that of the Grecian Jupiter, is now little known. But the prayer shews the eminence of the personages to whom it is addressed; it shews that these powerful beings abode in their temple caverns, not in punishment, as the votaries of Jupiter speak, but in honour and worship. There they were addressed with devotion, and with a full persuasion of their mighty power. This was signified by their title of Giant, in accordance with the parlance of very early times; it was a title of honour, not of abhorrence. A close enquiry into the characters and titles of the gods of the Grecian pantheon would shew that many of them were taken from the older Titanian, and that the personages, however different in name, were as to their assigned attributes the very same. In some instances the very same name was used. Titan was the same as Phœbus and Apollo. Diana was designated by the title of Titanian.[m] These facts are noticed in vindication of the position, that what may be termed the Titanian religion or mythology was in certain ages the religion of Greece: that the Titanian was the same as the Celtic, the reasons following will shew, and will vindicate the position that certain ancient sacred structures still extant in Greece were of Celtic origin, and are capable of affording useful illustration of Celtic usages and structures recorded or extant, either in the extreme eastern or the extreme western countries of Europe.

Titan, a name of the sun in the Grecian, appears in the *Tydain*[n] of the Celtic mythology. In the hymns or poems of these tribes, some of which still remain, he is called *Tydain Tad Awen; Tidain*, the Father of the inspiring Muse;

[m] Ovid. Met. lib. i. 1.

[n] *Tyd* signifies *continuous*, and *ain*, *extension*, or *fount*, from which waters flow.

a title which identifies him with the Apollo of the classical writers, but with this difference, that the name signifies by its composition the *eternal source*, a title given by idolaters to the sun, regarded as the symbol of the Great Creator, the Eternal Cause.[o] There has been occasion to notice, in some former pages, the sacred barrow near Bala in the county of Merioneth, called the *Bed Tydain*, a name shewing that *Tydain* was the object of Celtic worship, and was regarded as a personage of higher eminence than Apollo, said by later mythologists to have been the son of Jupiter, whose name as well as rank made him the personification of the God supreme, of whom the sun was the symbol. In the Celtic pantheon, *Tydain*, the sun, was of lower rank than his great archetype *Aedd Mawr*, of whom the Celtic theologues taught, that he had lived and died in alternate succession during many ages. This doctrine has not been recorded by the profane authors of the western world, but it is recorded in the Institutes of the Indian *Menù*, and was doubtless entertained by the Celtic theologues, first in Greece, and afterwards on their expulsion from that country it found refuge in Wales, where, though now not understood by the present natives, yet such has been the universality of its reception, that during certain periods it had its disciples in countries which now constitute the wide extremes of British domination.

Prydain, a Celtic deity from whom, as shewn in a note of a preceding page, our island obtained with the natives the name of *Inis Prydain*, the isle of Britain, and Britannia, or the land of Britain or *Prydain* with foreigners, was the son of the great *Aedd* above mentioned.[p] It should seem from the name given to our island, that he was one of the principal objects of the worship of the Britons. The word *pryd* signifies time or ages. The word *ain* has been already noticed; and the compound, the name of the god, signifies that he was a personification of *time*. Such was Saturn the brother of

[o] Celtic Res. p. 168.—Rites of Druids, p. 193.
[p] Celtic Res. p. 122.—Rites of Druids, p. 168.

Titan; and Saturn, like Titan, was deposed or deprived of his former worship by the votaries of Jupiter. This concurrence of the Grecian and Celtic pantheons proves their original identity; or rather, that the former was founded upon and borrowed from the latter. The modes of worship adopted by the votaries of both *Tydain* and *Prydain* were the same. The presence or personification of the former was signified by pillars sacred to the Sun; of the latter by stones. In proof it may be observed, that the swathed stone, presented to him by Rhea as the new-born Jupiter, and acknowledged to be legitimate, was the only idol he, that is, his votaries, could allow to be a proper object of religious reverence. In confirmation of this interpretation of the fabulous stone said to have been swallowed by Saturn as an idol, it must be observed, that the Celts of Britain never offered worship to any image other than a plain stone. It has been said that one or two small images have been found in Ireland. If there be such, they must have been introduced into that country in an age not much anterior to the fifth century, when the preaching of St. Patrick converted the Irish from heathenism, and thereby prevented their general use. No image or figure of the human form has ever been found in Celtic Britain. Before the Roman conquest none seem to have been introduced; the Romans, ever hostile to Celtic rites, would never permit them afterwards.

This parallelism between the Celtic and Grecian pantheons affords a decisive proof that the latter was established on the basis of the former. Deities of correspondent character are found in each.

The *Ked*, or *Ceridwen*, of the Celts, was the Ceres of the Greeks.[q] Both were honoured by mystic rites of character exactly the same. *Ked* had a daughter, *Creirwy*, the Proserpine, daughter of Ceres; and *Gwyn ab Nudd*, or Pluto, the king of *Annwn*, or the subterranean regions, was her

[q] Rites of Druids, sec. 2, 3.

suitor, and occasionally bore her away from the afflicted mother and hid her deep beneath the earth. *Ner* was the god of Ocean, the ancient Nereus of classical story. *Brit*, or Bride, was the Celtic Minerva; and *Ola*, or *Olwen*, sounded nearly like *Hellen*, the Celtic Venus.[r] This personage was probably the Hellen for which the Greeks at Troy, the votaries of the new pantheon of Jupiter, fought with the Trojans, whom the Celtic temple at the foot of Mount Gargarus proves to have been the votaries of the ancient Titans.

The Cyclopes, or Cyclopeans, have been named and regarded as of the Celtic race. The eye in the forehead may be presumed to have been the sectarian mark of migrants from the countries now forming the provinces of *Hindosthàn*, for the form of an eye on that part of the face was the distinguishing token of a votary of *Indra*, once the god supreme of that country. The Cyclopean structures of which the admired remains are still extant in several parts of Greece, especially the Gate of Lions at Mycenæ, are astonishing specimens of the power and ingenuity of this people in constructing works of unequalled massiveness. In a cave dedicated to *Indra*, near Ellore, there is still extant an image of *Indranì*, the *sactì* or consort of *Indra*. The figure of a woman is seated on a lioness, a symbol of the power of female or productive Nature. May the creatures standing over the gate of Mycenæ, like heraldic supporters of the pillar, the symbol of the power upbearing the earth, may they be supposed to bear an allusion to that goddess, of whom, as of her husband god, the Cyclopes are presumed to have been the votaries? It is very probable that the Cyclopes, who so excelled in all the arts that they are said to have been the fabricators of the thunderbolts of Jupiter, may have been a society of artists similar to the free-masons of the middle ages, to whose skill and ingenuity many of the sacred

[r] Celt. Res. p. 195.

fabrics of those ages are much indebted for their graceful adornments and their grand proportions. It may be a ground for marvel if that Society, the close depositor of empty mysteries, do not enrol the Cyclopes among their anomalous members. The Cyclopes, whether thus honoured or not, had been expelled from Greece before the time of the Trojan war, and had taken refuge in Sicily, where, as it appears from Homer, they constituted a formidable society that worshipped their deity named Polyphemus in a cave with rites evidently Celtic. The Circe and Calypso of the fable of the Odyssey, may, like Polyphemus, be supposed to have been deities of the Celtic pantheon. The former is distinguished by the epithet of Titanis, and both are named with disapprobation by the poet, who is evidently a zealous votary of the pantheon of Jupiter.

In the following passage from the Hymn of Callimachus in honour of the isle of Delos, the Celts and Titans are actually identified:

> In future time shall come one common toil,
> Though distant: lifting against the Greeks a sword
> Barbarous and Celtic, when from farthest west
> The late-born Titans on the land shall rush
> Frequent as flakes of snow, numerous as stars
> When most they occupy the fields of heaven.[s]

The invasion thus noticed is well known in history. The Gauls or Celts under Brennus did for a time overwhelm Greece as well as Rome. By the historians of that city they are called Gauls; the name of the country whence they came. By the Greeks they are called *Galatæ*, a word which being pronounced short becomes Celt. Nations are not uncommonly designated by the name of their god: for this reason, the Celts, worshippers of the Titans, were named Titans by the poet. It is more than probable that their

[s] Callimach. Hymn. in Delum, v. 171.

invasion of Greece may be in part attributed to the remembrance of former wrongs.

To this evidence, gathered from a Grecian source, the following, found in the archæological stores of Celtic Wales, may be added. The poems called Triads state that *Hu Gadarn*, a god of the highest rank in the Celtic pantheon, first brought the race of the *Cymry* into the island of Britain; that they came from the land of *Hav*, called *Defrobani*, and passed over *Môr Tawch* to the island of Britain.[t] The Welch commentators state in explanation, that *Môr-Tawch* is the German ocean, and that *Defrobani* is the country in the vicinity of Constantinople. It appears from this testimony that the Celtic ancestors of the modern Welch did migrate from the east, for the sea and the country are ascertained by ancient tradition.

These records speak in perfect accordance with the history of postdiluvian migration, and especially with the expulsion of the Celtic sect from India after the *Bamun avatara*. It has been found too, that a nation of Celtic worship was settled at Troy. When that city and state was destroyed, the fugitives from the country sought their kindred tribes in Italy; and it has been said, with every appearance of probability, that some of them, under the guidance of a leader named Brute, found a home on the shores of Britain. Such is the testimony of the Triads and other authorities of Welch archæology. The credibility of those documents has been fully vindicated by the able author of the History of the Anglo-Saxons, who proves that the claims to remote antiquity asserted by the Welch records are such as nothing but unreasonable scepticism can refuse to allow.

The evidences adduced as above shew most clearly that the Titans, the fabled adversaries of the Grecian Jupiter, were a race of Celts, and that they were worshipped with such as are called Druidic rites, performed before idol

[t] Celtic Res. p. 154.

stones and in cave temples; and that such was at a certain period the religion prevalent in ancient Greece. This fact will illustrate the history of the progress of sacred structures, and help to trace the connexion between the patriarchal altar and the Christian church. The establishment of the religious worship of Jupiter led to the use of images, led also to the structure of the Grecian temple, which was an important step in the progress of sacred structures, accompanied by circumstances of much interest as to the present subject. How these changes were effected, the following authorities may serve to shew.

The Ascrean mystagogue in his Theogony recites the following fable, containing a figurative account of the birth, that is, of the first rise of the worship of Jupiter. This personage is called the Father of gods and men; that is, he was the God, the creator of the universe, claiming paternal reverence due to him from man by him created, and superiority above all the gods of the heathen pantheons, who are none other than personifications of the divine powers and agencies.

When near the birth of Jove, the mighty sire
Of gods and men, Rhea her parents sought,
Earth old, and Heaven studded thick with stars,
For counsel how in hiding she might bear
Her dearest son, and 'scape the father's fury,
Fierce toward his sons, whom he in craft devoured.
Their daughter dear with willing ears they heard,
And what the Fates decreed to her revealed,
Concerning Saturn and his bolder son.
To Lyctus her they sent and Cretans rich,
When now her last of sons came near to birth—
The mighty Jove. Him Earth Pelorian
Herself received to nurse and educate.
The Mother came, bearing through blackest night
Her charge to Lyctus. There her son she hid
In cave helibatal, holy retreat,
In mount Argæus massy clad in woods.[u]

[u] Hesiod. Theog. v. 468.

The birth of a god signified, in the language of fable, the commencement of the worship of the god said to be born. Thus Latona, after much persecution, gave birth to Diana and Apollo beneath the shade of a palm tree. From the fable cited as above, we learn, that the worship of the Grecian Jupiter was first practised in a cave in Crete, where his votaries escaped, in the privacy of the place, the persecution of the sect of Saturn. When they had become more numerous and powerful, they suppressed the worship of Saturn, and overthrew the powerful sect of Titans, and Jupiter became the sire of gods and men, the sovereign of a new pantheon, under which the worship in caves declined, and may be said in the time of Homer to have become extinct. But before it had become extinct, it had led to such changes, and occasioned such progress in the forms of sacred structures, as ultimately produced the several rooms or apartments which now constitute our chapels, churches, and cathedrals.

It might seem that the difference between a structure raised upon the surface of the earth, and a cavity beneath the surface, must be such as to constitute an irreconcileable difference in the character of each; but, in fact, the principles on which the sanctity of both were supposed to depend, were the same. The divine spirit was presumed to be really present both in temples and sacred places situate on the surface of the earth; the divine presence was believed to be obtained by rites of consecration; caves beneath the surface hardly seemed to have required consecration, because the divine spirit was supposed to permeate the whole mass of the earth, and consequently that caves were necessarily within the actual compass of the spirit. That caves were thus sacred, being, like the altar or barrow, symbols of the world, and therefore, properly temples, will be seen from the evidence afforded by the thirteenth Odyssey of Homer.

When the hero of that poem arrived, after an absence of twenty years, at his native Ithaca, he is said to have landed in a

harbour sacred to the marine god Phorcys, of which, among other particulars, the poet gives the following description:

> Far, at the harbour's utmost bound, there grows
> An olive spreading broad. Near is a cave
> Of pleasant gloom, all sacred to the nymphs
> Well known to mortals by the name of Naiads.
> Therein stand cups, and amphoræ of stone,
> And swarms of bees there fly with ceaseless hum:
> There, too, are webs of stone; for there the nymphs
> Weave, wondrous sight! garments of purple bright.
> Throughout flow ceaseless streams. Two doors there are:
> That on the north admittance gives to man;
> The southern heavenly is: for by it, way
> Is not allowed, save to immortal souls.[x]

In another Odyssey, the poet describes the goddess Circe seated in her cave shaded by a thick grove of trees, and employed in the office of weaving with a golden shuttle, also chanting with sweet melody. Calypso, another divinity, is described weaving in like manner, and singing in tones of sweetest harmony.

The symbolical import of these caves is so profound, that, like the rest of the figurative Odyssey, it would have remained utterly unintelligible to modern ages, had not the moral been shewn by the philosopher Porphyry. He, living in an age when mythological fables were understood by the initiated, and being anxious also to vindicate the cause of the ancient idolatry in opposition to the Gospel, then beginning to prevail, gives the following account of the import of this mysterious cave. His statements afford a clear illustration of the principles on which holiness was ascribed to caves.

First, he observes, that a cave had long been taken as a symbol of the material world, in which men are confined as in a prison, illumined, though imperfectly, by the sun, for caves admit light only at the entrance.[y] The bees of the cave are, according to his exposition, souls or spirits about to be born in bodies given to them by the agency called weaving,

[x] Odyss. N. v. 102. [y] Porphyr. De Antro Nymph.

by nymphs operating in water, the true source of life, according to the aqueous sect or division of idolaters. The vital principle extant in water, they gather in cups of stone, the emblems of Bacchus the god of virescence and vigorous health, and dispense at will. The office of bees is to form honey; which, from its purgative or purifying quality, as well as from its property of being a preservative from corruption, signifies the improvement which the soul may make while in the body by useful pursuits and the practice of every virtue. These habits are signified by the poet in the *wondrous garments of purple bright*, and tending, like the honey, a substance almost incorruptible, to a happy immortality. The *ceaseless streams* imply action continually directed to some useful end.

The two openings or doors of the cave are symbols of greater importance than any of the others. The philosopher, citing the authority of Numenius and Cronius, theologues of eminence in his time, though now unknown, states that the northern gate or entrance is figurative of birth and entrance into the world and life; the southern gate is figurative of death and departure from life. These gates refer figuratively to the tropics; the former to the tropic of Capricorn, when the sun, beginning to return to the southern signs, reanimates nature and gives new life to plants and animals; the southern gate signifies the tropic of Cancer, when the powers of Nature, having been brought into fullest action, begin to decline, and continue to decline till they sink into the death of winter, when, ceasing to act, they may be said to die. None but immortal souls, says the poet, pass through the southern gate; that is, no spirit leaving the body passes through that gate, unless they have attained to such a state of excellence as to become gods; then they are allowed to join the society of gods and to be identified with the God supreme. All other spirits or souls of inferior merit are destined to continue in the world, and to be born repeatedly

in different bodies during a succession of ages, until they either attain to such a degree of excellence as to be admitted into the society of gods, and become gods, or until the end of time, or till the universe shall pass away.

Such was the doctrine entertained by the heathen world concerning the entrance of the spirit or soul into the body, and the departure of the soul from the body. The figurative use of the term gate may be said to have been universal. It is seen in the dissertation of Macrobius on the description of the mundane system given by Cicero in the Dream of Scipio. According to the author of the essay on the Sacred Isles of the West, it has been adopted and is still used by the disciples of the *Sastra*. It appears from reports descriptive of Ithaca, that no such cave as this described by the poet is now to be found, or ever has been extant, in that island. The whole of the account of the cave of the nymphs must be regarded as being altogether figurative, as is the whole of the narrative of the Odyssey. It is impossible to contemplate the description of the cave, and not marvel at the multiplicity of the symbols signified within so small a compass, and their aptness when properly understood. As far as the description applies to the present subject, it affords the most decisive proof of the truth of the position, that sacred caves within the earth were, like the sacred structures upon the surface, symbols of the world, and of the presence of the Deity, to whom they were dedicated.

There can be little doubt that the first sacred caves were of natural formation. Such was the Corycian cave in Mount Parnassus. But when the notion that the Deity must of necessity be especially present in caves, and the idea of the superior advantages attending religious rites performed in them, prevailed, many caves were constructed by art, and they received such forms as the theories founded on superstition and extended by philosophical experience or conjecture might suggest. These cavern structures were of great

effect in the progress of sacred architecture: they produced those forms of the apartments which now constitute the bodies of most of the Christian churches of the present day. Such is the conclusion that will result from the instances about to be subjected to consideration.

On the extreme point of Tænarus, the southern promontory of Laconia, is a temple built in the form of a cave.[z] In the front stands an image of Neptune. Certain Greeks pretend that Hercules brought up the dog of Hades, or Pluto, through this cave, although there be no way or passage through it. The act was probably altogether figurative. Hecatæus of Miletus has invented a probable explanation of the fabled act. He affirms that a deadly serpent was kept at Tænarus, called the dog of Pluto, because every one bitten by it died immediately; and this, said he, was the dog brought out by Hercules at the command of Eurystheus: a solution supported by probability, resting on the fact that sacrifices both of animals and men being commonly offered, the immolation of the victim may have been effected by subjecting it to the fangs of the serpent kept as a sacred symbol of some god, perhaps of Saturn, the personification of Time.

The poets Ovid and Lucan state that noxious vapours issued from the cave. These might have been fatal to persons inhaling them. Pausanias observes that no such vapours were extant in his time, and that there were no openings to give them vent. It is very probable that they had ceased; but that they did arise in the cave in ancient times, and gave it a sacred celebrity.

There can be little doubt that the dog brought up by Hercules was, as Bryant maintains, a Cohen or Cahen, a priest presiding at the cave, and ministering at the sacrifices.[a] The Hebrew *cohen* signifies a priest. This word, says the mythologist, was changed into the Greek κυων, *cuōn*, signifying a *dog*; and was applied to priests administering at temples,

[z] Pausan. lib. iii. c. 25, s. 4. [a] Bryant, vol. i. p. 48.

as a figurative and complimentary testimony of their watchful fidelity and the faithful discharge of the duties of their office. This interpretation of the word *dog*, when connected with religious rites, will generally, perhaps always, be found applicable to mythological subjects. In the instance of the cave at Tænarus, it may be presumed that the dog, or priest, presiding there, either slew all persons who entered in sacrifice by exposing them to the fangs of the sacred serpent, or occasioned their death by long-continued austerities imposed upon them when they engaged to undergo certain initiatory rites usually performed in caves. That thus fatal some of these rites may have proved, will be seen by the following, which were wont to be performed at the oracular cave of Trophonius, artificially constructed near Lebadea in ancient Bœotia.

The oracle is situate on the upper part of a mountain, surrounded by a grove below. It is inclosed with a low wall of white stone. Slender rods of brass crown the top of the fence, bound together by bars, but leaving an entrance on the left. Within the inclosure is a cavity in the earth, partly natural, but made open with great art and nicety to the breadth of about four cubits, in the form of an oven. The depth is not ascertained; but it seems not to exceed eight feet as viewed from the entrance.[b]

When any person consults the oracle, he first observes a prescribed course of diet, abiding for an appointed time in an adjacent building, sacred to the good Dæmon, and good Fortune. He bathes in cold water, and eats no meat, except that of sacrifices offered to Trophonius and his children, namely, Apollo, Saturn, and Jupiter the king, Juno, and Ceres, whom they call Europa.[c] A priest presides at all the sacrifices, and divines from the entrails.

[b] Pausan. lib. ix. c. 39, s. 4, 5.

[c] It is evidently certain the continent of Europe received its name from this goddess, who, being the same as Ceres, was the goddess

When the votary proceeds to consult the oracle, the access is made in the night, after the sacrifice of a black ram. He drinks the water, first of the spring of *Lethe* or Forgetfulness, and next of the spring of Memory, both near the cave. Next he worships Trophonius, and puts on a fringed linen garment, and shoes such as those worn in the country; he takes a small and light ladder, approaches the cave, and descends into it.

Between the farthest bottom of the cave and the entrance, is a floor with a narrow opening, two *spithamæ* broad and one high.[d] The votary, laying himself down on the floor, and holding a cake mixed with honey in his hand, thrusts his feet into the chasm, and forces, not without some effort, his knees in also; instantly his whole body is drawn through the chasm as if it had been swallowed by a rapid whirlpool: he is then with the oracle.

The manner in which the oracular responses are given is various: sometimes the votary hears them, sometimes they are shewn by visions. This done, the return from the cave is made through the same narrow opening, the feet first. It may excite surprise, but it is said no person ever died during this process except one, who came in expectation of finding treasure. It should seem from the small dimensions of the chasm through which the votaries were drawn, that very few persons would be of size capable of being drawn through it, and that such as could be drawn through must be so bruised and thrown into such confusion as to be ill able to notice what the oracle might reveal.

The attending priests, on the return of the votary, seat him on the throne of Memory near the mouth of the cave, and enquire of him what he may have seen or heard.

Ket, the object of worship with all the Celtic nations occupying the provinces south of those held rather than occupied by Teutonic tribes of the race of Japhet.

[d] The *spithama* is about nine and a half inches.—LEMPRIERE.

Having received his answer, they commit him to the care of proper persons, who conduct him to the house of the good Dæmon, and then to the house of good Fortune, astounded and horrified with fear so as not to know either himself or the persons around him; at length he recovers his self-possession and wonted state of mind.

The absurdities of the ancient oracles of the heathen world are notoriously manifested in the process now described. It is impossible that they could have been introduced in any age of civilization and intelligence. That the whole was founded upon delusion and trickery is undeniable. The dietary preparation, regulated by the priests, prepared the mind for deception by feeding it with anxious and delusive hopes. But the acts which attended the approach to the oracle were such as were well calculated to impress the mind with dread approaching to horror. The sacrifice of a black ram in the dead stillness of night, and in a solitary grove near the cave, the difficulty of the descent, the awe inspired by the belief of an approach to a god, the terror impressed by the strange passage into the deep recess of the cave, effected, as was supposed, by the hand of the god himself, must agitate the mind to madness. The voices heard, or the visions seen, must have confounded the intellect, had any portion of intellect remained. Again, the bruises that must inevitably have been occasioned by the sudden drag of the person both into and out from the cavern, must have been fatal to all reflection; so that when the votary was, on his return, seated in the chair of Memory, he would be able to recollect but little, and describe nothing accurately; all must have been delusion, and the answers of the oracle must have been merely the fabrications of the artful priests. Custom had, however, given sanction to the authority of the oracle, which could only have been established in ages of the darkest ignorance. The worship of Trophonius prevailed in such times only; for though he was

designated in later times by the name of Jupiter Trophonius, yet he was unknown utterly in the Grecian pantheon, neither can it be ascertained that he ever belonged to any.

Practices similar to these required at the cave of Trophonius, appear to have been of common observance at the sacred caves of Celticism; nor are they altogether obsolete in countries where, though that religion is no longer known, or at least acknowledged, yet Celtic usages are still practised occasionally, as may be seen in the following extraordinary fact. On the coast of Malabar, about two miles from the city of Bombay, rises a considerable hill, called Malabar hill, which stretches out into the ocean and forms a kind of promontory, similar, it should seem, to the promontory of Tænarus. At the extreme point of this hill, on the descent towards the shore, is a rock, in which there is a natural crevice communicating with a natural cavity opening below and terminating toward the sea. This place is used by the *Hindùs* as affording the means of purification and obtaining pardon for sin. The rite required of penitents consists in creeping into the opening below, and issuing out of the cavity above. The process is of some difficulty, for the passage is narrow, and too small for persons of any corpulence. The place is of high repute in all the neighbouring countries. The pirate *Conajì Angria*, of great celebrity about the middle of the last century, is said to have landed one night at the foot of the hill with no little danger to himself, being, as he was, an enemy proscribed by the English, and he performed the rite by creeping through the cavity.[e]

The character of this votary, whose rapine and cruelties outraged all laws human and divine, suggests the idea that he was in all probability indifferent as to the wickedness of his actions, but was anxious to know what might be the immediate consequences; and that he rather performed the rite, in expectation of acquiring some oracular information con-

[e] Higgins, chap. vi. s. 14.

cerning threatening events, than to obtain pardon for offences. This idea is suggested by the near resemblance between the oracular cave of Trophonius and the Malabar cavern. When pardon for past crimes, or knowledge of future events, were sought, the passage in both cases would be regarded by the votaries as a new birth, as a passage into a new life after an existence passed in the cave and in the presence of the god, supposed, like Trophonius, to be present in the cave, and therefore likely to afford new ideas and new knowledge, as well as a new birth and an exemption from the consequences of former actions.

Acts of mortification thus voluntarily endured by the votaries of Trophonius, and the danger incurred and labour undertaken by the Indian pirate, were done with the expectation that they might appease the anger and conciliate the favour of the gods. This notion, which seems to be inseparable from idolatry, rests upon a perversion of the doctrine, that the deity chastises in anger; that suffering, voluntarily endured, pacifies the angry deity, and affords the same, or even greater delight than acts of piety and virtue. It is upon this persuasion that the *Hindù Yogi* subjects himself to torture and misery; and the Romanist piously performs, sometimes, it is said, vicariously, the pains of penance. These observations invite attention, because they will shew the import not only of some religious rites, but also of several parts of sacred structures, whether idolatrous or Christian: they also prove the inveteracy of superstition; it holds its place with equal pertinacity in the pious and the impious mind; it retains even in distant ages and countries its strange and irresistible influence, and is not effectually extirpated even when idolatry assumes the Christian garb.

On a mountain called Helæum in the vicinity of Phigalia, in Arcadia, is a cave called the cave of the Black Ceres, whither she retired in anger at the rape by Dis of Despoina, or Proserpine, whom she bore to Poseidon or Neptune, but more

properly Phorcys, a personification of the waters of Ocean, and mentioned by Homer in his account of the cave of the nymphs.[f] In this Phigalian cave the angry goddess remained long in concealment, inflicting famine throughout the adjacent countries. The goddess is represented by an image of wood, sitting on a rock within the cave, clad in black, and of the following form. Her garments reach to her feet; the head is that of a horse, having a mane composed of dragons and other fierce and deathful animals. In one hand she holds a dolphin, in the other a dove. This image, thus described by the antiquary from report, had been destroyed by a fall of the earth of the roof; but still sacrifices were performed occasionally by private persons, and annually by the whole people, on an altar situate at the entrance into the cave. The cave was surrounded by a grove of oaks, and a spring of very cool water flowed out of it.

All the personages named in this paragraph belonging to the pantheon of ancient or early Greece were, as is shewn by the Welch Triads, poems of the sixth century of the Christian era, personages well known to have belonged to the Celtic pantheon of ancient Britain. Pluto, or Dis, was known to the Celts by the name of *Gwyn ab Nudd*, or *Mor-ien*, the king of *Annwn*, that is, of the deep, or parts of the earth far beneath the surface.[g] *Despoina*, the Lady, or Proserpine, was the Celtic goddess *Creirwy*, a word signifying the token or symbol of *the egg*. She was the daughter of *Ket*, *Ked*, or *Ceridwen*, the wife of *Hu*, the god supreme, the same in all respects as the Grecian Ceres.[h] This personage was represented by several symbols. She was a mare, a hen, and a boat; all which were represented by the head of the horse given to the Phigalian idol, and by the dove in one hand, and the dolphin, aptly corresponding with

[f] Pausan. lib. viii. chap. 42.

[g] Davies' Rites of Druids, sec. 3, p. 206, 207.

[h] Ibid. sec. 2, p. 184. Appendix, p. 549.

the boat, in the other. While in the cave this Celtic Ceres was a malignant character; she dealt famine and death around.

In this respect the Phigalian goddess resembles *Durga* or Black *Calì*, the personification, according to the *Sastra*, of the destructive power in Nature. The Indian Black *Calì* is exhibited in that country with complexion completely black, having terrible teeth, long nails, serpents instead of hair, and a *zenaar*, or necklace of heads, hanging long and low before her. Bishop Heber saw on one of the hills in the vicinity of the ruins of *Gour*, in the province of *Bengala*, a cave dedicated to this goddess, which he thus describes:

"The way up the hill was by a ladder, partly natural, of roots of trees, and partly artificial, where the stone had been cut away into rude steps. It led to a small rocky platform, half way up the cliff, facing the river. There were other small caves, evidently the works of art, with low entrances, like ovens, and some rude carving over and round them. I crept into one of them, and found it a little hermitage, about twelve feet wide by eight, having at each end a low stone couch, and opposite the entrance a sort of bracket, either for a lamp or an idol."[1]

On another and higher platform the Bishop saw two little temples attended by a *Gossain*, or *Hindù* hermit, and two of his disciples, living in small caves near the temples. The *Gossain* was aged, with long white hair, and was sitting naked, with hands joined and eyes half shut. "He shewed me," writes the Bishop, "not only *Sivà's* symbol, but an image of *Calì*, with her black face, chaplet of skulls, and many hands. There were several other images carved on the rock, but which had been broken by the Mussulman conquerors."

The temples of *Sivà* and *Calì* seem to have been constructed by the disciples of the *Sastra*, after the suppression of Celticism in the Indian provinces, and in opposition, evidently, to the Celtic *Calì*, as may be inferred from the following instance of a cave sacred to that goddess.

[1] Heber, Trav. chap. ix. p. 266.

About a mile from Leicester, on the west of the town, are low eminences called the Dane hills; properly the *dunes*, for there is no reason to suppose that they were ever occupied by Danes. The country in that quarter had been in the state of a wild forest till within a few past centuries. On the side of one of the knolls of this formerly wild district, was a round cave, of diameter of ten or twelve feet, and height about five, excavated from the sandstone strata there extant. This cave was known by the name of *Black Annis's Bower*, said in the country to have been a savage woman with great teeth, and long nails, and that she devoured human victims. Such were the tales told formerly, but now almost lost in the darkness of ignorance. The cave, it seems, is now nearly filled up by soil carried into it by rains; but was, about seventy years ago, quite open, like a large oven.[k] The resemblance of this cave to that seen by Bishop Heber, in Bengal, is very close and exact. Were it laid open, it is believed that it would be found similar to it in every respect—similar also to the cave of the Black Ceres at Phigalia.

The name of *Annis*, to whom this cave is said to have belonged, is known to the Celtic mythologist by the name of *Anu* or *Nannu*, names signifying the mother goddess, according to the authority of Vallancey, an author well learned in the Celtic language of the Irish.[l] He states that she was the same as the British *Ked* or *Ket*, and the Grecian Ceres. That she was the same as the Black *Calì* of India, and the Black Ceres, or Damater, of Greece, is certain. The ancient Britons did, no doubt, eat the flesh of the human victims offered on their altars, as did the Mexicans of later ages; consequently, the tales of the cannibal practices of Black *Annis* of the Bower cannot be with reason doubted, and that

[k] It may be proper to observe, that in this recital the Author speaks from personal experience. He saw it, and was actually in the cave about seventy years ago.

[l] Vallancey de Reb. Hibern. c. i. s. 5, p. 490.

cannibal rites were often practised near this cave, most probably, like the sacrifices at the altar of Trophonius, in the dead time of night, at a spot hid from ordinary view by the woods and thickets of the then Leicester forest, and attended with circumstances well calculated to horrify any man, but especially the rude and superstitious Britons then present.

Two caves of very early antiquity having obtained great celebrity, demand some notice:—the cave of the Cyclops Polyphemus, mentioned by Homer, and the cave of Cacus, described by Virgil. Of these, the former appears to have been a natural, the latter an artificial cave; it was a *carnedd*, or pile of stones, not of a round, but oblong shape. Both these personages are represented as being of gigantic stature, and of cannibal habits, which accord more with the cruel rites of the Celtic religion of these giants than with the simple reality of truth. Previously to the age of the war at Troy, the Celtic religion had prevailed in Western Asia and Eastern Europe, but had at that time been superseded by the worship of the Grecian Jupiter and the gods of his pantheon. It seems, from the description given of these giants, that bitter animosity subsisted between the Celtic and the Jovian sects, a circumstance which would not fail to render the poetic description of the manners and habits usually attributed to giants most acceptable to the votaries of Jupiter. The descriptions are most assuredly fabulous, but yet they are not false. They are figurative representations of rites of long practice—rites which, farther illustrated by the import of the sacred structures at which they were performed, suffice to shew the murderous and brutalizing tendency of superstition, and to urge every person who loves his fellow man to oppose its progress, and, as far as may be possible, to expel from the human mind such a diabolical inmate.

The Cyclopes obtained their name from the practice of marking on their foreheads an eye, according to Hesiod; but

rather a circle, as signified by the word κυκλος, *cyclus*, which enters into the composition of the name.[m] This mark was a designation of the sect to which the parties wearing it professed to belong. It were absurd to suppose that a real eye was ever intended. The practice is noticed as figurative in the Book of the Revelations,[n] and is to this day almost universal in *Hindosthàn*, where both the circle and the eye are used, among a vast variety of other sectarian forms.[o] This observance being ascribed to the Cyclopes alone of all the tribes of Eastern Europe, intimates that they were of Indian origin; that they formed a sect which adopted the religion introduced by the *nara-singha avatara*, and were afterwards driven from the country when the *Brahmens* obtained the religious supremacy by the *Bamun avatara*. Their Indian origin may also be inferred from their practical skill in the working of metals, whence the Greeks fabled that they were the sons of Vulcan, and fabricated the thunderbolts of Jupiter. The Metamorphoses of Ovid are fabulous statements of real facts; and therefore the tale of the love borne by Polyphemus for the nymph Galatea, said to be the mother of the Galatæ or Celts, and her rejection of the giant, intimates that the Cyclopean sect of Sicily desired a union with the Celtic sect, but that their tenders were refused. The refusal was followed by animosity and persecution exercised by the Cyclopes, or Indian Celts. Acis, the spouse of the Celtic mother, was slain, it seems, without much effect, for the Cyclopes did not gain the nymph; that is, the desired union of the sects did not take place, and the Cyclopes never passed farther westward than the island of Sicily. In that island, it seems, they practised their religious rites without any effectual interruption. There they kept their flocks, the sacred symbols of the attributes of the god worshipped, as is still done in India; there they performed, in caves, their

[m] Hesiod. Theo. v. 143. [n] Rev. vii. 3: xx. 4.
[o] Moor. Hind. Panth. plate 2.

religious rites, which might consist in part of oblations of milk, but not unfrequently in sacrifices, of which the human victim was held to be most efficacious when eaten with horrible gluttony, in such cannibal repasts as the poet ascribes to the giant, that is, to his votaries; whose purpose of slaying in sacrifice, according to the custom of sacrificing strangers general in those days, the artful hero of the Odyssey fortunately escaped by passing out of the cave concealed among the crowded flock when driven forth to pasture. No mention being made of fire used by the Sicilian Cyclopes, it should seem that this sect did not burn any portion of the thing sacrificed; contrary to the common practice of the true Celts, but agreeably to the usages still retained in India, and found in Mexico by the Spaniards under Cortes. There the victim, after being slain on the stone of sacrifice, was immediately tumbled down from the heights of the temple, and eagerly devoured by the populace below. Such was the cannibalism of Celtic idolatry.

The poet of the Æneis, delighting in the contrast of the state of the Aventine hill at Rome in his age, compared with what it was when the Trojan hero first sought the aid of the Arcadian Evander, speaks thus of the cave of the monster Cacus, a Celtic god, who till within a short time before the arrival of Æneas, had occupied the place and held the neighbourhood in dread. The abode is thus described:

> Here was a cave remote in deep recess,
> Which Cacus' monster form erst occupied,
> All inaccessible to solar rays;
> The floor unceasing flowed with recent gore,
> And human heads affixed to the proud gates
> Hung, sad the sight, dropping unceasing blood.
> Vulcan the parent of the monster was,
> Breathing dark flames and vaunting his vast stature.[p]

Till the Greeks, the votaries of Jupiter and his pantheon, became predominant in Italy, all the nations of the provinces

[p] Æneis, lib. viii. v. 192.

of the north-west were of the Celtic religion. The learned author of the Etruria Celtica has shewn that the Tuscans were most assuredly such,—that the Mantuan poet confessed his early attachment to the Celtic Galatea, and his works exhibit a perfect acquaintance with Celtic superstitions. The acts of Cacus shew what those superstitions were. They consisted in rites performed in caves, evidently on the principles by which cave worship was advocated, rites in which the flesh of human victims was burned upon the altar in the gloom of caverns. This truth is shewn by the record of the poet, who writes, that when the cave, the palace of Cacus, was laid open to the light of day by the strength of Hercules, whose labours consisted in the suppression of Celticism in all parts of the world, the monster fell by the hand of the god of strength. Of his cave the poet writes thus:

> Involved his dread home was in darkness blind,
> Baffling the eye. There rolled within the cave
> A smoky night, and darkness mixed with fire.

Such were the cavern temples of the Celtic priests.

The magnificent cavern at Castleton, in the Peak of Derbyshire, must often have given locality to scenes similar to those of the cave of Cacus. The cavern may be thus described. The entrance is a tolerably regular arch, about forty feet high and one hundred wide, extending in length nearly three hundred feet. This vestibule, as the arch may be called, contracts, affording a low entrance into a spacious vault, called the Bell house. A second contraction brings the rock almost down to a stream of water, which, though shallow, is crossed by the visitor in a boat. The first cavern is more than two thousand two hundred and fifty feet long, and above one hundred and twenty feet high. The breadth may be at least above five hundred.[q] A succession of caverns and passages extend five

[q] Penny Cyclopædia, Derbyshire.

hundred feet onward from the great cavern, till it is terminated by a low-browed rock, from under which issues a copious stream, not unworthy the name of river. The natural gloom of the cavern is, to some persons, terribly awful. It must have been horribly awful when made the scene of a Celtic sacrifice.

That this cavern was used in manner described as above must be inferred from the peculiar aptness of the circumstances of the place. The stream, clear and copious, runs through it as in the cave of the nymphs described by Homer. The noble avenue of arched rock, which leads to the cavern, is well calculated to impress the mind with awe. The low-browed rock at the entrance, leaving but little space above the waters of the stream crossed, must have suggested to the Celtic votary the favourite idea of a relinquishment of the world and of life. The issue from the cavern after performance of religious rites might well be termed a new birth, and, like a passage through a *tolmen*, give to the superstitious votary a confidential assurance of an exemption from all the dreaded consequences of past transgressions. That the Castleton cavern was thus held in reverence is fairly proved by the means used in later times to abate that reverence. A name disgustingly vulgar (the Devil's a——,) by which, till of late years, it was commonly known in the neighbouring counties, was given to it, and with good effect. The quondam sanctity of the cavern is now lost in oblivion, and it is now only noticed as one of the most noble objects of curiosity in South Britain.

Similar observations may be applied to another cavern in the vicinity of Buxton, known by the name of Poole's Hole, because it is said that a robber of that name once made it his place of retreat, and from which he issued to commit his depredations. Whether the cavern was ever so applied, though it be possible, is doubtful. The name may rather have been taken from the Celtic word *pwl, pool*, given

in reference to the pools formed by the waters dripping from the ceiling of the cave, and producing stalactites and stalagmites of various shapes in almost every part. The entrance is a low-browed rock, which is only to be passed by stooping; but within the cavern is lofty and spacious, extending to the length of five hundred and sixty yards, but the farther extremity is of difficult access. Like the Castleton cavern, this is so well adapted to religious rites that such application cannot be doubted. The name of the robber Poole, given to the cavern, was doubtless intended to work the desecration of the once sacred place. This practice of giving opprobrious names to caves and places appropriated to the performance of Celtic rites seems to have been general; that it was not limited to the Peak of Derbyshire, the following instance will shew.

In the lordship of Humberston, a village near Leicester, on lands belonging to the Pochin family, there is a large erratic block of the syenite rock from Mountsorrel hills, which, though now covered with soil, was till within a few years past open to view, and was well known to and regarded with a certain degree of awe by many of the inhabitants. It was called the Holy Stone; was said to be attended by fairies; it was believed that any person practising any outrage toward it, or using any indignity, would never prosper. It is believed that this stone was the supporter of an *amber* stone, from which the village obtained the name Humberston,[r] or Ambers-ton, the town of the *amber*.[s] The lands around are known by the name of *Hoston*, from the stone.

[r] There are only two towns in England that bear the name of Humberston; this near Leicester, the other near Grimsby, in the county of Lincoln. Whether there be any *amber* stone near the latter village does not appear, but the singularity of the name leaves little room for doubt that such a stone must have once stood near the place. This Humberston is upon the shore of the estuary called the Humber, which in all probability derived its name from the *amber*, an object perhaps conspicuously placed, which mariners would not fail to reverence as they passed by it, according to the known custom of ancient times.

[s] A low hill in the lordship, of a perfectly round form, crossed by

Village traditions idly affirm that there was once a nunnery at this place, and a subterranean passage communicating with Leicester Abbey. This tale probably originated at the Reformation, when every idle assertion tending to render monks odious was greedily swallowed. Not the slightest evidence exists of such structure. The tale, however, is not undeserving attention. It may have been founded on a tradition that a Celtic cave was once extant at the place, perhaps beneath the stone on which the *amber* stood. In the ages of Christianity which followed the suppression of the Celtic religion, it seems to have been designated by the name of Hell Hole. This name is still retained by the lands forming the slope of the eminence on which the Holy-stone is situate, although the richness of the lands and their pleasant aspect seem to demand a less offensive name. These circumstances afford evidences which cannot be reasonably contravened, that the name of Hell Hole was given to a Celtic cave, which, from the tale of the nunnery, may be inferred to have been dedicated to a female divinity, possibly the Black *Anu* of the Leicester cave; and that the odious title was given in reference to the Celtic, possibly the cannibal sacrifices, there performed. It is highly probable that an increased acquaintance with Celtic and Druidic antiquities will make known many instances of the imposition of offensive names to the Celtic structures of our British ancestry. The use of such names at the village of Humberston, sixty miles at least from the caverns of Derbyshire, implies the wide prevalence of a practice which may be said to have once been of universal adoption.

Bishop Heber saw, in the course of his Indian journeys, caves of all dimensions, varying from the oven-like cave of the *Hindù Calì* and the Leicestershire Black Annis, to the

the turnpike-road leading to Uppingham, is called *Roborough*, a name evidently compounded of the word barrow and the Celtic *rholl*, confirming the opinion of the Celtic origin of the name of the village.

magnificent, large, and wonderful excavation called the cave *Calaisa*, near Ellore. He saw one, a natural cavern, regarded, at least in former times, as sacred, in the hills near *Gour* in Bengal, which so nearly resembles the Castleton cavern as to deserve notice; more particularly, because the sacred character ascribed to the Indian cave in former ages justifies the opinion here submitted of the pious reverence in which the Derbyshire cavern was once held.

"My attendant begged leave," says the Bishop, "to shew me a wonderful cave, of which nobody had ever seen the end; I assented, in expectation of seeing something very curious, and I scrambled up a hill by a rugged path till near the top, when I came to a cave, certainly very large and fine, in a limestone rock overhung by ivy and pipal or peepul trees, in a very graceful and picturesque manner. The entrance was rude and large. The apartments within, branching off two or three ways, bore, as far as I could perceive by an imperfect light, marks of art. Water dropped copiously from the roof, and filled a cistern near the entrance, but rendered a far entrance into the cave inconvenient and prevented particular research. On enquiring of a *Gossain*, or *Hindù* hermit, residing on a different part of the hill, he said that nobody had ever seen the end of the cave; that two thousand years ago a certain Rajah had desired to explore it, and set out with ten thousand men, and one hundred thousand torches, and one hundred thousand measures of oil, but that he could not succeed, neither did he or his army ever find their way back again."[t] This is an instance of exaggeration commonly occurring among the Hindus. Of the hill and the caves it may be proper to observe, that, being the chosen residence of a hermit, it may be presumed that it is regarded as a sacred place; and a village at the foot, occupied by persons subsisting upon alms, intimates that they may found their claim for donations upon the general sanctity of the hill in which the caves are found.

[t] Heber's Journey, chap. ix.

Among the ancient remains of the Druidic, more properly, the Celtic worship, (for the Druids were only an order of religious persons,) there occur structures consisting of two, three, or more upright stones, supporting when entire, or intended to support, a large stone, in some instances nearly flat, in others somewhat convex on the upper side. These structures are generally known by the name of *cromlech* or *cromleh*, a word compounded of the Celtic words *crom*, signifying *curved*, and *lech*, according to the Welch idiom, or *leh* according to the Cornish, signifying a *stone*. The form of the covering stone is most commonly flat, whence it sometimes obtains the name of *coit* or *quoit*, but in some instances the stone is of considerable convexity. Some of them take a long or oblong form, when they are called double *cromlechs*, as will be seen from the following description of some deserving particular notice.

The cromlech called *Lanyon Quoit*, in Cornwall, stands on a bank of earth about seventy feet long, twenty broad, and about two feet higher than the adjacent plain. The height of the three stones on which the Quoit or covering stone rests is about eight feet, and the space beneath the quoit, which they may be said to inclose, is about six feet by four. The circumference of the Quoit is about forty-seven feet, its length nineteen, its thickness on the edge toward the east is sixteen inches, on the west two feet. The two chief supporters do not stand at right angles with the front line, as in most other cromlechs, but obliquely, being forced from their original position by the weight of the Quoit. About the south end are many rough stones, some pitched on end, but without any order. The soil within what may be called the inclosure is black, but having been often disturbed, affords no explanation of the purport of the structure.[u]

On the top of a high hill in the said county, about half-a-mile from East Sennor Church-town, stands a very large and

[u] Borlase, Cornwall, book iii. chap. 9.

handsome cromlech; five upright stones, eight feet ten inches high, inclosing an area of six feet eight inches by four feet. This area is perfectly clear of stones within. The covering stone is eighteen feet in length. At the east end of the covering stone, the two upright stones on which it rests project beyond the stone which bounds one end of the inclosed area, and, together with two other stones placed at a little distance from and parallel to the end stone, form another cell somewhat more than three feet deep, with two openings. The whole structure is surrounded by a cairn of stones, which nearly reach the Quoit or covering stone. Near this cromlech stands another, not so large as that now described, but in other respects not materially different.[x]

At Tobins-town, in the county of Carlow in Ireland, is a cromlech, which, being somewhat different from those already described, invites notice. On the west end is a porch formed by two upright pillars, somewhat round, but irregular, each eight feet high, terminated behind by a broad flat stone set on the edge, eight feet high and nine feet broad, making a porch six feet wide and four deep. This is covered by the quoit, which is twenty-three feet long, eighteen broad at the upper end over the porch, and six at the lower or back part, where it rests on small stones about a foot high. Its thickness at the upper end is four feet; at the lower, two. The under surface is plain and even, but the upper convex, in which are cut channels leading from different parts to one principal and central. The sides of the fabric are supported and inclosed by upright stones from three to six feet high, making a room eighteen feet long, eight feet broad at the west end, five at the opposite end, and from two to eight feet high, perfectly secure against the weather. From the porch on the west is a sort of avenue about forty yards long, formed of small irregular artificial hillocks.[y]

A cromlech of a more simple form than the preceding

[x] Borlase, Cornwall, book iii. chap. 8. [y] Higgins, Druid. Introd. p. 90.

stands on a hill called Browns-hill, about a mile and a half from Carlow. It consists of an immense rock, raised on an edge from its native bed, but not removed from it. This covering stone is supported at the east end by three uprights, five feet eight inches high. It is twenty-two feet long on the outside; nineteen within from the edge to the floor; eighteen broad; and four feet six inches thick at the eastern or upper end. It is inclined at an angle of thirty-four degrees. Opposite the front, at some distance, stands a stone nearly round and five feet high. The sides of the cromlech are now open, but were doubtless closed when the fabric was entire.[z]

In the Isle of Anglesey is a cromlech, sacred to *Bronwen*,[a] the daughter of *Lyr*, the Celtic Neptune, and *Ket* or *Ceridwen*. It differs from any of the above, in that it consists of two cells closely contiguous, but covered by two separate cromlechs. The higher structure is covered by a vast stone twelve feet seven inches long, twelve broad, and four thick, supported by three stones, the first five, the second three, the third three and a half feet high. The lower part consists of a cromlech nearly six feet square, supported by three stones. It is surrounded by a wood or grove of ancient growth.[b] Three villages stand around this cromlech, called *Trir Dryw*, or Druids' Town, *Trir Beirdd*, Bards' Town, and *Bod Owyr*, the dwelling of the Ovates; the three orders of the Celtic priesthood.[c] It is affirmed by Homer that the persons ready to attend the Cyclops Polyphemus and afford him assistance, were numerous. It may be presumed that the god of the Cyclopes may have been attended by ministers living in villages like these of Anglesey. Perhaps every cromlech was attended in like manner when the Celtic institutions were entire.

Near Glanworth, in the county of Cork, stands a crom-

[z] Higgins, Introd. p. 89.
[a] Davies' Rites of Druids, sect. 4, p. 400.
[b] Higgins, Introd. p. 93.
[c] Davies' Rites of Druids, sect. 4, p. 399.

lech consisting of three rooms or cells. The first is formed of a flat covering stone fifteen feet long, eight broad, and three and a half thick at a mean. This structure ranges east and west. Close to the east of this fabric is another cell, covered by a flat stone six feet long and eight broad, supported by four upright stones ranging east and west like the former. A third flat stone of the same dimensions as the second, and supported by four pillars gradually approaching, joins the second, ranging east and west like the two former cells. Between the second and third is a doorway about two feet and a half wide. The length of the structure is twenty-seven feet. At the west end are the remains of a *Dearthach*, or vestibule, consisting of two rows of stones diverging westward. The whole is surrounded by two rows of shorter pillars or stones, standing in an oval form, at a distance of about ten feet from each other. The inner row is five feet distant from the cromlech.[d]

There has been occasion repeatedly to observe that the Celtic religion was once the prevalent or established religion of the provinces of *Hindosthàn*. It has been shewn that some of the earliest and most simple of the caves of that country were of the same form and similar dimensions of at least one still extant in Scotland. The same may be affirmed of the cromlech: several of these structures are extant in the vicinity of the British settlement at Bombay, bearing a close resemblance to that called *Kit's Coity House*, near Aylesford, in the county of Kent. Two of these Indian cromlechs are exhibited in the History of Wiltshire by the distinguished author of that able work:[e] they bear the following form. Three upright stones, apparently eight or ten feet high, inclining inwards, sustain in each cromlech a stone of large dimensions, flat underneath, but so convex above as to be cones, though somewhat flat. In this respect they differ from the cromlechs of the British Isles, except that

[d] Higgins, p. 91. [e] Ibid. p. 84.

at Tobins-town, which is covered with a stone the same in form as those in India. There can be little doubt that these varieties of form were owing to some differences in the mythological theories of the constructors; differences which shall receive due consideration.

The repeated injunctions issued by the ecclesiastical authorities, requiring the destruction of all Celtic structures, must afford the assurance that no such structures can be expected to be found in their original and perfect state. The effect of these injunctions on the cromlechs has been to throw down the mounds by which their cavity was at first surrounded, and to lay open those recesses in which the Celtic mysteries had been performed. The materials of these mounds were, in some instances, loose stones, in others earth heaped up to the covering stone. The cromlech of Sennor, in Cornwall, still retains very nearly its primal state. In the Lanyon Quoit, the soil of the inclosing mound is scattered and spread around the naked structure; and, with the stones which formed the sides of the inclosure, seen in disorder at one end of the cromlech, forms a bank which surrounds the ruin.

The practice of desecrating cromlechs by casting down the mounds with which they were inclosed, was universal. It may be instanced in the cromlechs of Malabar as well as of Britain, for both alike are left bare. It was the usage of all ages. Cacus, the monster of the Aventine hill at Rome, had his abode in a cromlech, as may be seen in the following description given in the eighth Æneis.

Adopting the figurative language of ancient fable, the poet relates that Cacus, that is, the votaries of the Celtic sect, had stolen some of the oxen which Hercules was driving off in triumph; being the herd of sacred animals which had been maintained, according to the practice of ancient times, in honour of the god Geryon with three heads, like the *Hindù* Trimurti. Thefts such as these were frequent in those days;

and to be able to retain the booty was regarded as a proof of the irresistible and pre-eminent power of the god of the spoilers. The outrage of the Celtic sect, personified in Cacus, roused the Heraclidæ to vengeance, and led them to attack the cave, the sacred cromlech of the spoilers. These, fearing the indignation of their outraged adversaries, fled before them and hid themselves in their cave, which, like the Cyclops Polyphemus, they secured against all intruders by a large stone which strongly closed the entrance. The description of this cromlech, their sanctuary, and the attack of the assailants, is thus described in the eighth Æneis:

> A pointed flint, by shattered stones sustained,
> High to the view, stood on the cavern's ridge;[f]
> The apt abode of birds of doleful name.
> This, to the river on the left inclining,
> He (great the effort) forced toward the right,
> And shook it, loosened to the very base,
> And drove it from the site by sudden thrust.
> Instant sounds widest air: the very banks
> Start back: back flies in fright the rolling stream.
> Instant the cave of Cacus, his abode
> Royal and vast, appeared exposed all;
> Its every cavern open to the view.[g]

The cave of the cromlech being thus opened, the victory was soon won by the assailing god, notwithstanding the furious resistance of the potent monster. There will be occasion in some following pages to refer again to the particulars stated relative to this transaction, which is highly illustrative of the Druidic, or rather Celtic religion.

During the ages in which the Celtic religion prevailed, these structures were regarded with reverence and awe, as the name indicates. The word *crom* of the composition signifies *bending* or *bowing*, and with *lech*, stone, forms a word expressive of the obligation binding upon all, of bending or bowing whenever they approached or passed near the

[f] *Dorsum*. Hence it appears that the cromlech was of oblong form.
[g] Æneis, lib. viii. v. 223.

cromlech. It was therefore properly termed the stone at which the act of bowing must be performed: it was the bowing stone.

The author of the treatise on the Celtic Druids cites authorities which show, as he contends, a derivation of the word somewhat different from the above. His opinion being of weight, requires some notice. He observes that *Crom* was one of the Irish names of God. *Daghda*, or *Dah-da*,[h] was called *Crom-eocha*, the *good Crom*. *Crom-cruadh*, or *Crom-cruach*, was the name of an idol of great celebrity in Ireland: and, in fine, in ancient Irish the name of a priest was *Cromar*, or *Cromthear*, that is, a servant or adorer of *Crom;* and *Cromleach* may mean the stone of *Crom*, or of the supreme God.[i] Taking the word *cromlech* or *cromleach* to signify the stone of *Crom*, this difficulty occurs: the *cromlech* was dedicated to the goddess *Ket*, a female deity, and to *Arthur* also, perhaps a deified hero, and not appropriated exclusively to *Daghda*, the supreme God. That the Supreme should be termed the *good Crom*, means nothing more than the *adored good one*, a word which is rather an epithet than a name, and shows that the word *crom* may be applied to any sacred structure dedicated to any divine personage. Thus do the authorities cited by this author prove the truth of the present interpretation of the word *cromlech*, and show that it must be taken in the sense signified as above.

After the measures taken to desecrate the objects of Celtic worship, it cannot be supposed that the *coits* or flat stones of the Celtic structures were the real cromlechs or bowing-stones to which reverence was paid. Indeed the flat stones supported by the uprights could scarcely have been visible when the supporters were hid by the materials of the mound, heaped up to the underside of the *coit* or stone that formed the ceiling of the room or cavity beneath it. It has been

[h] *Dai*, the *deity*. *Da* is *good* in the Welch. [i] Higgins, chap. vi. sect. 5.

conjectured that the *coit* was an altar for sacrifice; a purpose for which it was utterly unfit. The use of the *coit* was to support the cromlech or bowing stone placed upon it. In the description of the cave of Cacus, it appears that a pointed stone, an *acuta silex*, kept firm by stones placed or earth heaped up around it, stood above the cave, and that all this structure must have been placed upon a stone similar to the covering stones of the cromlechs now extant. This stone so sustained was the *maen amber*, the *high stone*, as the Celtic words imply. The practice of thus placing one stone upon another is illustrated by Phœnician coins still extant, which exhibit columnar stones standing on other stones, supposed to represent the pillars of Hercules.[k] In some instances, however, the *coit* may from its form be presumed to have been itself the covering of the cave and the cromleach or sacred stone also. In the cromlechs of Malabar the covering *coit* is so convex as to resemble a cone; so likewise is that of the cromlech at Tobins-town in Ireland. These *coits* may be supposed to represent the conical mount *Meru:* they certainly were objects sufficiently visible above the cairn or mound, which they cap or cover, so as to render another *amber* stone quite unnecessary. That they should have escaped subversion may have been owing possibly to their situation, probably remote from common notice, and partly to the difficulty and even danger likely to have attended the attempt of their overthrow. It appears from the statements of Homer and Virgil, that all these caves were accommodated with the means of inclosing them effectually, so as to render them safe from intrusion. The cave of the Cyclops was closed by a stone of such magnitude, that the giant alone was able to move it. The cave of Cacus appears to have been secured by a vast stone, suspended in the manner of a portcullis, which, when let down, was a defence that even Hercules, the god of strength, angry even to fury, was not able to force.[l]

[k] Higgins, chap. vi. sec. i.

[l] Æneis, lib. viii. v. 225.

The *cromlech* is known in the language of Ireland, by the name of *both-al*, compounded of *both*, a house, and *al*, god, that is, god's house; certainly the same as *bethel*, a word of the same purport in the Hebrew.[m] The cromlech was also called *indealleha*, which has been interpreted, the image or symbol of *Ion*, the god supreme. The Celts used no images, or at least very rarely, and in late ages only; and therefore the cromlech, like our churches, may be most properly regarded as the symbol of the divine presence. These names intimate very decidedly that cromlechs were places where the rites of public or social worship were performed.

The Celtic worship admitted human as well as animal sacrifice at its temples, and such were frequent at the cave of Cacus, as appears from the following lines of the poet.

> A cave there was, in vast recess remote,
> All inaccessible to solar rays:
> The floor was ever warm with recent slaughter;
> And human visages to its proud portals
> Affixed, hung pale in sadly tristful gore.

The practice of fixing the heads or skulls to the outsides of temples was once universal. In temples of the Doric order of architecture, such objects formed the ornaments of the metopes of the entablature.

The temple-cave, the secret scene of such horrid sacrifices, having been laid open to view by the downfall of the pointed flint, the *amber-stone* of the cromlech, the monster Cacus, now accessible to his enraged pursuer through the spaces between the stones supporting the covering coit, endeavoured, according to the figurative narration of the poet, to conceal himself by the following process:

> He, now no way is left him for escape,
> Forth from his jaws, most wonderful to tell,
> Vomits black smoke, and all his house involves
> In darkness dense, impervious to eye:
> Through all the cave the smoky night he rolls,
> The gloom commixed with ill-discovered fire.[n]

[m] Higgins, chap. vi. sect. 5. [n] Æneis, lib. viii. v. 193.

It is to be observed of this narrative, that the whole is a fable describing truth in the language of fiction; for nothing is more certain than that no such person ever lived as the hero Hercules, nor yet monsters such as the Cyclops of Sicily, or the Cacus of the Aventine Mount; but yet there can be no doubt that the partizans of a sect personified in the famed Hercules did assail in manner described the partizans of another sect personified in the monster Cacus. The persons being thus figurative and fabulous, such were their acts likewise; hence the inspection obtained forcibly by Hercules of the cave of Cacus must be understood to signify the forcible intrusion of the Heraclidæ into the mysteries of the Celtic Cacus, when they beheld the cannibal ministers burning in sacrifice some portion of the victim, perhaps the hearts, and devouring the rest, as did the Mexicans the flesh of their victims. The victorious assailants, horror being added to indignation, flew upon their hated adversaries, abolished their rites, and slew the ministers. The inhabitants of the vicinity, who had felt the cruelty of their rule, beheld with awe, even when dead, those persons whom when living they had obeyed with horror. Such is the moral of the giant Cacus. The poet knew partly from tradition and partly from experience the character of a religion which his powerful pen describes. His description shews, that within the cave temple of the cromlech part at least of the victim sacrificed was consumed by fire; and as the floor of the den of Cacus was moist with frequent gore, so was the den of the cromlech likewise often stained with blood. Such stains, together with the fire of sacrifice made upon the floor, will shew why the area within the cave exhibits marks of fires, but of fires kindled not for the purpose of burial, but of bloody sacrifice. Of this there are but too many evidences adducible in proof. The Welch triads[o] speak of the two eagles wearing a yoke of gold that guarded the treasure of *Gwendoleu*, a prince on

[o] Davies' Rites of Druids, sect. 5, p. 462.

the north of the *Strath Clwydd*[q] Britons, and state that these symbolical birds were in the habit of consuming daily two persons for their dinner and two for their supper. Such were the sacrifices daily offered.

The cromlechs described as above appear to be, with one exception, unaccompanied by any structure, and to stand alone. This however was not always, perhaps never was, the case. The author of the Rites of the Druids cites authorities which shew that in the county of Cardigan is a cromlech called the *Llech y Gowres*, that is, *the flat stone of the giantess.*[r] The covering stone is very large, and is supported by four uprights, each about the height of five or six feet. Besides which there are two others pitched on end under the top stone, but much lower. There are also three stones, two large, and behind them a lesser, lying on the ground at each end of the structure, which stands on a small bank in a plain open field.

In the parish of Nevern, in the county of Pembroke, there is a cromlech standing within a circular area of the diameter of fifty feet, bounded by upright stones.[s] The covering stone is eighteen feet long and nine broad, and about three feet thick at one end, but thinner at the other. It is supported by three uprights, about eight feet high. Beneath the covering stone are five others, not high enough to have served as supporters. The floor within the inclosure is neatly flagged. The cromlechs above described exhibit all the varieties in form and state now extant or generally known; they invite the following remarks, and lead to some interesting and important conclusions.

When first constructed and entire, the space between the uprights in every cromlech was completely inclosed by stones

[q] It may perhaps be necessary to say that the letter *w*, which occurs very frequently in Welch words, is pronounced like *oo*. Clwydd is sounded like Clooyd.

[r] Davies' Rites of Druids, sect. 4, p. 398.

[s] Ibid. p. 395.

or earth heaped up to the covering stone, forming a cell altogether dark, except when light was admitted at the entrance by the removal of the stone, which seems to have acted somewhat like the portcullis of medieval fortifications. The covering stone was not, however, the cromlech, the object to which the reverential bow was made, but was the base on which, as at the cromlech of Cacus, the amber-stone of adoration was elevated. This object was the part of the fabric first destroyed by the angry Hercules.

These *amber* or top-stones have been so universally destroyed that they are known only in name, the meaning of which is little understood: but the name explains itself; the word *bar* signifies high, and *an-bar* is *the high*, which was applied to the stone standing on the covering stone, and is expressive both of the situation and the reverence due to the stone. In those cromlechs which have a covering stone formed into a cone, the amber-stone surmounting the flat stone was unnecessary; in such instances the covering stone was the *amber;* and as it represented evidently, in the Malabar cromlechs, and in that of the county of Carlow, the *Merù*, the holy summit of the world, any additional stone was unnecessary. From these premises it is seen, that when these structures were entire they were all barrows surmounted by a pillar, tower, or stone, all deriving their claim to sanctity and reverence from the primal altar of Adam the first man, and those of his descendants, the early patriarchs.

The purposes for which the cromlech was constructed have engaged the enquiries of antiquaries, and various conjectures have been formed respecting them. Of these, one of the first was, that the structure was an altar for sacrifice; but it was soon observed that the covering stones were by no means suitable to that purpose, and this notion of the use was soon relinquished. The opinion that the cromlech was constructed for interment was next admitted, but no evidences have been produced in support or proof. No bones, no urns, have been

discovered beneath the covering stone or within the cell. The black soil of the floor has been alleged in proof; but that symptom is such as could not have been produced by a single funeral pyre, admitting that it were constructed within the cell: a practice little likely, and never, as far as records teach, adopted at any time or by any nation. These conjectures on the uses of the cromlech and the cause of the discoloured state of the area of the interior, not being satisfactory, the following may be proposed as decisive. The discoloured state of the soil within the inclosure was most assuredly owing to the slaughter of victims slain, or rather perhaps of their blood poured upon the altar of the deity of the cell, and the burning of the flesh consumed on it, whence the cell obtained the name of the smoky house; a title which, according to the poet, might with great propriety be given not only to the cave of Cacus, but, as appears from other authorities, may with equal propriety be assigned to every cromlech. One of the personages of the Celtic pantheon is described in the Triads[t] as being the Son of the Cell, the Incloser of Flame.

If cromlechs were used as places of sacrifice, they were to all intents temples. They are mentioned as such in the Bardic Triads. One of them, dedicated to the Celtic goddess *Ket* or *Ceridwen*, is called the Hall of *Ceridwen*. The name *llan*, always signifying a sacred inclosure, a sanctuary and temple, is often given to the cromlech. It is also designated by the phrase of *lloyel byd*, the *world abode;* which accords with the general doctrine of idolatry, that every temple is to be regarded as a similitude of the world. This position will perhaps appear more certainly true, from the names of the deities by which different cromlechs are designated. Kit's Coity House is the trivial name of the celebrated cromlech near Aylesbury in Kent. *Kit* is a corruption of *Ket*, the *Ceridwen* of the hall celebrated in the Triads. Kit's Coity

[t] Davies' Rites of Druids, sec. iii. p. 199.

House was the house—the temple—of that goddess. The cromlech near Cloyne is known to the Irish by the name of *Carig Croith*, a name signifying that it was a stone of worship dedicated to the sun. In Wales several are known by the name of *Koiten Arthur* and *Bword Arthur*, a personage of great celebrity in the Celtic pantheon, whose name was given to a British hero of great celebrity, possibly because he honoured that deity as his patron god. The great cromlech in Anglesey was dedicated to *Bronwen*, the British Proserpine. In the island of Jersey the cromlechs are called *Pouquelehs*, the stones of divine spirits; indicating that each of these structures was dedicated to some divine personage, and as such the the temple in which that personage was especially worshipped.

In some instances the cromlech is accompanied by what may be termed outworks, such as are known appendages of Celtic temples. In front of the cromlech at Tobins-town there are still extant rows of hillocks, which form a kind of avenue of approach to the cromlech, such as the avenue which was the approach to the temple of Abury in Wiltshire. The cromlech near Glanworth in the county of Cork has a vestibule or approach marked out by two rows of stones, diverging from the west end of the fabric. The whole is surrounded by two rows of stones, as already described, the whole forming an assemblage of stones such as are usually called a Druidic temple. Similar inclosures are seen at several of the cromlechs in Wales. These facts seem to suggest the opinion, that no Celtic temple was complete unless it embraced a cromlech within its boundaries. To the circumstances already noticed may be added the fact, that upright stones are not unfrequently found standing in front of the cromlech corresponding with the pillars in the porch of the temple at Jerusalem, and with the like before some of the temples of Hindosthan, all indicative of the power of the deity worshipped within the holy place.

Of these structures some consist of one cell only, some of

two, and some of three cells. The *Lanyon Quoit* is an instance of the first kind, and may be consigned to the same class of structures as were called by the Greeks *hiera*, holy buildings. The cromlech at Tobins-town consists of one cell, with a pronaos or porch in front, as is seen at many of the temples of Greece and Rome. The cromlech of Sennor appears to have consisted, when entire, of two cells; that of Anglesey of two most certainly. One of these may be said to correspond with the *ναος (naos)* or nave of the temples of classical antiquity; the second, or farther and interior, corresponds with the *σηκος (secos)*, or the most holy place, of ancient temples. The cromlech of Glanworth consists of three cells. The *Llech y Gowres* had apparently the same number. The covering stones of several other cromlechs extend far beyond the uprights on which they rest, and evidently show that the area they were capable of covering was of greater extent than that which is included by the stones now standing. These appearances show that there may have been many cromlechs consisting of several apartments, like those of Glanworth and of the Isle of Anglesey. Be this as it may, the fact that there are such different apartments in any of the cromlechs now extant will be sufficient to show what was the true origin of the temples of Egypt, Greece, and many other countries; and that, like the barrows of ancient and the spires and towers of modern times, they are all extended forms of the primal altar of the Garden of Eden and the later altars of the ancient patriarchs.

Although the cave temple differs thus widely from these superterraneous structures, yet it owes its origin to the same principle, that the divine spirit abides in the taphos or barrow, and that an entrance into the interior of the high place brings the votary more near to the object of his worship than when he remains on the outside. When treating of the earth barrow the opinion was advanced, that the long barrow was a compound of round barrows placed contiguous, and so close to

each other as to form one barrow.[u] Conjecture may surmise many reasons for such combination. One extremity of the barrow may have been the abode of a deity or of the spirit of a person, more eminent than a contiguous barrow dedicated to an inferior deity or person of lower rank. The long barrow may also have owed its form to the intended purpose of uniting the worship of different gods in the same sacred structure, or the interment of friends in the same barrow, in which their abiding spirits might live in happy communion.

These observations apply with equal propriety to caves of oblong form, or to those consisting of several cells in linear order of succession; either the long cave or the cave of several cells, may be regarded as a contiguous location of single cells or caves, whether divided or undivided. It has been seen in the construction of towers, that a succession of floors or stories within, or of circular mouldings on the outside, were symbolical of the different regions into which the universe, according to different cosmographical theories, was presumed to be distinguished. The same principle may be believed to have influenced the Celtic theologues, and to have induced them to represent symbolically the world by one cell; or by two, if it were intended to represent earth and heaven only; or by three cells, figurative of the three regions of space; a distinction recited continually in the *Hindù* rites and ceremonies, solemnly propounded in the Theogony of Hesiod, and therefore certainly known to the Celtic theologues, of whom the Ascrean may be presumed to have borrowed his theory, for they had not been silenced or driven from Greece any long time before he lived and

[u] A ridge of considerable length occurs beside the Roman Foss road, near Ratcliffe-on-Wreke, in the county of Leicester. It is evidently a structure formed, at least in part, by man; and being, like the barrow about a mile distant, near Thurmaston, lately destroyed, situate near a highway anciently of great publicity, it must be regarded as one instance, together with others in this kingdom, of the long barrow, the true though remote origin of the present form of our churches.

wrote. Much of the force of this argument depends upon the position that the Celtic temple and cromlech was symbolical of the earth or universe: it may therefore be expedient to make further research into the usages attendant on these Celtic structures, which, while they illustrate the rise and progress of sacred architecture, may be usefully, or at least amusingly, illustrative of the usages and opinions of the ancient inhabitants of the British Isles.

Kist-vaen, maen-ketti, maen-arch, and some others, are terms occurring in the writings of Welch archæology, all signifying a *stone chest.* These the author of the work on the Rites of the Druids regards as being the same thing as the *cromlech,* a cell inclosed by several stones. With all deference due to a person so conversant as that author is with the Celtic language and Celtic usages, it must be affirmed that the cromlech differs from the *kist-vaen* in being constructed with several stones, whereas the latter are vessels of the form of a chest, consisting of one stone only. For this position the following reasons may be assigned. According to the author, *kist-vaen,* a stone chest, is a name precisely synonymous with *maen-arch. Maen-ketti* is exactly the same; for he writes, *ketti* is a derivative of *ket,* and must have implied an ark or chest, for we still retain its diminutive form in *keten,* a small chest or cabinet.[x] *Kŷd* is another name for the sacred ark.[y] This vessel passed the grievous waters, say the Bardic mythologists, stored with corn, and was borne aloft by serpents. Such was the history of the egg so famed in the Celtic mysteries. This egg was evidently the same as the *kŷd* or *ket.* It signified the world borne by serpents, the symbols of time and eternity, or the world existing during the succession of many ages. Such is the true import of the symbol. But wherever any words bearing this signification occur, especially if they refer to waters, the ingenious author suffers himself to be borne away by the

[x] Davies' Rites of Druids, sec. 4, p. 394. [y] Ibid. sec. 2, p. 122.

strange error of the learned Bryant, who maintains, without any other authority than his own imagination, that every ark or chest must be an emblem of Noah and the general deluge; an event which profane writers studiously forbear to mention, notwithstanding it must be supposed, from their acquaintance with other patriarchal traditions, and from their theories of successive destructions of the created world, that they cannot but have known.

The authorities cited by the author himself plainly declare, that the *kist-vaen* was of one stone, excavated so as to form a soros or trough, covered by a lid. *Ceridwen*, the Celtic Ceres, is repeatedly termed the genius of the ark: that ark had its representative in the temple or sanctuary of the goddess.[z] Hence the mythological Triads record the feat of *Gwgwn Lan-gadarn, the severe one with a mighty hand*, who rolled the stone of *maen-arch*, the *stone ark*, from the valley to the top of the hill, though it was so large that not less than sixty oxen could have moved it. It is evident that this ark must have been one stone only. It were impossible to roll a cromlech consisting of many stones, at least while it retained its form and was a cromlech. The hill was the sacred barrow, the temple of the goddess; the *maen-arc*, when placed upon it, was the cromlech, the object of general reverence. Again the author writes, "The lifting the stone of *Ketti* was one of the three mighty labours of the island of Britain." The former remarks again apply to this act. The stone of *Ketti* must have been a single substance: had it consisted of parts, there would have been little difficulty in the performance of the feat.

The question of the identity of the *kist-vaen* and the *cromlech* would not have arisen, had they not been so closely connected by Celtic usages as to have easily given rise to the mistake. The *kist-vaen* was a chest, the symbol of the presence of the goddess: the *cromlech* was the temple

[z] Davies' Rites of Druids, p. 393, 402.

in which she was presumed to be present. The *kist-vaen* was part of the furniture of the cell of the *cromlech*, and was an appendage necessary for the effectual performance of various rites. At the desecration of these structures, it must be expected that the sacred chest must have been the first object on which reform would lay the hand of violence; and being of no very great weight or substance, it would be readily broken, and every trace of it readily obliterated.

The author of the Rites cites two cromlechs in which some traces occur of the sacred *kist-vaen*. In the *Llech y Gowres* he states that there are two stones pitched on end under the *coit* or top-stone, which are much lower than the uprights, and consequently useless as supporters of the fabric. On these, together with others no longer remaining, the sacred *kist-vaen* was doubtless placed, the most holy object of the holy place. In the cromlech in the parish of Nevern in the county of Pembroke, five uprights resembling the above occur, which most assuredly must have been used for the same purpose, upbearing the sacred chest figuratively denominated in the Welch records the *womb of Ceridwen*, the goddess of the fertile earth. This sacred ark, thus deposited within the holy place, was seen only by few; by the aspirants to religious pre-eminence, and by the ministers, who, receiving the offerings of the people, bore into the cell and there consumed by fire certain portions of the blood and flesh before the *kist-vaen*, filling the *smoky house*, perhaps, with fragrant perfumes.

The purposes for which the ark in the cromlech was chiefly used, at least those of which the Celtic mythological records most plainly speak, are the rites performed for the initiation of aspirants to the order of the priesthood. Taliessin notices them as a qualification of the Bard, who was always supposed, like the poets of Greece and Italy, to write or speak from inspiration. These rites were held to be efficient, on the principle of regeneration by a new birth, which freed

the probationer from the effects of former transgression or defilement. The ark is called by names indicative of such its uses. The term *Crair Gorsedd*, sometimes used, literally implies, the *token of the supreme seat; Maen Llog*, the *stone of the ark; Llogell Bydd*, the *ark of the world.* In this, say the Welch authorities, the priest of *Hu* had been inclosed. Other instances of similar acts will be produced.

From this use of these arks, they are said to have been prisons. While thus imprisoned, the aspirant is said to have been mystically dead and buried; after which, on his liberation, he became a man altogether new and perfect. The following extract from one of the Triads of Taliessin will exhibit at once the mysterious symbolism of those compositions, and convey a just idea of the process and supposed benefits of these mysteries, which may be said to have been the origin of the Eleusinian mysteries of the Athenian Ceres.

The Bard, after reciting various forms of creatures, both animate and inanimate, which he had assumed,—forms figurative of rites and observances performed,—continues thus: "I have been a grain of the Arkites which vegetated on a hill, and when the reaper placed me in a smoky recess that I might be compelled freely to yield my corn when subjected to tribulation, I was received by a hen with red fangs and a divided crest. I remained nine nights an infant in her womb. I have been *Aedd.* Returning to my former state, I have been an offering before the sovereign. I have died; I have revived: and conspicuous with my ivy branch, I have been a leader, and by my bounty I became poor. Again was I instructed by the cherisher with red fangs. Of what she gave me, scarcely can I utter the great praise that is due. I am now Taliessin. I will compose a just string, which shall remain to the end of time, a model to Elphin."[a]

It were an idle undertaking to offer conjectural expositions of this passage, which exhibits what may be justly

[a] Davies' Rites of Druids, Appendix No. 13.

called instances of the wildernesses of mythology: this, however, is evident, that the aspirant to Celtic eminence was most assuredly inclosed nine days at least, in some early instances nine months, in the *kist-vaen* of *Ceridwen*, after which he received a new birth and became a new man, possessing new accomplishments and perfections.

The celebrity attainable by these painful acts of probation may be inferred from the following passage in one of the Triads.[b] The three pre-eminent prisoners of the island of Britain were *Llyr Lledíaith*, in the prison of *Eurosowydd*, the sovereign; *Madawc*, the son of *Medron;* and *Gwair* the son of *Geiriawn;* and one was pre-eminent over the three, namely, Arthur, who was imprisoned three nights in the inclosure of *Oeth* and *Anoeth*, and three nights with the lady of *Pendragon*, and three nights in the prison of *Kûd* under the flat stone *Echemeint.* One youth released him from the three prisons, namely, *Goreu*, the son of *Cystenim*, his nephew. This liberation may be believed to have been a great benefit, for the process often proved fatal, as appears from the following passage from a poem of Taliessin: "When we went with Arthur in his splendid labours, excepting seven, none returned from *caër Vediwied.*"[c]

From this passage it appears that the probationary trial of the aspirant was made at different places or cromlechs, sacred to three different divinities. In the two former the trial consisted merely in imprisonment in the cell of the cromlech: in the third the trial was made in the prison, the *kist-vaen* of *Kûd*, or *Ket*, which stood within the cell beneath the covering stone of the cromlech.

The *caërs*, mentioned in this poem, were the temples of different divine personages. The aspirant, it seems, was merely shut up within the *caër;* but when under the flat stone of *Echemeint* he was in the prison, the *kist-vaen* of *Kûd*, or *Ket.* From these notices it appears that the *kist-*

[b] Davies' Rites of Druids, p. 404. [c] Ibid. Appendix No. 3.

vaen was set up only in the cromlechs of *Ket.* The rites performed in these cells were denounced by the Christian authorities, on the establishment of their worship, with an energy proportioned to the estimation in which they had been previously held; and, therefore, in addition to injunctions issued for the desecration and overthrow of the structures, they were loaded also with offensive names, and charged with having been made available to wicked purposes; such as were signified by the appellation of Hell Hole, given to a cell supposed to have been extant under a cromlech near the village of Humberston. It is presumed that the *Arthur,* named in the poem, obtained *mucti,* or union with the deity, like the *Hindù Yogis,* under the strange and deluding opinion that present privation in this life will most assuredly entitle the foolish sufferer to eternal and inconceivable happiness in the next. It may require all the skill and learning of a Welch archæologist to shew what may have been the flat stone of *Echemeint.*

The goddess *Ket,* the principal object of the Celtic worship, was figuratively signified by numerous symbols. She was the hen that produced *Creirwy,* the egg of expectation. She was a sow, the symbol of fertility. These symbols exhibit her as the earth, the great means of existence and the preservation of life. Regarded in this view, she was said to be a mare, and a ship; both the same in reality, for the ship was figuratively called the horse of the sea: whence the horse, bearing a form adapted for swimming on the waters, became invariably a part of the equipage of Neptune. By some Celtic authorities the personification of the earth in the goddess is more directly signified: she is called *the ship of the earth.*[d] The form of a vessel calculated to move on the waters is necessarily oblong; and this circumstance may be said to have been the reason why structures of an oblong shape came to be adopted as representations of the earth in the

[d] Davies' Rites of Druids, p. 231.

construction of temples. This position will be confirmed by the observation, that all the cromlechs above described are of an oblong form, none being circular, none truly square.

The offspring of the *hwch*, the sow, is the *banw*, the pig.[e] The word *banw* also signifies a coffer or chest. The cromlech being symbolically the representative of the presence of the goddess, the chest, the *banw*, became a lesser symbol of her presence also. This leads to the inference, that the form of the *kist-vaen*, or ark of the goddess, was, like the cromlech, of an oblong shape also; for if a structure of an oblong shape was held to be the proper form of the temple, the abode of the goddess, no article of any other form could have been admitted as her proper abode, but such as very closely resembled the form of the temple. These reasons suffice to shew that the *kist-vaen*, or *maen-arch*, of the Celtic rites, was of the form of an ordinary chest, a long square, and never that of the regular cube. Such was the form of the idol by which the presence of the goddess was symbolically signified in the early ages of the world. This form, simple as it seems, led to important consequences: after the successive adoption of other forms, continually varied, it led to the acme, the extremity of error; the great God, who is pure spirit, came to be exhibited by an image bearing the shape of the body of a man.

The evidences and authorities now produced fully prove that what has been denominated the Celtic religion was that form which idolatry bore universally during the earlier ages of the world; that it consisted in worship paid to the taphos or barrow, to stones and pillars, and in the performance of sacred rites in caves, accompanied with the maintenance of animals sacred, because symbolical. Beyond this stage of error the Celts of the West never wandered. Other nations who adopted the use of idols of artificial fabric, retained, for a long time, the use of sacred arks, and admitted

[e] Davies' Rites of Druids, p. 431.

their symbolical import, as may be seen by the following examples.

It is affirmed by the prophet Amos, that the Israelites bore the tabernacle of Moloch and Chiun as they journeyed in the wilderness.[f] The tabernacle is called the star of the god; because, perhaps, the tabernacle, the סכות (*succoth*), the enclosing fabric, was adorned by the figure of a star or nimbus, in imitation of the shechinah of the true God, signifying the presence of the gods, inclosed within the tabernacle or little temple. This fabric, whatever may have been its form, was in use at the time of the exode, which was fifteen hundred years before the Christian era. It is stated by commentators on this passage of the prophet, that Moloch and Chiun were the Sun, that is, Titan, and Saturn. Titan and Saturn were the sons of Ouranus and Gaia, or Heaven and Earth, the earliest personifications of the created universe. Of these sons, Titan was the chief or parent god of the Celtic pantheon of Greece and Eastern Europe: Saturn of that of Egypt and of the African continent. The use of sacred arks in honour of these gods shews that they were nearly coeval with the first modes of idolatry.

It appears from ancient legends or fabling histories recorded by Plutarch, that the use of inclosed vessels containing symbols of the gods, was adopted in early ages by the Egyptians. The philosopher writes, that the goddess Isis having gone to visit her son Orus, left behind the *αγγειον*, the casket which usually stood at her feet, and contained the body of her spouse Osiris. This the malignant Typhon found, and in her absence stole the contents and dropped the divided limbs of the god at different places in the country.[g] So sacred were the limbs thus dispersed, that the goddess made every place where they were found the site of a sacred structure or temple, each being a representative of the ark or casket in which they had been stolen,

[f] Amos v. 26.—Lowth. Comm. [g] Plut. de Isid. p. 357. F.

and each a simple model of the form which even the most magnificent temples of the country afterwards received. The Israelites seem to have learned to imitate these caskets in the form of the tabernacle mentioned above. The circumstance shews that they had begun to adopt the usages of idolatry at the time of the exode; and that had they not been miraculously taken from Egypt, they would soon have been wholly immersed in idolatry, and the God of their fathers, the knowledge of the true God, would have been altogether forgotten and lost.

Eusebius, the bishop of Cæsarea, notices a tabernacle of a different form from the closed casket of Isis, but which invites attention from the semblance it bears to some Celtic symbols noticed above. "The sun they (the Egyptians) represent symbolically by a man sitting in a boat on the back of a crocodile." The meaning of the symbol he gives as follows: "The vessel denotes a motion made in moisture; the crocodile wholesome water, in which the sun moves; the whole intimates that the sun makes his circuit in the air moist and sweet."[h] On this statement it is to be observed, that the person seated in the boat is the god Osiris, the symbol of the male or generative power of Nature; the boat is the goddess Isis, the personification of the fertile world productive of fruits; the *navis amphiprumnais*, or boat of double prow (for such was its form), the symbol of the earth, moving, as was in ancient times imagined, backward and forward in the air, each prow being alternately first in its course. Of this instance let it be again observed, that the sacred ark, whether a boat or a casket, was intended to be a symbol of the world.

Among a variety of images seen by the Grecian antiquary near Messene, he observed one of the daughter of Ceres, sitting with what he says is called a chest on her knees.[i] In the vicinity of Delphi he found a similar article placed on the back of an image of an ass.[k] It would be a tedious

[h] Euseb. Ev. Præp. lib. iii. p. 115. C.

[i] Pausan. lib. viii. c. 37, sec. 2. [k] Ibid. lib. x. c. 28, sec. 1.

reference to obvious principles to explain these symbols. These images were intended to represent the earth and its fertile powers.

The form of these arks or *kist-vaens* is that of a chest covered close by a lid or cover on the upper surface, such as is seen in an ordinary box. It differs from the shrine, which opens like a cabinet, with upright doors. This fabric was calculated to exhibit images when the valves or doors were opened, but the ark was taken into use before images were invented and their exhibition known. It has been seen that the Celtic aspirant to religious eminence was for a certain period of his probation actually inclosed within the *kist-vaen*. This circumstance shows that the *kist* was of an oblong form, and also rectangular; for since the temple was regarded as the house of the god, but the ark his locality in that house, there can be little doubt that the ark bore a close resemblance to the temple, which, as is seen in the cromlechs described as above, bore the form of the parallelopiped, or long cube.

The same may be learned from the following statement by Plutarch. Speaking of the forms of the Egyptian temples, he writes: "In some instances they expand into wings and avenues open to the pure air of the heaven; in others they consist of passages secret and dark, resembling arks and sacred recesses."[1] This passage from the treatise of the learned Chæronean ascertains beyond the possibility of doubt the form of these sacred arks; the sacred recesses of the Egyptian temples are known to have been what may be called long cubes, whence it follows that the sacred arks were long cubes also.

The size or dimensions of these arks were doubtless such as the occasion which they were intended to serve might require. The ark borne on the knee of Proserpine must be presumed not to have differed much from that of an ordinary casket: that which stood at the feet of Isis, in which the

[1] Plut. de Isid. p. 359. A.

limbs of Osiris were said to have been deposited, could not greatly exceed the size of an ordinary footstool: the arks in which the votaries of the Celtic *Ket* were occasionally inclosed, must have been such as might contain, probably in a very compressed state, the body of a man.

Pausanias, when he made his minute and accurate survey of Greece, saw among the numerous sacred objects at the city of Olympia, an ark or chest known by the name of Cypselis.[m] It was made of cedar, decorated with numerous figures of animals. Some of them were of gold, some of ivory, some were carved out of the cedar itself. In this ark Cypselus, king of Corinth, when an infant, had been concealed, at a time when the Bacchidæ (female Bacchants) sought to tear him in pieces. It may be imagined that in this ark the infant might receive a commodious lodgment; it was most probably of considerable size, for besides the animals on the outside, there were inscriptions written in the ancient *boustrophedon* or returning manner, (from which lines were called turnings or verses,) accompanying figures illustrative of the heroic histories of Greece in times anterior to the establishment of the pantheon of Jupiter, and consequently during the prevalence of the Celtic system. Why the ark should have afforded a safe asylum for the infant, will be seen from the following history.

Ericthonius was a personage said in the language of fabulous history to have been produced from the blood of the Gorgons, and taken from the earth by the goddess Pallas, who enfolded him with two snakes, and gave him the power of dispensing good or evil to man at will.[n] The goddess placed the child in a sacred ark, and committed it to the custody of three sisters, Aglauros, Herse, and Pandroso, with a strict injunction not to meddle with it in any manner. The two latter violated the engagement; they opened and looked into the ark. At the sight of Ericthonius they

[m] Pausan. lib. v. c. 17, s. 2, & c. 18. [n] Euripidis Ion, v. 999.

became distraught, and threw themselves headlong down from the steepest part of the rock of the Acropolis, where the ark had been placed under their care.[o]

The like fate befel a Greek named Eurypylus. Cassandra, the daughter of king Priam, put into his hands a sacred ark, which had been given by Jupiter to her ancestor Dardanus. The Greek, curiously desirous of knowing the contents, removed the cover of the ark, as the Trojan prophetess malignantly expected, and beheld the idol of Bacchus inclosed in it. The man was instantly deprived of his reason; and could not obtain relief until he had found persons to offer human victims on an altar, and had there deposited the ark, regarded thenceforth as awfully sacred, and actually containing a mighty god.[p] The offering of human victims in this case accords with the presumed Celticism of the Trojan Cassandra; and these examples show that the safety of Cypselus was ensured by the dread of the terrible mischiefs likely to ensue on the impious inspection into sacred arks.

The accounts given of these arks speak as though human forms were inclosed within them; as might be inferred from the manner in which Ericthonius and Bacchus are mentioned. It has been observed, that during the ages in which the Celtic religion prevailed, images, or idols bearing the human form, were not used, for that such representations of the Deity were not then allowed. It must therefore be agreed, that the personages above-named were not exhibited in any other manner than by significant symbols. Bacchus, for instance, was commonly represented by the ivy, a plant held sacred in his worship as the symbol of virescence and vigorous life. When, therefore, the Grecian antiquary writes as though Ericthonius and Bacchus were exhibited in their arks in a human form, he uses terms rather in accordance with the practice of the times, than with truth and accuracy. When images were admitted into general use, the ark was

[o] Pausan. lib. i. c. 18, s. 2. [p] Ibid. lib. vii. c. 19, s. 3.

superseded, as already stated, by the cabinet, called a shrine, with opening upright valves or doors instead of the horizontal lid or cover, which, when placed on a table or other platform, and opened, exhibited the image of the god; but it appears from the statement of the Christian Father Clement of Alexandria, that images never found place in the sacred ark, even in the Christian era in which he lived, but that the contents consisted only of symbolical articles.

The zealous Advocate for the religion of the Gospel seems to have known well the usual contents of these sacred arks; for the Christians, not being awed by the pretended sanctity of those fabrics intended to be secret mysteries, would not hesitate to look into them whenever an opportunity occurred. The Advocate, regarding with indignant scorn the contents of these arks, recites them in terms as follow: "Are they not," says he, "sprigs of sesamis, and little pyramids, and wool elaborately wrought, a cake with many knobs, handfuls of salt, together with a snake, used in the orgies of Bacchus? Are they not pomegranates? Are they not little hearts, little rods, sprigs of ivy, sweet cakes, and heads of poppies? These," says the scornful Advocate, "are their sacred things."[q] The Analyst of Ancient Mythology admits that such things as these here recited, were the usual garniture of the sacred arks; but he shows, that every article had its peculiar symbolical meaning, and might have been available to good effects: but it is evident that much study must have been practised, before such effects could have wrought upon the minds of the pagan votaries; the excess of meaning rendered, as it ever must, the import of the many symbols utterly inefficient. The study of the symbols was never undertaken; their use was unknown, and they appeared to be really useless and even ridiculous; the banter of the Christian Advocate became irresistible, and the pagan, ashamed of his

[q] Clem. Alexand. Admon. ad Gent. p. 14. A.

old mythology, gave heed to the evidences of truth, and became a convert to the Christian faith.

This effect ensuing from the argument of the Christian Advocate, affords a useful warning in regard to the use of symbols; it shews that when the symbols are numerous they become uninstructive, and even injurious to the interests of truth. Of the articles, the usual furniture of the sacred arks of the pagans, it must be observed, that every one of them had a symbolical meaning calculated to afford the most valuable instruction; the whole rightly understood would have formed a most excellent lecture in natural religion,—would have taught the same truths as man is invited to seek and secure by a pious attention given to the works of the Creator. This will be sufficiently evident from the authorities and observations of the learned and ingenious Bryant, who shews that idolatry depended entirely on the symbolical use of natural objects. Had idolaters confined themselves within that limit, they had not been transgressors of the divine law: but when they bowed before the symbol, it soon became a god; then they trod the paths of error. The Reformers of the sixteenth century, aware of this tendency of the use of symbols, proscribed them altogether; destroying that which might be valuably useful, because it had been abused. True religion is most assuredly spiritual; but there are few who can become spiritual without the aid of objects of sense, and therefore the use of symbols, when confined within proper bounds, will ever be approved by the true friend of man. The same may be said of the application of heathen structures to the purposes of Christian worship. All of them were symbolical: but when it is shewn that they all received their symbolical forms by a regular descent from the primal and patriarchal altar, in form most probably the same as the altar raised by the Deity for the use of man when he planted the Garden of Eden, the forms of the sacred structures of even the heathen may be said to have

had a divine origin. This fully justifies the adoption of the forms of heathen sacred structures, and the application of even heathen symbols, to purposes altogether and purely Christian. After these remarks, digressive perhaps, but not altogether foreign to the subject, the attention is again invited to the history of the sacred arks of heathenism.

The religion of the Celts, better known as the religion of the Druids, was, during the ages which preceded the age of recorded history, the form which idolatry bore in almost all, if not actually in all parts of the world. Rites performed in caves formed a part of the religious duties of that mode of religion; and the use of the *kist-vaen* or sacred ark was inseparable from, and indispensably necessary to, the performance of some of the most solemn mysteries. The many different names by which that sacred article was known afford the most ample confirmation of this position, for the difference of names can only have been owing to the use of the ark in different and distant countries and ages. The learned Bryant recites many of these names; and proves, by authorities adduced, that the sacred fabric was known by the names of *larnax*, *cibotus*, *cypselis*, *baris*, *bëotus*, *theba*, and *argus*. These names are stated because the celebrity of the sacred ark gave names to the places where they were set up and reverenced, or rather worshipped. The province of Greece named Bëotia, or the country of the *bëotus* or ark, was thus designated, because the *bëotus* was there held in special reverence. The cities of Thebes and Argos were so named, because a *theba* and an *argus* was there set up and held in especial reverence.

The word *baris*, one of the names given to these sacred arks, is a form given, says the mythologist, to the Hebrew ברית *berith*, a word signifying an ark. This became the name Berytus, a city of Phœnicia, in which an ark of great fame was kept. It commemorated the act of Venus rising from the waters at that place. This goddess was a personi-

fication of the earth rising from the waters; but not the waters of the general deluge, as the Mythologist erroneously supposes, for the earth did not rise above the waters after the deluge, but the waters sank by evaporation below the land. At the creation the earth did rise, or rather was raised above the waters of the primal ocean. This event all the heathen nations faithfully commemorated. The ark from which the city took its name, was dedicated to Venus, known in earlier times by the name of *Ket*, who was a personification of the earth.

The inhabitants of Berytus, proud of the fable which told that the site of their city was the first dry land, proceeded to claim for it the honour of being the *mesomphalos* of the whole earth; that it was the place where the parents of all the families of the earth were born, and from which they migrated, as from a central point, to occupy and people all the world. Nonnus, the poet of Panopolis in Egypt, records this claim of the Berytians in verses of the following purport:

> Berytus, nurse of tranquil life, shall judge
> Both land and sea by law's unbending bounds;
> The city building all in all the world.[r]

The poet thus cited lived in the reign of the Roman Emperor Theodosius, and therefore late in the fourth century of the Christian era; but in that age the religion of the pagans was held in strong contest against the truths of the Gospel, its claims for truth were ably vindicated, and therefore all its pretensions were made known. Under such circumstances the legend of Berytus came to be recorded, the remembrance of the ark of the terrestrial Venus, the Ceres of Greece and the *Ked* of Britain, preserved, and the import of that ark declared to be the abode of that goddess, and the symbol of her presence. It cannot well be doubted, that similar claims were made by the founders of the city of Thebes in Beotia, and that they rested their claims on the

[r] Nonni. Dionys. lib. xli. p. 1076, v. 2.

celebrity or rather sacred character of the ark deposited and reverenced in the city, the metropolis of the country or province.

In the figurative language of heathen antiquity, the earth or world was said to be the *ship that floats upon the sea of ages:* hence it came that *argo*, the ark or sacred chest, gave rise to the fabulous narrative of the expedition of the Argonauts in the ship Argo, under the conduct of the hero Jason. It is evident, from the statements of the fabulous narrative of that expedition, that the persons embarked in the ship were all divine personages well known in the pantheon of the age. Of the expedition it may be affirmed, that it was merely an enterprize of contending sects, in which the gods of Greece, personifications of natural powers, extant in the Argo, figuratively signifying the world, assailed another system of divine personages established and worshipped at Colchis. The wide extent of the voyage subsequent to the successful termination of the enterprize, may be regarded as a geographical romance indicative of the extended influence of the divine personages engaged in the fabulous expedition.

The testimonies respecting this celebrated ship will confirm the exposition of the import of the sacred arks of ancient times, and shew that they were exhibited in the temples, or in religious processions, as symbols of the earth most peculiarly indicative of the divine presence.

The ship Argo was built by a personage called Argus, the son of Jupiter and Niobe.[s] He was slain by Mercury; but not till after he had been honoured as a great god.[t] Taphoi had been constructed for him in the vicinity of Troy.[u] He had groves in many places, so sacred, that they had the privilege of sanctuary;[x] and he was especially worshipped at Argos, to which place he gave the name.[y] The fabled

[s] Pausan. lib. ii. c. 22, s. 6. [t] Ovid. Metamorph. lib. i. c. 12.
[u] Bryant, vol. iii. p. 69. [x] Pausan. lib. ii. c. 20, s. 7; lib. iii. c. 4, s. 1.
[y] Pausan. lib. ii. c. 10, s. 1.

fact of his hundred eyes suggests his identification with the Indian god *Indra*. That the Juno of the Grecian pantheon was the personage who promoted his death, or rather, the abolition of his worship, is an anachronism which contradicts the assertion, and subverts its possibility. The hostile Juno was of a pantheon anterior to the Grecian; she must therefore have been a personage of the Celtic system of gods; and then the Juno of the fable becomes the powerful *Ket*, the personification of the female power of Nature, and the pre-eminent object of Celtic worship: for notwithstanding male deities are recognized by the Celtic theologues, they sink into insignificance compared with the predominant *Ket*, whence the personification of the male principle of Nature, that, were the system perfect, ought to be her spouse, is almost unknown, or at least not recognized. Argus has lost his *argo*, his sacred ark; and it seems that no divinity has, since his downfall, been honoured with the ark, or sacred *kist-vaen*, but *Ket* the supreme.

When the sons of Israel departed from Egypt, they had been long accustomed to the solemn magnificence of the temples of Egypt, its mysterious rites, and its symbolical idols. They not only knew them, but they had learned to admire them; and the formation of the golden calf, executed during the absence of their Lawgiver, proves that they could not be satisfied with the simple altar and simple sacrifices of their patriarchal ancestors, and therefore they demanded with vehemence such symbolical exhibition of the Deity as might be obvious to sense, and supersede the necessity of abstract thought and implicit faith. In these inclinations they followed the example and adopted the practice of the heathen nations, particularly of the Egyptians, among whom they were born and had become a numerous people. Illiterate and rude, they were little capable of abstract thought; and if they were to be required to entertain any religion, it must

be such as consisted in the attention directed to sensible objects, and the practice of rites and ceremonies.

Such being the mental state of the Israelite, it was ordained that the religion prescribed for his observance should consist in rites and ceremonies, rather than in doctrines dependent upon faith and sentiment. With a wisdom that may truly be said to be divine, the Mosaic law was made to consist in observances calculated to call forth continual attention, and give full employment to the observant Israelite. Another purpose was also effected by the same laws; they were of such character as to be in every respect the reverse of those adopted by the heathen world. The truth of this position the learned author of the Treatise on the Laws of the Hebrews has most ably proved, and the wisdom of many rites and observances of the Mosaic Law, seemingly frivolous and vexatious, has been clearly shewn. As far as related to the Egyptian rites, the law required the Israelite to offer in sacrifice the ox, an animal in whose symbolical form the Egyptians worshipped their god Apis. The Israelite also slew in sacrifice the ram and the goat, the Egyptian gods Amun and Mendes. Obligations such as these rendered it impossible for the Israelite to return to Egypt, and other rites rendered it equally impossible that any union in religious observances could take place with other heathen nations. Thus were the sons of Abraham effectually isolated. By the reverses of good and evil fortune, recorded in the history of the descendants of Abraham, the knowledge of the true God was preserved, the errors and vices of the heathen systems repeatedly proved, and the truth of the God of Adam and the early Patriarchs fully established. Had it not been for these dispensations, it may be feared, that the Grecian pantheon might have been the objects of religious worship with us in Britain at this very hour, or perhaps, we might have been trembling with pious horror at the cannibal rites of Celtic superstition.

To produce the effect intended to the full extent, it was deemed necessary to adopt institutions similar to those of the heathen as to form, but to invert their order. The tabernacle in the wilderness was made to resemble an Egyptian temple, but the entrance was made at the east, in opposition to the Egyptian usage of having the entrance at the west. The Egyptians had the *baris* or sacred ark placed in the *secos* or most holy apartment. The ark of the covenant of the Israelites was also placed in the apartment called the Holy of Holies, in which the Almighty declared that he would dwell, and that there He would always be found on proper application by the votary. But the situation of the ark being altogether opposite to that adopted by the heathen nations, was a sufficient bar to all religious intercourse or community of worship with Egypt, notwithstanding the same article was used alike by both nations; and yet the use of the ark accorded with the prejudices of the Israelite, by giving a seeming locality to the Deity.

The preceding statements ascertain the degree of accordance and discordance of the usages of the Hebrews and the heathen, and shew that the one may be explanatory of the other. Authorities both sacred and profane concur in the position, that the temple, or place dedicated to the Deity, has ever been regarded as the house of God, as the place where He is most especially present; the same authorities proceed to shew that the Deity was held to be more especially present in certain localities of the temple than in others. When the image came into use in heathen temples, the god was believed to abide within that substance: when the symbolical animal was maintained in the temple, He was presumed to inform the creature: when the stone was set up, it was held that the divine spirit did abide in it. So, when the ark was used, it was generally made of such a form as to bear a near resemblance to the temple, thereby giving a more definite locality to the Deity, by concentrating, as it were, the divine

ubiquity in a place of more special occupancy. That such was the general doctrine of idolatry has been proved above: that this belief was sanctioned by the law, in regard to the ark of Israel, will be evident from the following authorities.

When the Deity gave command that an ark should be made, he said, "Let them make me a sanctuary, that I may dwell therein."[z] The holy penmen repeatedly declare that the ark was his constant abode. At the ark He gave frequent manifestations of his presence by the exhibition of the splendent light of the *shechinah*, and other tokens indicative of his majesty and power. There has been occasion to affirm that the *kist-vaen* of the Celt, the *cibotus* of the Greek, and the *baris* of the Egyptian, were the localities more especially occupied by the gods they worshipped. The authorities of holy writ fully confirm such conclusion. The doctrine that a peculiar degree of sanctity ought to be thus assigned to particular places and objects in the several apartments of sacred structures, affords a rational exposition of the grounds of various usages, and an explanation of certain symbols, which would otherwise be but ill understood. Instances of the applicability of these evidences will be found in the subsequent pages; they are immediately applicable to those of Egypt, and those of Egypt will be found to have given occasion for the forms and uses of various parts of sacred structures both in ancient and modern times.

Titan and Saturn were, according to mythological authorities, the two sons of *Ouranus* and *Gaia*, the first personifications of the created universe, distinguished into Nature male and female, that is, active and passive; a distinction which, judging from the curse pronounced by Noah on his son Ham, appears to have been of antediluvian invention, and to have been afterward the occasion of the schism which scattered wide the builders of the intended tower of Babel. In the language of heathen mythology, when a god is said to have been the son of a god, the moral signifies that the son

[z] Exodus xxv. 8.

became the object of religious worship instead of the parent god with persons or parties who, fond of change, separated themselves from the former mode of worship and adopted a new. Titan, and the pantheon of which he was the chief or father, continued to be the god of the Greeks and other nations of eastern Europe, till he was superseded, or, figuratively speaking, deposed by Jupiter, till which event the use of cave temples had been general in those countries.

It is stated by Diodorus the Sicilian, that Saturn was the first and peculiar object of worship in Egypt and northern Africa.[a] In Egypt he was the same as *Ptha*, the father of Osiris, Isis, and other Egyptian deities, who were worshipped in succeeding ages when even his name was almost forgotten. The worship of Saturn was extended even to the British Isles, to western Europe, and even to the northern portion of the peninsula of Italy. In Britain he was known by the name of *Prydain*, a word signifying Time, or a succession of ages; and being at one period the principal object of worship, the country obtained the name of Britain from him. Tydain, or Titan, was not unknown, but he was comparatively little noticed. The worship of Saturn was, like that of Titan, altogether Celtic. Adoration was paid to consecrated stones, and rites were performed in cave temples. It was by a temporary adoption of this practice that the religion of Jupiter obtained footing. The god was nursed in caves by the fanatical Curetes; his claim of religious worship was offered in seeming accordance with the established usage, till he, that is, his sect, became sufficiently powerful and influential to appear above ground and build his temples in the open air.

But the cave worship of the votaries of Saturn was most uniform and general in Africa, where his divine character was acknowledged, in consequence, as it should seem, of some arrangement with his brother Titan. The nations of that continent seem to have cultivated and practised it to such an

[a] Diodor. Sic. lib. i. p. 9.

extent, as to have used no other places than caves for the performance of religious rites. They, in consequence of these habits, obtained the name of Troglodytes, a word signifying a person who descends into caves; a cave-diver. They confined themselves so strictly to this practice, that from their refusal to use any structure for a temple other than a cave, they were said, and the assertion was universally believed by other nations, that they made caves their only place of abode; a position which could have been received only by men utterly ignorant of the character of most of the districts inhabited by these Troglodytes, for the loose sandy nature of the soil rendered the construction of numerous caves almost impossible, and the heat of the climate must have rendered a residence in a cave intolerable.

The countries inhabited by people bearing the name were many and extensive.[b] They commenced above Syene, the most southern boundary of Egypt, and extended over Ethiopia, and even within the tropics; for Pliny says of some of those nations, that their shadows pointed both north and south in the course of every year. They were widely extended both towards the west and east. According to Strabo they occupied countries on the southern frontier of Mauritania. It should seem, from the hostility of Hercules to the Nymphs of the Hesperides, that they also were of the sect of the Saturnian Troglodytes. According to the geographer above cited, the same sect, probably Titanian Troglodytes, had their abodes in Armenia, and even along the frontiers of Scythia.[c] Of the caves of the African nations few remain; they are doubtless buried in sand. Of the Asiatic Troglodytes travellers report numerous instances; they differ, however, from the generality of the cromlech caves of the British isles, in being of a circular form. The

[b] Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. v. c. 5; lib. ii. c. 74. Strab. lib. xvii. p. 819; lib. xvi. p. 828.

[c] Plin. lib. iv. c. 12. Strab. lib. i. p. 42.

British are quadrangular, with some exceptions. The quadrangular caves may be assigned to the Saturnian division of the ancient idolaters: the circular to the Titanian.

The Greek and Latin accounts represent the African Troglodytes as being of manners most savage and strangely licentious. Perhaps some of them were so; an abode in the deserts of Africa certainly is not favourable to civilization: but that all should have been such is impossible. It is agreed that the first inhabiters of Egypt entered into the country from the south, and that they proceeded to occupy the country downward along the stream of the Nile, till at length they found the Delta habitable. The ancient Egyptians must therefore have been Troglodytes, and in the structure of their caves they doubtless gave them the same quadrangular form which the Celts of Prydain, or Saturn, of the same sect, are found to have adopted in the British isles. When the Nubian Troglodytes came to occupy the borders of the Nile, and became numerous and powerful both in arts and arms, they then carried the cave principle into full effect: they constructed in the customary quadrangular form, and in the semblance of caves, those vast and massive temples which, though now in ruins, are the wonder of the world. In the present age the wonder is confined to their vast dimensions, as well as the gigantic magnitude of their materials. They deserve attention on another account. They are (if not the earliest) at least the most striking exemplars of sacred structures of quadrangular form, and were the models of the temples of Greece and Rome in ancient ages; and with little variations they became the exemplars of the naves, aisles, and chancels of the Christian churches of modern times. The truth of this position will be shewn by the following examples.

The exhumation of the temple of Ybsambul, in Nubia, from the mounds of sand beneath which it had been buried for many centuries, forms one of the most interesting events recited by modern travellers; for the fabric affords information

most instructive on subjects relating to sacred architecture. The temple may be called the cathedral of caves, numbers of which, varying in size from that of the British cromlech to dimensions nearly resembling the mighty and magnificent temples of Egypt, are at this present time lost beneath those stormy currents of sand which are of frequent occurrence in the vicinity of the deserts, which have sometimes overwhelmed not only caravans, but even whole armies, and threaten by repeated inroads to overwhelm even Egypt itself.

The traveller[d] whose wonderful perseverance laid open this temple to the inspection of modern visitors, describes it in nearly the following terms. The facade of rock which constitutes the front of the temple is one hundred and seventeen feet wide and eighty-six feet high. The entrance is a doorway twenty feet high. In an area in front of the entrance are four colossal figures sitting, now partly cleared from the sand, in height, ascertained by estimate, to be sixty-one feet. A colossal figure of Osiris twenty feet high, with two colossal figures one on each side looking towards it, occupy a considerable portion of the front over the door; it is ornamented with cornice, torus, and frieze. Above the cornice is a row of gigantic monkeys, in number twenty-one. This front, were the area entirely cleared of the sand, would be handsome and even grand. The door opens into a spacious pronaos or ante-temple fifty-seven feet long, fifty-two wide, and thirty high. The ceiling is flat, supported by two rows of four pillars five and a half feet square, to the front of each of which a colossal figure is attached, of the same height as the room, whose caps or turbans, resembling those on the head of some *Hindù* images, touch the ceiling. This room leads to another thirty-seven feet wide, twenty-five and a half feet long, and twenty-two high. It contains four pillars, each about four feet square. Beyond this room is another of shorter length and of the same width as the former, leading

[d] Belzoni's Travels, p. 416. 4to.

to the *secos*, or most sacred place, twenty-three and a half feet long and twelve wide. In the centre of this room stands a pedestal, once, as it should seem, surmounted by some symbolical figure, but now gone. At the end are four colossal figures sitting. On the right side of the pronaos or first apartment are two doors opening into two apartments both long and narrow; two also in the second lead into rooms of the same description, from each of which doors open into similar rooms with benches to sit on. The traveller imagines that these narrow apartments may have been the abodes of the priests ministering at the temple: they seem rather to have been intended for the performance of sacred rites and mysteries. The principal rooms of the temple were adorned with numerous hieroglyphics, together with figures indicative of the triumph of Egyptians over Ethiopians. Not far from this great temple is another of much smaller dimensions, but similar to the great temple in every respect, and consequently not affording any matter of particular interest.

The full disclosure of this temple at Ybsambul is a new and important event in the history of sacred architecture. It invites to various conjectures and enquiries. First, of the time of fabrication. The temple was excavated from the solid rock by some Egyptian monarch returning from a victorious expedition against the Ethiopians of the south, most probably those occupying the modern Abyssinia. Such conqueror may be presumed to have been the famed Sesostris, who, according to the statement of Strabo,[e] did conquer the Ethiopian Troglodytes. This monarch, for reasons already given, may be said to have been the son of that Pharaoh who obtained the sole and undivided dominion over all Egypt by the wise and providential administration of Joseph, son of the patriarch Israel. That administration took place in the beginning of the seventeenth century before the Christian era: the enter-

[e] Strab. Geog. lib. xvii. p. 769. A.

prises of Sesostris consequently occurred in the course of that century, which give an antiquity to the cave temple of Ybsambul of about three thousand five hundred years.

The Geographer writes of Sesostris, "The temples of Egypt are *found* to have been constructed by him." This position, it is presumed, from the terms in which it is made, was the result of enquiries made and authorities adduced relative to this question in the Augustine age in which he wrote. It will not be correct to understand the words above cited as affirming that all the temples of Egypt were constructed by him, but only the greater number. Perhaps it may be admitted that all the temples at Thebes, his capital, were constructed by the labour of the captives taken by him in his many expeditions into different countries. Several circumstances confirm this opinion. The wealth of Thebes, its magnificence, extent, and power, were celebrated by Achilles[f] at the time of the war at Troy, who speaks of the fame of the city of Sesostris as familiar to all the world. The resemblance between the cave of Ybsambul and the temples of Egypt accords with the opinion that they were works wrought by the same person and nearly at the same time. The pronaos of Ybsambul corresponds with the Egyptian *dromos* or ante-court, the second room with what is by some called the vestibule, the third with the inner vestibule, the fourth with the *secos* or most sacred, in which the symbolical idol was kept with mysterious secrecy and reverence. The recesses on either side of these rooms correspond exactly with similar recesses in the temples of Egypt, and were doubtless available to similar purposes. Some difference may be found between the cave and the temples of Thebes. The pillars of Ybsambul are rude compared with those of Egypt; they are without plinth or capital, and the gigantic figures which stand in front, but joined to the square pillars, are adjuncts which do not occur in the Theban temples:

[f] Iliad. I. v. 381.

there may be reasons for their use arising from particular circumstances. These figures are divine personages, as may be gathered from the symbolical instruments held in their hands. Their caps or turbans, differing from the costume of the Egyptians, intimate that they are foreigners. The subjugation of the heathen nation always implied a victory over its gods. It may be confidently presumed that the figures in front of the several pillars were the gods of the Ethiopian nations whom the invading Sesostris had subdued, and that the office imposed on them was the servile task of giving support to the ceiling of the temple which the conqueror raised. Such being their import, they may be said to have been the exemplar of the Caryatides, an article in architecture supposed, but erroneously, to have been first devised by the Greek. On these grounds it may be affirmed that the differences between the temples of Egyptian Thebes and the cave of Ybsambul do not by any means contravene the conclusion that both may alike be regarded as works of the mighty Sesostris; and both alike cave temples, although those in Egypt be not constructed beneath the surface of the earth.

Whatever may have been the true history of the cave temple of Ybsambul, the resemblance it bears to the compound cromlechs of the British Isles is plainly obvious. The succession of rooms in both is the same: their oblong form is the same: so also is the diminution in the extent of each. The ceilings are flat alike. Such is the correspondence of the interior of each: they differ only in dimensions; but the reason of this difference will be well seen in the condition of the Egyptians at the time when they wrought the temple of Ybsambul, and of the Celts who constructed the British cromlechs. The former were a people highly civilized, had made great progress in the cultivation of the arts, and were numerous, rich, and powerful. They were the admiration of all neighbouring nations. The British constructors of

their cromlechs were rude and comparatively few in number; they were little other than wandering tribes, the rude precursors of civilization.

But whatever may have been the difference in political condition of the constructor of the cave temple of Nubia and of the cromlechs of Britain, their principles were simply the same. Worship paid in caves was held to be most efficacious, or otherwise a temple above ground on the space between the cave and the Nile, and with labour and pains comparatively easy, would have been builded. That the cave temple itself was supposed to be best adapted to the usages of the constructors, when divided into portions symbolical of the several regions of the created world, is equally evident in the cave and Egyptian temple. Whether there were ever side-recesses in the cromlech has not been ascertained, and yet some such apartments might seem to have been necessary for the performance of mysterious rites which formed an indispensable portion of the offices of their religion. If there ever were any recesses beside the principal cavity of the cromlech, they would most assuredly have been destroyed at the desecration, and that work would have been unfinished had such mysterious recesses been suffered to remain. Again, the area in the front of the Nubian temple and the cromlech may be said to exhibit symbolical objects of character exactly the same. At Ybsambul there are statues gigantic and sitting, symbols, according to the usual interpretation, of power and stability, attributes conceded to every personage claiming the character and worship as a god. Upright stones observed at several cromlechs, intimate too plainly to be misunderstood, that such stones were the rude but strong vindicators of the same attributes for the god or gods of the cromlech. Stones have been observed in the vicinity of some cromlechs, so placed as to appear to have formed avenues of approach. Similar ways or avenues have been traced in the vicinity of the pyramids; the like appendages

have been discovered in the approaches to the celebrated temples of Egypt: were the sand sufficiently removed, there can be no doubt that similar avenues would be discovered leading to the entrance of the cave temple of Ybsambul. To these remarks the following may be added in confirmation of the same truth. The name of Thebes and Beotia were given to the city and province of Greece because of the sacred *theba* and *beotus* kept there and held in reverence. The same circumstance most surely obtained the name of Thebes for the Egyptian city. If a *theba* were placed in the sacred cromlech, it might irresistibly find a place alike in the cave temples of Ybsambul and Thebes.

Cave worship was not limited to Egypt and Nubia. In one of the mountains in the vicinity of *Ambù Manut* in Abyssinia is a church, called *Abusha-subba*, cut out of the solid rock.[s] Its site commands a fine view of a large and beautiful plain. In front of the excavation is a vestibule of two stones covered with thatch. From this vestibule three doors lead into a room fifty feet long and thirty wide, having two rows of pillars and pilasters, about three feet in diameter, and of an architectural proportion nearly the same as the Tuscan. These pillars support a dome about thirty feet high, curiously painted and carved. Beyond this room is another, separated from the former by two square pillars, having a dome about forty feet high. On each side of this room are smaller rooms, communicating with the first and larger room by a door. The ceilings of these are flat. The second of these two larger rooms contains the baptismal font, together with various articles used in the ceremonies of the church. These are concealed from public view by a curtain between the two pillars dividing the rooms. The floor is flagged with square stones, and the walls are ornamented with crosses, paintings, and inscriptions in the Ethiopic character. The most remarkable of the paintings represent the Saviour and

[s] Valentia, Trav. vol. iii. chap. 1, p. 27.

the Apostles. Among the paintings is a representation of Saint George on horseback combating the Dragon, executed with care and good effect; a certain indication of the admitted importance of the subject. From one of the pillars issues a constant fountain of water, which leaves a ferruginous deposit in its course. In each of the side cells are tombs. Without the church there are several tombs excavated in the sides of the rock, covered with loose stones only.

This cave church now exhibits all the ornaments usually admitted into christian edifices; but even these, together with other circumstances, shew that it was originally an Egyptian temple. The several apartments are correspondent with those of the temple of Ybsambul, and also with those of the temples of Egypt. Tradition declares that the excavations were wrought by Egyptian workmen, which leaves no doubt as to its primary use. The fountain, issuing from the pillar, accords with such opinion. An architect working on heathen principles and Celtic superstitions would carefully preserve the stream when he hewed the rock into a column; it would be a symbol of the presence of some divine spirit: a christian architect would have devised some secret passage for the covered discharge of what would be considered by him as a nuisance. The word *subba*, still retained in the name of the church, is *Sanscrit*, and signifies a royal court or palace. It intimates the high rank or eminence of the god to whom the cave temple was originally dedicated. It also intimates an ancient intercourse between India and Egypt, of which the vicinity of the two countries, as also the similarity of some of their institutions, though exhibited perhaps with some exaggeration by the *Sanscrit* scholar Wilford, leaves no doubt.

In its first state, when this cave was a heathen temple, the walls of the interior were doubtless covered, like the kindred structure of Ybsambul, with painted figures of the Egyptian mythology. These being incompatible with christian doctrines, were of necessity destroyed, and figures supposed to

resemble the Saviour and his Apostles substituted instead. Of these the symbolical representation of Saint George and the Dragon, being found in a church so far remote from the common scenes of christian intercourse, deserves most certainly particular remark.

No one will for a moment suppose that the figures of Saint George and the Dragon represent real beings; they can be nothing but a symbolical exhibition of the triumph of the Gospel over wicked idolatry: they are a composition of symbols, but of symbols not adopted at random or devised by the delirium of mysticism, but such as are found in holy writ, and therefore justly admissible, being sanctioned by the Spirit of Truth.

The dragon which is represented as being slain by the spear of the equestrian warrior, is the evil spirit, which scriptural prophecies declare shall be slain in the day of the Lord.[h] The import of this symbol is acknowledged and well known. The armed knight by whose hand the victory is wrought, is the power of the Redeemer; the armour in which he is clad, is symbolical of the christian virtues enumerated by the apostle Saint Paul, in his epistle to the Ephesians.[i] The knight is named George, possibly from γεωργος, *georgos*, a Greek word signifying a husbandman, a tiller of land, a labourer in the Lord's vineyard. If this be the origin of the word, it must have passed from the Greeks of Alexandria to the Abyssinians of *Ambu Manut:* but that the figure bears the name of George in that country is not stated, which renders it more probable that it was taken by the Crusaders, men of Celtic descent, and was none other than the word *jorge*,[k] which, in the languages of Celtic origin, signifies a person of eminence and entitled to honour. When given to a warrior engaged in the cause of the cross, it signifies a *good soldier of Jesus Christ*, one who *fought the good fight of the faith.*[l]

[h] Isaiah xxvii. 1. Revelations xx. 1.
[i] Ephesians vi. 14, &c.
[k] Thomson's Etymons of English Words.
[l] 2 Timothy ii. 3; iv. 7.

It were difficult to imagine any symbol more appropriate to the occasion than the above, exhibited, as in this instance, in a temple converted from heathen to christian use. The symbol is capable of almost universal application. It was never more aptly, though it may have been better applied, than when taken as the ensign of the English Crusaders, when they couched their spears against the infidel disciples of Mahomet, for the conquest of the Holy Land and the triumph of the Gospel of Christ. The celebrity of the symbol of Saint George and the Dragon made it the object of general attention, and unfortunately, of common use. It first became, as may be imagined, the sign of a tavern, kept perhaps by an old Crusader, and from an honest national feeling it became of very common use. Being thus used, it has become so desecrated as to be now inadmissible, notwithstanding the excellence of its import, into a Christian church. The eminent author of the History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire confidently affirms, that the George of this symbol was one George a Cappadocian, once Archbishop of Alexandria, who from his violent and perhaps injudicious zeal for the Christian faith, was seized by a furious mob of idolaters, cast into prison, and there murdered in an attack on the place.[m] The historian, in a note, signifies a doubt as to his statement that the slayer of the dragon was the Alexandrian Prelate, but, like a true disciple of Voltaire, he could not forego the opportunity of casting a sneer at the Christian religion, by affixing the title of *infamous* on an Archbishop. The situation in which the symbolical George and the Dragon has been found, ill accords with the history of the Arian of Alexandria, and can hardly be supposed to have any reference to him, or that the orthodox Crusaders should adopt him as the symbol of a zealous and triumphant champion of the Christian faith.

[m] Gibbon. Hist. chap. xxiii.

The form of the temples of Egypt is, with few exceptions, the same, whether they be situate on the upper or lower banks of the Nile. The following, given by Strabo, may shew that these wonderful structures have continued the unaltered admiration of different and distant ages.

"The structure of the temples is this. The approach to the temple is a paved court, of length three or four times, or in some instances more, of the breadth. Throughout this length are sphinxes of stone, distant from each other twenty or more cubits. At the end of the sphinxes is a spacious vestibule, then another, and again a third. But of these vestibules, as also of the sphinxes, the number is not fixed, but the number of the latter depends upon the length of the court or *dromos*. Beyond the vestibules is the temple, consisting of a spacious hall, and a shrine of moderate size. This contains no image, at least of the human form, but of the form of some animal. There are, on either side of the hall, structures called wings. Besides these are two walls, of height the same as that of the temple, distant from each other by somewhat more than the breadth of the front, ornamented by many and various figures, such as are seen among the Etruscans and more ancient Greeks."[n]

Thus writes the Roman geographer. His description is less particular and exact than those given by modern travellers. These concur in stating that the quadrangle called by the Roman the *dromos* is entered by double doors between quadrangular structures of vast solidity, with sides battering, flat atop, and projecting cornices. In front of these entrances are images, such as the sitting Memnon, or recumbent sphinx, and in some instances two obelisks. On either hand of the *dromos* or court are colonnades supported by very massive columns, with intercolumniations very small. Every part of the roof is flat, and hieroglyphics and figures mythological or historical cover the walls, the pillars, and the ceilings, in inconceivable abundance.

[n] Strab. lib. xvii. p. 805. C.

It appears from the authority of the Roman geographer, that many cave temples of the countries south of Egypt, the countries of the Troglodytes or cave-worshippers, were constructed by the great Egyptian conqueror, and that they were actually temples of the Egyptian gods.[o] This statement is confirmed by the figures with which the cave temple of Ybsambul is most abundantly adorned. These clearly shew that the constructor of those sacred edifices was zealously attached to the principles on which cave-worship was adopted; and it may confidently be presumed, from his mighty power, that he wrought many such works, though they are all now buried in the overwhelming sands. These cave temples of Africa, according to the traditions common in Abyssinia, were wrought by Egyptian workmen; a statement which affords the fullest assurance that such temples accorded with the general opinion of the Egyptians. This might indeed be expected, when it is understood, that the ancestors of that nation had been settled in early times in the upper provinces of the Nile, and were of the same race as that which peopled Abyssinia. This inference the Roman geographer fully confirms, for he says that "the temples excavated from the rocks of those countries were temples dedicated to the gods of Egypt."[p]

This fact, that the cave temples of Nubia and Abyssinia were dedicated to the gods of Egypt, shews that the worship of those gods in caves was not inconsistent with Egyptian principles; but it suggests the question, whence came it that the patron of cave temples in Nubia and Abyssinia should have transferred the worship of Egypt from subterranean structures to superterranean structures? This question will receive an answer by the assertion that the temples of Thebes, and of consequence all the temples of Egypt, for they were all constructed upon the same plan, are in reality cave temples. Finding that temples were necessary for the vast population of his metropolis, and

[o] Strab. lib. xvi. p. 769. A. [p] Ibid. p. 369. A.

that it was inconvenient, and indeed impossible, to supply the demand by resorting to the rocky but somewhat distant region that bounded the rich plains on the borders of the Nile, the great Sesostris constructed temples of such form that, though their sites were on the surface, yet they should resemble very nearly the subterranean structures, and, as such, afford assuredly the same advantages. Thus it came that the temples of Egypt were, unlike the temples of other nations, low, flat atop, massive, gloomy, and dark,—the qualities of real caves.

The Egyptian temple being such as above described, may be justly said to have been in reality a vast and magnificent cromlech. Viewed from without, nothing was seen but one plain oblong mass, whose battering sides bore some resemblance to the sloping sides of the cromlech, where the edges of stone covering the cave beneath, and projecting somewhat beyond the mound, were aptly exhibited by the Egyptian cornice projecting over the sloping sides of the inclosing wall. The outline of the top of the structure bore a near resemblance to the cromlech also. Compared with the horizontal extent the height was nothing; the whole structure, substantial, and to outward appearance solid, seemed to court an affinity in character to a mound of earth. It does not appear from the ancient accounts, whether any mass resembling the amber stone of the cromlech was ever placed atop the Egyptian structure; and yet there may have been such. The causes of the absence of such objects may be readily assigned: they may have been overthrown and destroyed in the course of those outrageous contests that long subsisted in Egypt between the old idolaters and the new christians, or, should any one have by chance escaped overthrow in those times, it would be sure to fall before the fanaticism of the Moslems. The silence of Strabo and others as to this point may, however, be held to be decisive; and it may be presumed that either the towering propylæum or the summit of some

column within the walls, now seen rising high above them, may have been the intended object of adoration to the passers by without, and that the object did receive the bow of reverence, as did the cromlech of the rude Celt. The height of the propylæum favours this supposition. The image of Osiris placed over the door of entrance into the cave temple of Ybsambul, and the globe, serpents, and wings, symbols of the universe, and, according to the principles of the idolater, of the Deity himself, speak so decidedly as to leave little doubt upon the question.

In front of the propylæum and the doors of entrance stood images such as the Memnon, and occasionally obelisks, all, like the pillars at the temple of King Solomon, symbolical of the might of the god of the place. These objects were wonderful improvements of the rude and simple stones usually set up at the entrances of cromlechs and Celtic temples. These latter were of easy overthrow, and few traces of them remain; but the Egyptian symbols defied or wearied the fury of the assailants, both from their gigantic magnitude and the hardness of the material; and therefore, though desecrated and in ruins, they still exist, the wonder of all beholders. In the court, or *dromos*, as the ancients speak, leading to the doors of the temple, the significant sphinxes mark the approach to the sacred cells, as did rude stones to the Celtic avenues. Many, perhaps most, of the Egyptian temples exhibit a parallel to these structures in the pillars of the colonnades which border the court or *dromos*. Their height and solidity afford an improved exhibition of the Celtic uprights. Beholders marvel at the smallness of the intercolumniations, and assign the cause to a want of taste in the constructors: a better and truer reason may be found. The Celtic temples were encompassed by rows of stones placed more or less near, but the nearer the more perfect the enclosure. The wish to give proof of religious zeal by an amplification of works of the structure may be reasonably

taken to have been the true cause of the close contiguity of the Egyptian columns: by being almost crowded together they rendered the work more perfect; and farther, according to ancient ideas, the colonnade thus enclosed by columns almost in contact, partook of the sombre gloom of the cave, and thus acquired a character more befitting the reverence and worship due to the god.

Arrived at the farther extremity of the *dromos*, you enter the first apartment of the temple, open towards the *dromos*, except that the spaces between the columns of the front are nearly closed by a sort of half columns, the central space only being left open for the entrance. The roof or ceiling is flat, and in many instances supported by pillars. Having no opening for the admittance of light, it partakes of course of the gloom of a cave. Still more so is the next, of less dimensions than the preceding, but like it in the flat ceiling supported by pillars, but lower than those of the outer apartment. Another apartment, still smaller, lower, and darker, succeeds, and either contains, or leads to another which contains a small covered cell, in which is placed either an idol in the form of an animal, or some sacred animal is kept, the symbol of the god of the temple. Such were the representations of the gods of Egypt.

Like the Celts and other votaries of Saturn and Titan, the Egyptians never used an idol of the simple human form, except in combination with animal forms, or some material adjunct, by which the idol was distinguished from persons in common life. They never, like the Greeks and Romans, made man a god or god a man. The varied forms of these several apartments is the same as that still seen in the compound cromlech, of which some instances have been given in preceding pages. The cells in the Anglesey cromlech diminish both in height and space exactly in the same manner. In short, the only difference between the Egyptian temple and the Celtic cromlech consists in the

dimensions and grandeur of the work; such difference as might be expected to occur in the works of the rude and artless Celt and those of a nation numerous, rich, ingenious, and powerful as were the Egyptians.

A series of coincidences so corresponding as these cannot be accidental, but must be the result of some one principle operating powerfully, and founded upon opinions made general because entertained by the first families of mankind before the wide dispersion of their tribes into different and often distant regions of the globe. It has been shewn that the religious theories and the practical rites of Celticism have been, at certain periods, the predominant in the observances of the most distant regions of the earth. At a certain period the heathen world of idolaters was divided into two sects, the sect of Saturn, and the sect of Titan. This latter prevailed in Greece and the countries adjacent; the former, as affirmed by Strabo, prevailed in Africa and western Europe. The Greeks worshipped much in cave temples; the Saturnians, both of Africa and Europe, did the same: those of Africa worshipped in scarcely any other kind of temple, so that they were said to be Troglodytes, or men living in caves altogether. It were strange to suppose that the Egyptians, an ancient African race, should have been the only tribe that differed from the rest of their brethren by the rejection of cave-worship.

If the Egyptians were ever cave-worshippers, there can be no incongruity in supposing, or rather regarding the supposition as an absolute certainty, that their temples were merely substitutes for caves, and that they were, as such, the houses or abodes of the god or gods, as were the temples of other nations. They were not only of the same character, but they derived their sacred form from the same origin by what may be called a regular descent.

It has been shewn in the preceding pages, that the simple barrow, whether square or round, produced the long barrow.

The long barrow was improved into the long and compound cromlech in Nubia and Abyssinia. This was improved in Egypt into the temple, by a progress, of which though all the stages cannot be traced in the temples of Egypt, yet must, if argument bears any force, be true. The origin of the barrow has been found in the primal altar in the Garden of Eden. The form of the Egyptian temple being thus derivable from the altar of the Garden, this form, as well as those of the tower and the spire, may be said to have been of divine origin, and of consequence it is a proper form, not only for a heathen temple, but of the Christian church, the true house of the true God.

The Egyptians entertained the confident belief that at the expiration of a certain period the world would be destroyed, and that after the destruction it would be renewed, and the course of events in the new world would be in all respects an exact repetition of the former.[q] In accordance with this doctrine they held that the spirits of the dead would return at the proper period, not only to inhabit a human body, but the same body, if it were preserved entire. Such preservation, they imagined, would not only be conducive to the desirable continuation of personal identity, but would spare the disembodied returning spirit much pain and trouble which might otherwise attend the acquirement of a new body. For these reasons they adopted the practice of embalming the bodies of deceased friends. They preserved these remains with great care, sometimes in their own private houses, but most frequently in places of very general reception, known in ancient times by the title of labyrinths, in more modern times by the name of catacombs. To give greater security to the embalmed deposits, both the labyrinth and tomb were vested with the character of sacred, and became real temples dedicated to appropriate gods. The labyrinth and the tomb, being sacred structures and

[q] Prichard on Egypt, book ii. chap. 3.

subterranean also, shew that the Egyptians entertained an attachment to cave-worship, not only strong, but influential in every act connected with their religion. In these acts they carried into a more extended exercise the same principles which are found to have operated with the Celts, the votaries of Titan and Saturn, the primal cave-worshippers, bowing with religious awe at the heaped cromlech as inclosing the cave.

The celebrated Father of history describes one of the Egyptian labyrinths, for there were several all of near resemblance, in terms of the following import. "The labyrinth surpasses the pyramids, for there are twelve halls, all covered with roofs, six fronting the north and six fronting the south, with a gate before each. All these halls are surrounded by one common wall of enclosure. The apartments in each of these halls are double, one is below, the other above ground. The number of rooms in each story is one thousand five hundred. We have (the historian speaks) passed in person through, and seen the rooms above; those below we know only from description, for the Egyptians who have the superintendence would not be induced by any persuasion to shew them, assigning the reason, that the tombs of the kings who began to build this labyrinth, and of the sacred crocodiles also, were there deposited."[r] The historian then proceeds to describe the magnificence of the apartments which he saw, and the perplexing intricacy of their communications. At one angle of the labyrinth there is a lofty pyramid, richly adorned with sculptured animals, at which is the entrance into the subterranean apartments.

The subterranean apartments to which access was denied, have been frequently visited in our times, by many travellers. Clarke thus describes the catacombs at Racotis, near Alexandria, one of the labyrinths of ancient times, which, he says, had been in ruins long before the foundation

[r] Herodot. lib. ii. c. 148.

of that city.[s] He entered them under the guidance of Arabs, the usual conductors, but who never venture into them without using a clue, to enable them to retrace their steps back again. A plan of these caves, drawn by the French engineers during their occupation of the country, and given by the traveller, if it be correct, is amply descriptive of these wonderful remains of antiquity. The number of rooms or recesses is so great as to be with difficulty ascertained; the number also of *soroi*, or cisterns cut in the rock for the reception of bodies, is almost countless. One room, which may be called the chapel, is situate in the centre of all these many sepulchral apartments. It is circular, ceiled with a dome hewn out of the rock with exquisite precision, and with the purest simplicity of workmanship. In this room there was no *soros*. Being the only one without such receptacle, it may be supposed to have been a temple dedicated to Serapis, and the *secos*, in which was kept a sacred crocodile, the symbol of that god who reigns over the souls of the dead and the realms they were supposed to inhabit. That it was such, the globe, serpents, and wings over the door of entrance prove beyond all doubt: it was the cave temple at which the spirits of the persons interred might meet and perform their bounden worship, for, according to the theories of the heathen nations, the spirit, when departed from the body, continues to practise the same functions as had been familiar to the person during life. Notions such as these were entertained by all the ages of the ancient world, and are still extant in many of the superstitions of modern times. It is seen in the poems of the Celtic Ossian: in the desire expressed by the ancient Greeks to be buried in the same taphos with friends and relations. Hence also the misery supposed by the Greeks and Romans to attend all such persons as had not received the rites of burial, and were in consequence destitute of an abode for

[s] Clarke's Travels, vol. v. chap. 7.

the spirit, a misfortune which only ceased after wandering on the banks of the river Styx an hundred years. The same belief of the abode of spirits is sometimes entertained even by such among ourselves as imagine that ghosts walk in churchyards. This is nothing but a remnant of the same superstition. The Egyptians, whose institutions all originated in Celticism, entertained the same opinion respecting the posthumous intercourse and continued habits of the departed spirits; and therefore, as is stated by Herodotus, they constructed a room above each of the sepulchral apartments of the labyrinth, corresponding with the room of interment below, which room the departed spirit might visit at will, and where it might enjoy social intercourse with other like spirits, whose embalmed remains were deposited in the apartments below. It was possibly from a malignant intention of depriving the spirits of these accommodations, that the Babylonian or Persian conquerors of Egypt destroyed the upper structures of the labyrinth, or outraged the *soros* of the tomb; and hence it comes that the catacombs, the subterranean portion of the original labyrinth, alone remain. The temple extant in those remains clearly shews that cave temples were in perfect accordance with Egyptian principles.

The Roman naturalist makes mention of several of these labyrinths situate in different parts of Egypt.[t] Of these the oldest was that in the nome or district of Heliopolis, at the upper part of the Delta of the Nile. This, he observes, was extant in his time, notwithstanding it had been built, as was reported, by a monarch named *Petesuc*, or Tithoe, three thousand seven hundred years before his time, the first century of the Christian era. Herodotus gives it to a comparatively recent date; that of Psammetichus, the seventh century. The situation of this labyrinth certainly justifies a claim to great antiquity. The most ancient places of interment were excavations made in rocks; but when the Delta

[t] Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxxvi. c. 13.

became habitable, the country, flat and low, did not admit of such excavations, and the labyrinth was constructed as a substitute, and therefore the labyrinth of Heliopolis was the one first required. For this reason all the labyrinths of Egypt were situate in the Delta and the low countries in its vicinity. In former ages, when interments were made in the upper countries of the Nile, the tomb was hewn out of the rock, and was a sacred place and a temple. Both the sepulchre in the rock and the sepulchre in the labyrinths were sacred places. Such was the attachment of the Egyptians to cave-worship.

It is evident, from the discovery of tombs or sepulchres made by the traveller Belzoni in the *Biban el Malouk*, or the *Vale of Kings*, in Upper Egypt, that the monarchs of Egypt were usually buried in caves hewn out of the rock forming the sides of the valley, and that these caves were in most instances of considerable extent, and that each contained *soroi*, or cavities of the form of troughs, in the often numerous cells in the several tombs. In some instances the excavation penetrated nearly horizontally into the rock. Over the door of entrance into these tombs is the symbol of the globe, serpent, and wings, the common ensign of an Egyptian temple. In other instances, when the approach to the cave of the tomb was a descent, the ruins of a pronaos, such as was usually constructed, forming the entrance into temples, may be traced, although no architectural traces appeared except accumulated stones, which were most probably the remains of some structure such as a pronaos destroyed. Appearances such as these guided the researches of the enterprising Belzoni, and led him to the tomb of Psammis, one of the most wonderful of the discoveries of the present age of enterprize.

This structure is approached by a descent of steps which seemed to terminate in a deep cistern. It cannot with reason be imagined that the cistern should have been intended to

produce the belief that the works of the sepulchre should terminate at this place, for the Egyptians do not appear to have been desirous of concealing the remains of their dead, neither indeed could such concealment have been possible. This cistern was, however, passed, not without difficulty, when a succession of apartments were entered, decorated with hieroglyphics and figures in low relief, painted in the most perfect style of Egyptian ornament. The winged globe over one or more of the entrances of the apartments, and the pillars and other portion of the large excavations, prove that the work was intended to bear the character of a cave temple. The several apartments entered in succession accord with this idea. One of these, the largest and most magnificent of the whole, contained a sarcophagus, or coffin, of the most costly material, in which the body had been deposited; in a farther and lesser room were the embalmed remains of a sacred bull, the god Apis, the greatest god of the Egyptians, which had been there deposited at or about the time of the interment of the king.

Such is, or perhaps, such was this wonderful sepulchre, at the time when the embalmed remains of the great monarch were there deposited. He had intended there to have reposed till the time when the course of events should bring again into action the age in which he had lived, when his spirit would find his mortal body ready again to receive it; and that in the interim his spirit would associate with the spirit of Apis and his companion gods. He, like the rest of the Egyptians whose embalmed remains are now scattered abroad in thousands, or, if not scattered, are only kept entire as objects of idle and surprised curiosity; he, like millions of his countrymen, has been destined to disappointment. His remains, so far from being kept entire, were contemptuously scattered abroad within a few years after their splendid interment: ere the artists had finished the decorations and even excavated all the intended apartments of his sacred

sepulchral palace, Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon invaded Egypt, in return for the inroad made by Pharaoh Necho into the provinces of Asia, and the empire of Babylon; he conquered and held in subjection the whole of the land of Egypt, enriched himself with spoil, and gratified the spirit of revenge by, among other acts, breaking the cover of the splendid coffin of Psammis, scattered perhaps to the winds, or exposed his embalmed remains to the insults and derision of his victorious armies; not perhaps without the hope, that when the years should arrive in which the spirit of the son of Necho should return to live on earth, it would be destined to the misery which was supposed to await the unburied spirits when the hour arrived in which they might be allowed to return to real life, and not be able readily to find a body to inhabit.

Although the laboured accommodations provided to prevent the dissolution of the body, and to preserve the mortal remains of the deceased monarch were thus futile, yet the principle on which such attempts were founded invites attention, for the consequences of those attempts are highly illustrative of the history of sacred structures.

The subterranean abodes prepared in the *Biban el Malouk* for the interment of the kings, were evidently intended to bear the character of temples. In the instances in which the excavations were wrought horizontally into the rock of the sides of the valley, there was not only the symbol usually affixed on the pronaos, but there was also an area in form exactly the same as that of the temple of Ybsambul. The idea of the sacred character of sepulchres was first exhibited in the sepulchral barrow of the Celt, of which the Egyptian labyrinth and catacomb is but an improved form transferred to the temple, which is not sepulchral as with the barrows. All were temples, or sacred structures at which religious rites were performed, but all barrows were not sepulchres.

The tombs of the *Biban el Malouk*, which are not ex-

cavated from the sides of the valley, but from the level area, and formed with a descent deep below the surface, must be presumed to have been adorned with some structure at the entrance, for the steps prove that the apartments were intended to be always accessible, and that the works were never intended to have been buried in obscurity and consigned to oblivion. There must have been a structure at the entrance, most probably a pronaos, as at other temples. That such marks of distinction should have once been, though since destroyed, accords with the outrages evidently practised on the *soros*, and with the appearance of the stones which, when Belzoni began the research, obstructed his approach; nothing can be more probable than that these stones were the materials of the pronaos, and of symbolical figures which occupied an area in front. All these the vindictive Babylonian or scornful Persian conqueror would destroy.

The apartments of the interior of the sepulchre of Psammis bear a near, or rather exact resemblance to the several apartments of many of the temples of Egypt. Of these, that farthest from the entrance was the *secos* of the place. In it were the embalmed remains of the god Apis, symbolized in the sacred bull. In the room before the entrance into the *secos* lay the embalmed remains of the monarch. The form and dimensions of the place are befitting royalty, and decorated with ornaments at once both sacred and splendid. Here it was assumed, that the spirit of the king would partake continually of the society of the spirit of the god. Vain was the expectation. The enemy who committed outrage on the magnificent and sacred tomb of Psammis was equally hostile to the religion as to the king of Egypt: the sacred *soros* of Apis was broken open; even the god was disinterred; the bones of the embalmed bull were tossed about in derision, as found by the traveller, and the holy cell, his abode, completely choked with rubbish, was effectually desecrated. Such were the acts of Babylonian vengeance.

The labyrinth differs from the sepulchre of Psammis and other kings of Egypt in nothing but in the number of cells and rooms required for the different purposes for which each was constructed. The sepulchre or tomb was intended for the reception of a single individual, and perhaps some near connections; the labyrinth for the interment of many persons. Whether public or private, both alike were sacred structures or temples, or rather, they contained many temples. Pliny affirms that the labyrinth contained temples for every one of the gods of Egypt. Reciting the several causes usually assigned for the construction of the first labyrinth, that of Heliopolis, he states, that it was said to have been intended for a palace, next that the structure was destined for a sepulchre, but that the opinion most deserving belief decided that it was a structure sacred to the sun.[u] Herodotus states, that the sacred crocodiles were buried in the labyrinth. In this he accords with Pliny. The crocodile was a symbol of the destructive power of Nature, signified also by the sun in the winter signs, and personified in the Pluto of the Greeks, and the Serapis of the Egyptians. Hence the labyrinth was regarded as the realm of Pluto, and being constructed beneath the surface of the earth, suggested the doctrine long received universally, that the spirit of the dead existed beneath the earth, in a state either of happiness or of misery. It appears from these premises, that both the labyrinth and the tomb were like the primary barrow, and were both temples and tombs. They afford full proof of the attachment of the Egyptians to cave-worship, and give authority to the conclusion that they constructed their temples so as to serve as substitutes for caves: a position which will be farther confirmed by the resemblance which the Egyptian structures bore to works decidedly Celtic.

The Roman naturalist states, that the labyrinth of Crete, the one of greatest celebrity in ancient fable, was certainly

[u] Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxxvi. c. 13.

made by Dædalus in imitation of the labyrinth of Egypt, but that the resemblance did not extend to one hundredth part of it; and yet it contained passages winding backward and forward altogether inexplicable: not such as, to use his words, we see in boys' pavements or in country sports, but that there were miles of walking within a little space, and doors so nearly placed as to deceive on return to the same spot, and cause a retrogression into the same bewildered wanderings.[x] The Roman states, that both the Egyptian and the Cretan labyrinths were structures of marble of the greatest solidity and magnificence, as was also the labyrinth at Clusium, of Porsenna king of Etruria, constructed in the beginning of the sixth century anterior to the christian era. The learned and ingenious author of the treatise on Celtic Etruria has proved by the most decisive evidences, that the Etruscans were Celts, and that their monuments and even their language were the same in character as that of the Celts of Ireland. The author shews that the Celtic Etruscans had attained a degree of civilization equal to that of even polished Greece, and in consequence the labyrinth of Porsenna might be expected to surpass greatly the cromlech and barrow of the rude Briton. That such was the origin of the Etrurian labyrinth, the following description will satisfactorily shew.

The Naturalist[y] introduces his account of the labyrinth of Porsenna with these remarks. "It is expedient that the Italian labyrinth should be mentioned, which Porsenna king

[x] Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxxvi. c. 13. The Naturalist here intends those tortuous paths cut out in the plain turf, commonly called *mazes*, from the Welch adverb *maes, out from within*. Labyrinth is another name for the same. Such a one was some years ago cut out in the smooth turf on a hill in the parish of Liddington, near Uppingham, in the county of Rutland. The hill was called *Priestly Hill*, whence it is inferred that the eminence, which bears the form of a barrow, was once at least regarded as a sacred eminence; and the act of *running the maze*, the phrase signifying the act of passing over all the windings, was once held to be sacred. The word *maes* enters into the composition of many towns and villages.

[y] Plin. ibid.

of Etruria constructed for a sepulchre for himself, seemingly that the vanity of foreign kings should be outdone by the Italians. But since," says he, "it exceeds even the fable of poetry, we will use the exact words of Varro in its description. 'He (Porsenna) is buried in the city of Clusium, in which place he left a monument of squared stone, thirty feet on each side, and fifty high. Within the square basis or mound on which this monument stands is a labyrinth, into which if any person incautiously enter without a clue, he would never find his way out. On the square platform of this basis stand four pyramids at the angles, in the middle one, each seventy-five feet at the base and one hundred and fifty high; each so tapering to a point, that on the summit of every one is fixed a globe of brass, and a petasus, or broad-brimmed hat, from which hang small bells attached by chains, which, shaken by the wind, give a sound heard at a great distance, as was done long time ago at Dodona.'" The Naturalist speaks of what should seem to be another platform, of circular shape, on which are four pyramids a hundred feet high, above which are five pyramids of whose height Varro was afraid to speak.

It might almost be supposed that the Roman had been describing the Buddhist temple of *Shu-maha-deo-prà*, at Pegu, than an Italian structure. The petasus resembles the *tì* or umbrella affixed atop the spires of the Buddhist structure; the bells, those suspended from the extended eaves of the Chinese pagoda. It seems, if the edition of Pliny be correct, that two structures were appended to this sepulchre, one square, the other round; and that the latter consisted of two platforms, both surmounted with pyramids. The Celtic rites adopted both these forms, as will presently be shewn. The number of pyramids was an improvement, or rather an amplification, of the *amber-stone* on the British cromlechs, or the tall flint stone reported by Virgil to have been set up above the cromlech of the Italian monster, Cacus. Of the Etruscan forms of sepulchres it remains now to speak.

The Etruscan mode of burial was the most sumptuous and expensive of any nation, except perhaps the Egyptian.[z] It does not appear that they embalmed the bodies of the dead, but they hewed out chambers in the natural rock, in which they placed sarcophagi of marble and other stones, and sometimes of burned clay, and placed about them vases and bronzes of great beauty and exquisite taste. The bodies they decorated with sumptuous ornaments of gold and precious stones. Again, the Etruscans had their large artificial hills or tumuli, with long galleries or passages, leading to the centre, where were lofty chambers, formed of large stones of Cyclopean architecture, in which they deposited their mighty dead. Thus writes the author of the treatise; his description might well serve to describe the Egyptian labyrinths.

The author having made notices of several barrows in Italy, Sardinia, and France, proving that such structures were once numerous and general in all the countries of the western world, describes particularly a tumulus or barrow called Cucumella, on the plains of Canino in Italy. Of this, he observes, that it partakes of the character of the round tower as well as the tumulus. This barrow was of such extent as to be entitled to the name of hill. Around the base are scattered large masses of stone, the remains of a wall, which, with a trench, formed the inclosure of the sacred platform, the proper accompaniment of every barrow. On digging into and opening the hill, two towers, well built of stone, were discovered, the one square and solid, the other round and hollow, with sides battering, the height about thirty-three feet. It is conjectured that another round tower might be found on the opposite side of the hill. At the bottom of the round tower, which is well built of large oblong squared stones, is a cell supposed to have been intended for interment; the entrance is approached by steps cut out of the rock.

The two, perhaps three, towers included within the same tumulus or barrow, is an example not hitherto discovered in

[z] Betham. Etrur. Celt. chap. vi.

the British Isles. The three included in the same hill confirms the position that long barrows were formed by the juxtaposition or union of several barrows, each of which was intended for sepulture, but which were joined together from motives of family or friendly affection. There will be occasion presently to observe that the different forms of the towers, the square and the round, were used by different sects of Celticism, of each of which sects votaries may be presumed to have been interred in this barrow of Cucumella. A summary view of all the cave temples, labyrinths, and tombs or sepulchres above noticed, will serve to shew that the temples of Egypt, though constructed above ground, were intended to represent cave temples, and that they may be truly said to have been derived from the primal patriarchal altar.

The primal altar was indeed simple both as to form and material: it was of earth or turf, or a few plain stones. Such was the first temple used by man. In very early ages this altar or temple became a barrow, and was often, for reasons stated, raised for a sepulchre, in which a cavity was formed for the reception of a corpse. The doctrine, which there has been occasion repeatedly to mention, that the spirit of the departed abode in the sepulchre, invited the idea that its special abode was in the cavity or cell in which the corpse had been deposited. The heathen reverence paid to relics is of high antiquity: chiefly because a portion of the person implies a more immediate presence. This doctrine is still entertained in all its force by the Buddhists of India, and the Romanists of Europe maintain the opinion that every sacred structure is deficient in sanctity unless a relic or some symbol be deposited in the barrow or sacred structure. A cavity, when provided for the reception of the sacred substance, relic, or symbol of a divine personage, was very naturally regarded as a sacred cell, the real abode of the divine spirit, the special locality of the presence in the sacred

hill. In the Buddhist structures the sacred relic is never seen, it is buried deep in the raised mass; but in some of the sacred mounds or barrows of India the sacred symbol is seen and worshipped, in others it is seen only occasionally. By these means the cavity of the taphos or barrow became a sacred cell, the abode and the temple of the god of the mound or high place.

Many of the Celtic cromlechs contained several cells communicating successively with each other. It may not be easy to determine whether these cells were dedicated to different gods of the Celtic pantheon, or whether they were available to religious rites, but it is evident that the apartments of the temples of Egypt bore a near resemblance to the cells of the cromlech in the order of their succession and apparent use. The same observation applies to temples excavated in the earth, which may be called the great mound or barrow of Nature. Such works, consisting in most instances of several apartments and acquiring the form of a temple, were in reality only an enlarged form of the compound cromlech. It has been observed that public convenience, or rather public necessity, occasioned the construction of the Egyptian temple as a noble substitute for the favourite cave, the subterranean temple. The arguments offered in support of this theory have been confirmed by a reference to the principles on which the Egyptians constructed those subterranean sepulchres, the labyrinth and the catacomb; structures which clearly shew that the Egyptians were, like the rest of the nations of Africa, at least those of their vicinity, true Troglodytes. The following authority will confirm the position that the Egyptian temple was in reality an improvement of the Celtic cromlech. Diodorus writes, that the labyrinths were Cyclopean structures.[a] This remark applies, not to the style of the work or the kind of masonry, but to the subterranean site of the structure. The Cyclopes were Celts,

[a] Diod. Sic. lib. viii. p. 369. A.

worshipping their god Polyphemus in caves. Caves were Cyclopean temples; and therefore labyrinths, catacombs, and all cave temples were justly termed Cyclopean, being constructions accordant with Cyclopean principles. The antiquity of the Celtic cave-worship, and its continuance in the temples of Egypt, has led to the assertion that the first temples used by man were caves. The improbability of the subject might be a sufficient refutation, independently of arguments drawn from stated facts. But the assertion may be admitted as far as relates to Egypt, whose first temples, as the evidences now adduced clearly shew, were caves, or substitutes for caves, such as were first constructed in the Celtic barrow and cromlech, from which caves they derived their oblong form, which, after such origination, was adopted by almost all, if not all the nations of the earth, whether heathen or christian.

Notwithstanding the Celtic religion was once predominant in the provinces of *Hindosthàn*, and stones and cromlechs connected with its rites are still there extant, yet no reports describe a cromlech cave of the simple form in which it is seen in the British Isles, standing alone, apart from others, and dedicated, like some of the British cromlechs, to a particular deity. This silence may be attributed either to the facility with which the simpler caves may have been subverted and completely razed, or to the oversight of British explorers of Indian antiquities, who, not being aware of the once importance of the humbler structures of this class, pass by them without notice, as being unworthy attention. The Bishop of Calcutta does indeed speak of small caves, apparently appendages of some of the larger which he describes. These, however, were not, as the British cromlechs are, the principal temples of the vicinity in which they are found, and as such, models of the true temple cromlech. He errs also when he supposes that the small caves which he speaks of were the abodes of ascetics. Though the Celt did use the cromlech cave as the place of occasional

probation, it was never his abode. The *Hindù yogì* or ascetic is directly enjoined by the laws of *Menu* to seek the shade of trees of the forest; and there the self-tormentor is usually found.

If structures less perfect always precede such as are more so, it must be inferred that caves of simple form and small dimensions must at some time have been frequent in India, for such fabrics of great magnitude and very complex forms have been found in different quarters of *Hindosthàn*. In a hill of moderate elevation in the vicinity of *Ellora*, the capital of one of the northern circars, provinces of the British dominions in India, there are a number of caves of various dimensions, some of which, though exhibiting a variety in their structure, may be said to be but little advanced beyond the simple Celtic cromlech, and to bear a near affinity to it in form and import. This assemblage of caves, some of large dimensions and complex form, some less and more simple, must have given great celebrity to the district, when that passion for cave-worship prevailed which produced these extraordinary structures. One of these, called the *Indra Subba*, or Court of *Indra*, will shew, from the labour required for its formation, the extraordinary zeal which must have instigated the undertakers of the laboured work.

The approach to the cave is made over a level area, forty-four feet broad and fifty-four feet deep, cut out from the rock, which here rises in the hill thirty-nine feet above the area. On either side of this area are colonnades, supported by pillars formed out of the rock, and very finely wrought. Within these colonnades are several small caves, or rather excavations, which, not being deep, may very properly be regarded as shrines of different gods.

In this area, and in front of the entrance into the cave, stands a pyramidal fabric, eighteen feet square and twenty-seven high, with pillars and other ornaments elaborately wrought, having a cavity or recess in which is an altar, and

behind it a figure sitting, with an attendant on either side. On the left of this fabric, or pagoda, as it may be called, stands a column twenty-two feet high, fluted, and ornamented with great taste, bearing on its top a finial formed of several figures, well carved. On the left of the entrance of the pagoda is an elephant, cut, like all the other figures, out of the rock, certainly with great contrivance and labour.[b] This pillar and elephant are, such as other figures placed in similar situations, symbols of the power and steadiness of purpose of the god of the place.

Onwards, behind these objects, a door, the proper entrance into the cave, opens into a room seventy-nine feet long, twenty-eight wide, and fourteen high, at the farther end of which is an altar and image similar to that in the pagoda of the front. A flight of steps leads up to a room above seventy-eight feet long, sixty-six wide, and of height the same as the room below. This room is divided into two equal square parts by twelve pillars. On the right-hand side of the entrance of the first of these divisions, an image of *Indra*, of gigantic proportions, is seated on a couched elephant. Overhead, on a tree in full virescence, are perched four peacocks, Indian symbols of martial courage and vigorous activity. The image wears the *zenaar*,[c] or mysterious Brahmenical string. On the opposite side is the image of a female, *Indrani*, the consort of the god, seated on a couched lion. She bears an infant in her arm, and over her head a mango-tree spreads its well-fruited branches. These two images are seated in the first or lower square department of the room; at the upper end is a recess or apse, in which is seated an image, having the same appendages as that in front of the door or entrance, and representing the supreme god of the temple.

It may seem that no greater dissimilitude can be imagined than that which appears to subsist between the cave temple

[b] As. Res. vol. vi. No. 10. [c] Described by Moor, Hindu Pantheon, p. 379.

above described and the British cromlech, and yet it has all the characteristics of that structure. The temple is a cave wrought out of the solid rock,—the barrow of nature. It is altogether beneath the surface of the earth, and receives light from the entrance only, as did the cromlech. The pillar and other objects standing in the area in front of the entrance, correspond with the stones, either upright or thrown down, which still remain in the vicinity of the ruins of the cromlech. Similar accordances are found in the interior of the *Subba*. It is divided into three parts, as are some of the Celtic caves. The purport of the Celtic divisions is uncertain, from the want of records, but it was probably the same as that of the *Indra Subba*, which may be readily imagined. The three divisions represent the three regions of space, Earth, Sky, Heaven, repeatedly mentioned in the sacred rites of the *Hindùs*. The lower room may be presumed to have been dedicated to Earth, the lower portion of infinite space readily accessible by man. The crypts of our cathedrals and principal churches correspond to this under portion of the cave; and it may be imagined that such apartments in caves have been the exemplars of the like in our sacred structures.

The first division of the chamber above was the symbol of the sky, the region of space immediately above the earth. The sky is the place assigned for the reception of *Indra*, who is, according to the *Hindù* pantheon, the god of the air, as was the Jupiter of the Greeks. *Indranì*, his consort, a personification of the productive power of Nature operating with vigour and activity, signified by the lion on which she is seated, is in import the same as Juno. The god of the third division of the cave was most assuredly of greater eminence than *Indra*. Perhaps he was the creator, *Brahma*, a personage in later times excluded from *Hindù* temples and *Hindù* worship, but once the object of highest reverence, as being the first emanation of *Brahme*, the divine spirit supreme,

of which the *Sastra* devises neither image nor idol, holding that spirit can take no form.

The god *Brahmà* above mentioned is noticed in the Institutes of *Menù* as being the deity first born of the divine spirit called *Brahme.*[d] It is hence inferred that this *Brahmà* was the first personification of the divine spirit. That this personage was the symbol of the created world is evident from the four faces usually assigned to his form, which faces signify, according to the ancient philosophy, the four elements. Subsequent mythological theories multiplied the personifications of the world and *Brahmà* into eight deities, called in the *Sastra* guardian deities.[e] These eight deities were held to be the ruling spirits of the several portions of the material universe. Among these, *Indra,* the god to which the temple above described was dedicated, was regent of the air, and held a rank of such high eminence that none but the heads of families were allowed to perform rites to his honour. An enquiry into what may be called the age of his deification, may throw some light on the question of the age of the *Indra Subba,* and perhaps of the age of other caves also.

Sir William Jones has proved by arguments founded on the precession of the equinoctial points, that the Institutes of *Menù,* a kind of summary of the Vedas, were written thirteen or fourteen hundred years before the Christian era.[f] In the Institutes, the deities worshipped in India in the earlier ages of idolatry are mentioned, and among these *Indra;* but the later *avataras,* those of the *Ramas* and of *Crishna,* appear at the time of the composition of that work to have been unknown, doubtless, because they had not then been born; a phrase signifying in ancient mythological history, had not been the adopted objects of religious worship by any body of men or sect. Even the names of *Vishnù* and *Hara* or *Siva*

[d] Menu, chap. i. v. 9.

[e] Ibid, chap. iii. 85, 87; chap. vii. v. 4; chap. ix. v. 303, 311.

[f] Jones's Works, vol. iii. p. 54. Asiatic Researches, vol. ii. No. 15.

are mentioned only once by *Menù*; the *Hindù* Triad never: hence it is inferred that the Triad was unknown when the Institutes were compiled, and *Vishnù* and *Siva* little regarded. These facts clearly shew that the worship of *Brahmà* and of *Indra* had been fully established at a period anterior to the Institutes, that is, above twelve hundred years before the Christian era.

When the Institutes were written, the division of the people into classes, and all the economy of the *Sastra*, had been brought into operation: hence it is ascertained that the Institutes were written after the *Bamùn avatara*. This had superseded, as the *Hindù* records tell, the *Nara-singa* or Man-lion *avatara*, by which the Celtic worship of sacred stones and also the use of cave temples had been established. The *Bamùn avatara* introduced and vindicated the worship of images; whence it follows that the *Indra Subba* must have been wrought during that *avatara*. It may be reasonable to suppose likewise that this cave must have been the work of an early period of that *avatara*, certainly not long after the commencement of the period, for it is known from the accounts extant of the different deities of the *Hindù* pantheons, that the worship given to *Indra* had been transferred to more novel divinities, and he had ceased to be regarded as a god of power: for it is to be observed that this temple is the only cave dedicated to *Indra*; whereas all the gods of what may be called the middle ages of Hinduism, had their cave temples near *Ellora*, but not the gods of later date, *Crishna* and the *Ramas:* no caves are found said to have been dedicated to them, possibly, because cave-worship had ceased to interest, and improvement in the arts had enabled men to build more extensive and convenient structures above ground.

From these reasons it may be confidently decided that the *Indra Subba* is of an age the earliest of all the others in the vicinity of *Ellora*, though, from the extent and ornaments of the work, it is by no means the first of the many structures of

the kind which future researches into the antiquities of *Hindosthàn* will bring, it is hoped, into notice. The other caves, all bearing the names of deities of later worship than that of *Indra*, may be safely assigned to later and successive periods. Among these, the Cave of Elephanta may be reckoned, which being of greater celebrity than any other, claims particular notice.

This cave is situate high up a hill in a small island in the harbour of Bombay, which receives its European name Elephanta, and also its Indian *Gharipuri*, from the colossal figure of an elephant standing about half a mile distant from the cave, and near the usual place of landing. The figure of a horse is near that of the elephant, and may be regarded as the symbol of the activity, as the elephant is of the strength of the god of the cave above. The cave is widely open at the entrance; is of the form of a Latin cross; is one hundred and thirty-three feet long, one hundred and twenty-three wide, and about seventeen feet high. The ceiling is flat, supported by twenty-six pillars and eight pilasters, disposed in four rows, and is formed with beams cut in the rock as if they were of real, though they are only of apparent use. At the extremity, opposite the entrance, is the celebrated bust of the *Hindù* Triad, of which the front face is five feet long and three feet four inches wide; the others in profile are of like proportion. One of the arms of the cross, a square room of twenty feet, contains the *linga*. Every part of the walls is covered with gigantic figures in low relief, well executed, and chiefly allusive to the destructive power of *Siva*.[5] This has induced the Bishop of Calcutta to conjecture that the cave was dedicated exclusively to that god. This opinion is not, however, generally received, and is not supported by the authorities of the *Sastra*.

The present dilapidated state of the cave is said to be the consequence of violence, but is rather the effect of the

[5] Asiatic Researches, vol. iv. No. 31.

waters which in the rainy seasons flow into it. This led the bishop to conclude[h] that the work cannot have been of great antiquity, because, under present circumstances, it seems not likely to be of long continuance, for the waters occasionally flowing into it act powerfully on the lower portion of the soft sandstone columns, which certainly prevent the subsidence of the roof. The inference of the bishop is, however, scarcely tenable. There can be no doubt that, before the desecration of the cave, proper means would be taken to divert the waters of the rains from the entrance. Such care, if continued unremittingly, would have made the works as permanent as the mountain itself. The date of the excavation certainly belongs to that age when the worship of the *trimurti* was first adopted, which will be ascertained when British researches shall have traced the cameleon-like changes of sectarian absurdities which have taken place during the long periods of Indian idolatry.

One of the sacred caves near *Ellora* is of a structure so remarkable, and indeed so interesting, as to demand some short notices; a full description of the work would occupy many pages. It is called *Cailasa*, being intended to represent *Cailasa*, the heavenly abode of *Siva* on *Mount Merù*.[i] Instead of being fashioned into a cave by excavation, the rock is hewn into a temple by the removal of the material, so as to exhibit in open day spacious courts, columns, colonnades, covered rooms, and pyramidal spires, together with every article usually found in pagodas or temples built above ground.

The fabric is entered, as is usual with the generality of heathen temples, from the west. Two courts have been formed out of the rock; one, in front of the entrance of the temple, is one hundred and thirty-eight feet wide or broad, and eighty-eight feet long or deep. The great court in which the fabric, the proper temple, stands, is two hundred

[h] Heber, chap. xxvi. [i] Asiatic Researches, vol. vi. No. 10.

and forty-seven feet long and one hundred and fifty wide. The covered temple is one hundred and three feet by sixty-one. The height of the ceiling is seventeen feet ten inches. It is flat, and supported by pillars and pilasters, which divide the room into a nave and two ailes. The ceilings of some of the lesser rooms, of which there are many, are arched. There are several pyramidal spires, of which the highest is ninety feet, others are about fifty feet high. The solid rock out of which the whole has been hewn, was one hundred feet above the level of the area: toward the gate of the entrance it was forty-seven feet high. The labour which must have been necessary for the completion of this work was immense. It proves that the zeal of the architect was most ardent, but it is difficult to discover the reason why he should not have been content with the excavation of the cave alone, without converting it into a temple, standing indeed within the mass of the mountain, but yet in open air. Perhaps his object may have been to secure to the fabric all the benefits of cave-worship, while at the same time it partook of all the benefits of light and fresh air. The arched ceilings of the lesser rooms of this structure exhibit a feature indicative of great progress in the architecture of the ages in which this temple was fabricated; but the arch being found in the rooms of smaller dimensions than that which may be called the nave of the temple, intimates that the architects of the age had not been accustomed to construct arches of wide span.

In another of these caves at Ellora bearing the name of *Viswa-kurma*, that is, the *cave of the Creator*, there is an example of an arch of the pointed character called Gothic, and of large span and length. The principal room, which may be called the nave, is seventy-nine feet by forty-five, the height thirty-five; of which the pillars rise about fifteen, and the ceiling the remaining twenty, forming an arch of noble dimensions; it has projecting stone ribs extending from the capitals of

the pillars to the crown of the arch. There are two ailes of the height of the pillars, but the ceilings of these are flat. The pillars are thirty in number; twenty-eight are octagonal, eight feet in circumference, and two are square. At the upper end of the nave or central room there is a cupola of the form of a bell, constructed on a square pedestal, which, being a form commonly used by the votaries of *Buddha*, indicates that this cave belonged to that sect, whose god being of an *avatara* the last of all that have as yet taken place, intimates that this cave was of later construction than the others noticed as above. Arched ceilings similar to these occur in cave temples at *Kanara*, in the islands of Salsette, and at the top of the *Bora-Ghaut*. These arches will be the subjects of future consideration, for they are objects of much importance in the history of sacred architecture.

The resemblance borne by these caves to the forms of the temples of ancient heathenism, as also of the Christian churches of the present times, will be observed with some surprize. The antiquity, which it seems may justly be assigned to them, will also excite surprize, and suggest the idea that both the heathen temple and the Christian church may have owed their form to the *Hindù* cave. That form, consisting of ailes distinguished from what may be called the nave or middle portion of the temple by rows of pillars, appears, especially in the cave of Elephanta, to have been the result of the necessity of securing the rock of the ceiling from falling. In various parts of *Hindosthàn*, especially in the Delta of the Ganges, the formation of a cave is impossible, and therefore the inhabitants of such countries, approving the principle of cave-worship, and admiring the forms of many caves, would naturally be induced, as were the Egyptians, to build temples above ground, which might be proper substitutes for caves, having various apartments available to the same uses, and pillars affording the necessary support to the ceiling or roof, a part of the structure indispensably necessary to the

character of a cave. That many structures of such form were built in India, as had been done in Egypt, cannot be doubted, and yet there are few or perhaps no superterranean temples of this form now in India. This may be owing to various causes. The practice of cave-worship seems to have ceased, and this dereliction of former usages may have prevented the building of temples in the form of caves, and also the repair of those already built, which must in the length of time which has passed since cave temples were first wrought, have utterly decayed and perished.

The presumed construction of superterranean cave churches, of large extent and grand in form, may shew the reason why the hypæthral cave temple of *Calaisa* should have been wrought at an immense cost of money, time, and trouble. It may be presumed that temples built in imitation of the cave excited the admiration of the constructor of *Calaisa*, while, at the same time, the supposed advantages of cave-worship secured his attachment to the cave. These feelings induced him to secure the benefits of the latter, and the grandeur of the former, by digging, as it were, out of the rock, a temple standing open to day, but being at the same time a cave temple, actually situate beneath the surface of the earth. That *Hindosthàn* has had architects capable of constructing even magnificent temples on the cave plan, capable of exciting such emulation, the following description, given by the traveller Tavernier, of a temple at Benares in the seventeenth century, is offered as a decisive proof.

The body of the temple is constructed in the form of a vast cross, with a very high dome at the centre, above which rises a high structure of a pyramidal form, such as usually occurs in the more magnificent pagodas of *Hindosthàn*. At the four extremities of the cross there are four other pyramids, which are ascended on the outside by steps, with balconies at stated distances for places of rest. Inside of this great temple, beneath the dome, is an altar, or rather table,

eight feet long and six wide, which on some occasions is covered with cloth of either gold or silver, at others with tapestry, according to rules prescribed for the performance of different rites and ceremonies. The traveller saw several idols placed upon this table, one of them, about six feet high, seemed to represent the god to whom the temple was dedicated. The neck of this idol was splendidly decorated with a necklace of precious stones, of which the priest had great variety for different festivals; some were rubies, some pearls, and some emeralds. The head and neck were only visible, the rest of the body being covered with an embroidered robe spreading in ample folds on the table. The pagoda stands close to the stream of the Ganges, to which there is a way by steps, which were much used by the worshippers at the temple, who all pass into the river for performance of the indispensable rite of ablution.

Bishop Heber makes no mention of this temple among other notices of Benares, whence it should seem that it is not now extant. It was probably destroyed by the Emperor Aurungzebe, who, according to the information communicated to the episcopal traveller, destroyed, in one of his freaks, one of the principal temples at Benares, and erected a mosque on its site. One of the fundamental precepts of the Koran enjoins the destruction of idolatry. This duty imposed upon the Moslems has proved fatal to many, indeed to almost all the principal sacred structures of Gangetic India: otherwise numbers would doubtless have been found, exhibiting the progress of Indian architecture from the simple cell or shrine to the magnificent temple, such as that above described.

This is the reason why the magnificent temples of the votaries of the *Sastra* are chiefly confined to the southern provinces of the Indian peninsula, where the Moslem rule was never permanently established. The desecration of a *Hindú* temple is easily effected: the destruction of the fabric is by no means necessary. The slaughter of a cow within

the precincts renders the place utterly inapplicable to sacred purposes; profane intrusion, or even the mutilation of an idol, is almost equally effectual. All the cave temples in India have, it is presumed, been thus desecrated. By such means as these cave-worship was abolished, and these laboured fabrics, formerly contemplated with proud joy by the pious *Hindù*, are now regarded with abhorrence and consigned to total neglect.

These *Hindù* fabrics, which are certainly of prime importance to the present subject, having been duly considered, the attention is now invited to objects of more familiar, though perhaps not of more useful acquaintance, the sacred structures of western Asia, and of Europe; which, it is conceived, will be found to be what may be termed lineal relatives, descended from the same parents as the structures above described.

The fable of Jupiter and Danaë is familiar to every person who has any acquaintance with the classics of Greece and Rome. The poet Horace notices it, in verses which may be thus rendered.

> The inclosed Danaë, a brazen tower
> And doors of strength, and dogs of surly watch,
> Had kept securely safe
> From nocturnal adulterers,
> If Jupiter and Venus had not viewed
> With sneers Acrisius the pavid guard:
> For way wide safe awaited
> The god transmuted into gold.[k]

It may not be easy to determine whether the poet regarded the act of which he treats as real or figurative: it was real; but, like all events anterior to the age when sober or plain history was adopted, it is recited in the form of fable, as will be seen from the accounts given of the tower by ancient authorities.

Pausanias writes: "There are in the Argive territory many things worth attention; particularly a subterranean

[k] Hor. Carm. lib. iii. Od. 6.

structure, in which was a chamber of brass made by Acrisius for the safe keeping of his daughter. This the tyrant Perilaus despoiled in the time of his government, so that the mere structure only remains, known as the monumental tumulus of Crotopus and the temple of the Cretan Dionysus: for they say that when he (Dionysus) warred against Perseus and made a second vindictive expedition, the Argives rendered him high honours, and this sacred mound was given to him exclusively. It afterwards was distinguished by the epithet of Cretan, because Ariadne died and was buried there. Lyceas reports that on a subsequent restoration of the temple, a *soros* (ark) of baked earth was found, and that it was Ariadne's, and that he (Lyceas) and other Argives had seen it."[l]

This account shews that this cave of brass had been a safe depository, such as were used in the earliest ages, and were common in his time, of the treasures, the ornaments, and the images belonging to temples.[m] In this was lodged the image, or rather idol, of a female divinity, probably the same as the Celtic *Ceridwen*, and worshipped by Acrisius and the Argives as the daughter of Danaus, a male deity, and also the object of the worship which was afterwards transferred to Perseus, the mythological son of Danaë. After the cave had been desecrated by Perilaus, (perhaps he was a votary of Jupiter,) it became the μνημα, (*mnema*) or sacred taphos of Crotopus, a person now unknown, but, as it should seem, interred there as in a place sacred, and dedicated to the Cretan Bacchus: but not exclusively to him till after some struggle with the votaries of the Celtic Perseus, in which the votaries of Bacchus prevailed, and the worship of Perseus was altogether suppressed. The epithet of Cretan was given to this god at this temple, because a Cretan goddess, Ariadne, supplying the place of the Danaë of earlier ages, was there buried; that is, some relic of her was deposited in a sacred

[l] Pausan. lib. ii. c. 23, s. 7. [m] Ibid. lib. vi. c. 19, s. 1.

ark or *kist-vaen,* which relic, like the tooth or bone of *Buddha* buried in the mounds of his sect, ensured continued sanctity to the structure.

Among the ruins of Mycenæ there are, a fountain called Persean, and the subterranean structures the Treasury of Atreus and his sons, where they deposited their valuables. There (among the ruins) is the *taphos* of Atreus, and the *taphoi* of those persons whom, after their return from Troy, Ægisthus slew at an entertainment given by him; but that Cassandra had a *taphos* here is disputed by the Lacedæmonians of Amycla. Here is also the tomb of Agamemnon, and of his charioteer Eurymedon, and of Teledamus and Pelops, twins born of Cassandra, and slain by Ægisthus at the same time as their parents. Electra, the daughter of Agamemnon, is also there buried, agreeably to her request made, according to Euripides, to her brother Orestes.[n]

It appears from the premises that all the persons above named had each a separate sepulchral mound, except those who were buried in that of Agamemnon; agreeably to the practice of interring near relatives and friends in the taphos of persons of high rank and celebrity. These mounds were all included within the walls of the city; for the antiquary remarks in his account of them, that Ægisthus and Clytemnestra were buried outside, because unworthy of a place within the city. The treasury was also without the walls, and in front of the gates. This perplexes the traveller Clarke, for it appears strange to him that a treasury should be placed in an open space, when it might have had greater security within the walls of the fortress. This perplexity arises from the supposition that the treasury was intended for the deposit of gold or money; but the valuables there lodged were things sacred, as idols, sacred offerings, and the like. Articles such as these would under ordinary circumstances be perfectly safe in such a treasury; for it was a holy place, and, like the

[n] Pausan. lib. ii. c. 16, s. 5.—Euripid. Electra.

Persean fountain, had been doubtless in former times a temple dedicated to Perseus, the son of Danaë and a divinity of the Celts, but a temple at which Atreus and his sons had been wont to worship, and at which Electra might perform her parentations, as related by the Attic tragedian. Such was the state of the Treasury of Atreus in ancient days; its present state will be seen from the interesting description given by the ingenious Clarke.

The Treasury of Atreus is a cave of vast size covered with turfed earth; in form precisely the same as other conical barrows. A causey twenty feet wide, bounded on each side by a wall, leads up to a door nineteen feet high, the jambs or sides so inclining that the width of the base is nine feet six inches, the top seven feet ten. Above the ponderous stone lintel there is a triangular opening or window twelve feet high, the base seven feet eight inches. A part of the approach is covered to the extent of eighteen feet in front of the door, which opens into a room resembling a vast bee-hive, in diameter forty-eight feet and height forty-nine, with a small aperture atop. This room appears to have been lined with brass; there being nails of bronze metal, seemingly intended to hold plates, lining the cave throughout. On the right-hand side of this room there is a second, of quadrangular form, entered, like the first, by a door of inclining jambs, four feet seven inches wide at the base, four feet three inches at the lintel, which is of Cyclopean dimensions. This room is twenty-seven feet long from the entrance, twenty wide, and nineteen high. Over the lintel of this door there is a triangular window, as in the first room, each of which is closed by a large stone. The stones of these buildings have not the form of the voussoir, but are placed horizontally, and owe their stability partly to their own weight, for they extend far back into the mound, and partly to the incumbent earth. The even face of the arch of the dome, it is presumed, was obtained by cutting away the angles and irregu-

larities of the several courses after the main portion of the work had been done.[o]

The caves or rooms within this mound may be regarded as the oldest specimens of structures of the kind, and shew the origin of that important feature in architecture, the dome. The triangular openings or windows above the doors, being apparently of little use, seem to intimate that what may in this structure be called the window, was, in the rude hut or the temporary erection of the tent, the upper part of the entrance or door. In structures of greater extent and solidity, requiring wide entrances, the triangular opening, if continued to the vertex, being found to be too high, the inconvenience was abated by the interposition of the lintel. This supposition may explain the inclined position of the jambs of the doors of Cyclopean structures, which seems to be even disadvantageous. It may appear somewhat whimsical to imagine that these triangular openings were the origin of windows; but it may not be so to believe that the triangular opening may have been introductory to the use of the arch. There is not the slightest reason for the supposition that these tumular caves were ever intended to be closed and inaccessible; the approaches observable in all effectually preclude any such idea. Whenever they happen to be closed, the approach was obstructed on their desecration, and with the purpose that they should be rendered absolutely useless.

The triangular opening over the entrances into each of the rooms in the Treasury of Atreus is a clear proof that both were constructed at the same time; the uses of each may be gathered from what is stated by Pausanias of the Treasury of Acrisius. The chamber in which Danaë had been inclosed, may be presumed to have been an apartment similar to the quadrangular of the Treasury of Atreus, in which Danaë, doubtless an idol, one of the valuable articles included within that quadrangular chamber, was worshipped

[o] Clarke, Trav. vol. vi. chap. 8.

as one of the Celtic divinities; as afterwards was Ariadne, the daughter of the Cretan Minos. From the history given by Pausanias of the Treasury of Acrisius, and the description by Clarke of the Treasury of Atreus, it appears that the circular structure was dedicated to a male deity, and the quadrangular to a female, and that the latter was closely connected with the former. Such union of male and female deities implies the united worship of the male and female powers of Nature.

From the fall of man and the expulsion from Paradise, every religious rite and every object connected with the performance of religious rites, have been figurative, and significant of some useful or important truth. This is especially true in whatever relates to idolatry; and therefore the occurrence of buildings of the circular and quadrangular form in the same structure, is a circumstance which doubtless deserves notice. Instances of this having been found in structures of the early ages, when Celticism was the prevalent form of heathen worship, are indicative of doctrines then entertained, and enable us to learn from ruins what our ancestors of remote ages believed. It appears from descriptions of the Celtic structures given above, that many were of the circular, many of the quadrangular form only. The most simple and earliest caves were of the former kind; such were also almost all barrows and temples. The cromlech was an improvement of the barrow, but more simple than the coved cave. The rooms within, whether one or more, were quadrangles, perhaps without exception. The Grecian treasuries contained structures of both these forms; as do also several of those recently laid open in Etruscan Italy. Due attention to the forms of these Celtic antiquities will shew that the nations of Asia and Europe adopted the circular form in their sacred structures, those of Africa the quadrangular. A few facts afforded by the history of early idolatry will shew the reason why these different forms were severally preferred.

The Theogony of Hesiod states, that Chaos produced Earth, and Earth produced a being equal to herself, Heaven thick studded with stars. Heaven was regarded as the male generative cause of life; Earth as the female productive cause. [p] Such, according to the Ascrean poet, were the first gods of idolatry. It has been shewn in our introductory chapter, that the world, comprehending the heaven and the earth, that is, Ouranos or the Universe, the male power, was figuratively represented by circular forms: Gæa or the Earth, the female power, by quadrangular. According to statements given in preceding chapters, the most bitter animosity long subsisted between the advocates of the two principles, who each with great pertinacity signified their particular attachment to either by the use of the circular or quadrangular forms. This feeling originated at the time when the people in the plains of Shinar began to build the tower of Babel: they could not agree as to the form whether it should be square or round: they quarrelled with all the bitterness of theological animosity; they doubtless fought, and many, especially the advocates of the female principle, were driven far away into distant parts of the earth, perhaps to those to which each family had been consigned when the *earth was divided* in the days of Peleg by the patriarch of the deluge.

It appears from these premises, that whenever the circular form is adopted in sacred structures, the worship of the male principle or the Heavens was that adopted by the builders; but when the quadrangular, then the female, or the Earth, was held in reverence, and made the object of religious worship. But various circumstances and the lapse of time contributed to abate the rage of religious discord, and bring on, at least in some countries, a compromise of religious differences. This produced the pantheons of different nations into which both male and female divinities were admitted: but still it is to be observed that the nations, the advocates of

[p] Hesiod, Theog. v. 126.

the male principle, assigned the pre-eminence to the male gods; the advocates of the female principle to the female deities. This compromise of principle, it is contended, was signified by the annexation of the quadrangular cell in the Treasury of Atreus and of that of Acrisius also. The same may be affirmed of the octangular coving of the cave of New Grange. There does not seem to be any necessity for a reference to more instances; it may however be well to observe, that if the sacred structures of early antiquity were examined with a reference to this doctrine, many and ample proofs of its truth would be discovered. From these observations suggested by the structures called Treasuries, the attention is directed to other fabrics of the like character, whose symbolical import, the preceding remarks being made, will be well understood.

At Orchomenos in Beötia is another structure of exactly the same form as that now described. It is called the Treasury of Minyas. Pausanias states, "that the structure was the wonder of all the country, even more so than the pyramids of Egypt. The structure was entirely of stone; its form was round; its top was not carried up to a point very sharp, and the topmost stone was of the same shape as those of the rest of the building."[q] Thus speaks the antiquary. The traveller Clarke visited this structure, and states that the roof had fallen, but that enough remained to enable him to ascertain the truth of the statement of Pausanias, the top of the ceiling not being carried up to a point, and the top stone being not flat, as in other instances, but of the same shape as the stones of the arch; that it must have been what is termed a key-stone, binding together the *voussoirs* or wedge-shaped stones forming an arched ceiling or dome.[r] Hence it is plain that the principle of the arch was not unknown in the age of Minyas. Minyas, whether a king or a god, for the words have each a double sense, reigned in

[q] Pausan. lib. ix. c. 36, s. 2. [r] Clarke, Trav. vol. vii. chap. 5.

Beötia when that country was first inhabited, and therefore long before the age of historical record and the days of Hesiod, whose bones, in obedience to an oracle, were brought to be buried with those of Minyas. Hesiod lived in the tenth century before the christian era; consequently the principle of the arch was then known. The Treasury continued to be the admiration of the Greeks, because the arch was rare, not being used in Grecian architecture.

It has been stated on the authority of Strabo, that certain tribes or nations occupying the extensive provinces which border on Scythia, were distinguished, like the Africans, by the title of Troglodytes, and with good reason, for the number of cave-structures in the barrows of those countries is very great. They are found far and widely distant. The people raising these structures had improved their subterranean fabrics, from the cavity formed within them for the purpose of interment, till they had acquired the form of caves, similar to that of the Treasury of Atreus, and evidently intended, like that structure, for the performance of religious rites as well as sepulture. The traveller Clarke saw many caves of this description in the Crimea: of some in the vicinity of the bay of Taman he speaks in the following terms.[s]

The post-house of Sienna is scooped in the cavity of an ancient tomb. The environs are almost entirely covered with tombs. One of them engaged particular attention; it was quite a mountain. On its eastern side is an entrance, now half closed with earth, which leads into an arched vault of most admirable masonry, and an area entire and clear. The stones of the sides are all squared, put together without cement, and laid horizontally. The roof exhibits the finest turned arch imaginable, having the whiteness of the purest marble. This room may be regarded as the propylæum of an interior chamber of larger dimensions than the outer. Whether this be quadrangular or round is not said. Judging from the

[s] Clarke, Trav. vol. ii. chap. 2, p. 70.

form of the Treasury of Atreus in Greece, it may be presumed to have been quadrangular, and of the same import. It is entered by a door between two pilasters swelling out wide towards their bases. From this description it is understood that these pilasters were in form like a trumpet; and farther, that this barrow or tumulus covered two caves, and consequently that it was long, not round.

A tumulus called Cucumella, in the plains of Canino, was found on being opened to have covered two towers, and is supposed to contain another at least, perhaps more, for the mound is a hill of considerable height and diameter. One of these is round, the other square, indicative of a union of the male and female principle. The sepulchre of Porsenna is quadrangular, in reference to the female principle; perhaps therefore, of an earlier age. The largest taphos known is that of Alyattes, the father of the celebrated Crœsus, king of Lydia. It was constructed in the beginning of the sixth century before the christian era; was six stadia and two plethra, that is, about fourteen hundred yards in circumference, and about two hundred and thirty yards wide, and consequently oblong. The base was a wall of large stones; the upper portion was of earth.[t] Such also are the tumuli of *Monte rozzi* in Italy, and the *Nuraggis* of Sardinia. There can be little doubt that cave towers are covered within the sepulchre of Alyattes, as in others that have been opened.

The structures described by Clarke had been found to contain a number of black earthen vases, decorated with white ornaments, like the Portland vase. In the inner cave of one, a bracelet of gold, ornamented with rubies, was found, which suggested the idea that some personage of eminence had been buried there. May it not be regarded as the ornament of a female idol, the Danaë of the place? The stonework of this cave has an outer covering, first of earth, then a layer of seaweed, then a covering of earth about three

[t] Herodot. lib. i. c. 93.—Betham, vol. ii. chap. 26, p. 180.

inches thick. The weed, compressed by the earth, forms thin flakes, white as snow. The number of the cave-barrows in this vicinity is astonishingly great; so also is their size. The structures impress the beholder with a high idea of the wealth, or rather power, of the people who constructed them; and suggest the question, whether these may not be the tombs at which the Scythians promised to stay and meet in battle the Persian king Darius Hystaspes, should he be able to advance so far into their country.[u]

Many structures resembling the above occur in Ireland: the greater part of them appear to have been intended for interment; but all of them are temples also, dedicated perhaps to some deity, to give sanctity to the work and security to the remains of the person or persons interred. The pyramids and tombs of Egypt were so dedicated: but it is certain that all temples, whether Egyptian or Celtic, were not tombs. The following barrow, in the parish of Killeavy in the county of Armagh, may be adduced in proof of this position.

The barrow is of a size that entitles it to the name of hill; is of a regular elliptical form, forty-four yards in length and twenty-four in breadth.[x] Before it was opened, in the year 1791, it exhibited the appearance of a stony hill, through whose sides the tops of two large stones appeared. On the removal of the materials of the barrow, these stones were found to be about thirteen feet long, and that they stood on each side of the entrance. The interior of this fabric consisted of four quadrangular apartments, extending in succession nineteen yards into the barrow. Each apartment is about nine feet long and eight wide, and about seven feet six inches high: they all communicate with each other by square apertures four feet high, the jambs or sides of which consist of rude stone pillars standing upon a sill, and supporting lintels of large stones. The sides of these rooms, or rather

[u] Herodot. lib. iv. c. 127.

[x] Betham, vol. ii. chap. vi. p. 178.

of this divided gallery, are formed of two rows of large flat stones about nine feet seven inches high. From the upright stones or walls, large stones project over each other, appearing like inverted stairs, till they nearly meet atop, where an immense stone laid flat forms the covering roof. From this description it appears that each room was covered with a quadrangular conical ceiling, and that the whole fabric may be termed a long barrow constituted of four singles. A hill similar to the above, in the parish of Ballymacdermot, in the county of Louth, was found to contain three chambers or apartments. A cave, at a place called New Grange,[y] near Drogheda in the county of Meath, in Ireland, deserves notice, partly because of the accuracy of the description. It differs in some respects from the preceding; though, resembling them closely in others, it supplies some useful information.

The cave is constructed within a barrow, or rather, a cairn of stones of greater magnitude than any other in the British Isles. The present height is about seventy feet; but it was probably, when entire, about one hundred, for great reduction has been made by the abstraction of the loose stones of which the structure is composed, for common purposes. The mound covers an area of about two acres, and was once surrounded by a circle of many upright stones from seven to nine feet high, some of which still remain. One stone, the largest, eleven feet in length, is thrown down.[z]

On the north-west side of the cairn, at some height up the side, in a cavity of about forty feet within the circumference of the pile, there is a covered way, which affords a passage into the centre of the structure. It somewhat exceeds forty feet in length; is formed of flat stones set upright, bearing stones laid across. This passage is three

[y] Grange is a corruption of Grainuagh, that is, the *uagh*, or cave of *Grian*, the Sun. Vallancey, De Reb. Hib. p. 211.

[z] Higgins. Introduction, p. 41.

feet wide and two feet high at the opening, narrowing till at the distance of thirteen feet from the entrance it is only two feet two inches wide, after which some stones standing diagonally in the passage render the farther progress extremely difficult. From this point the passage gradually heightens, retaining its previous width, till at the central cavity within the cairn it becomes nine feet high.

The floor or area is about six feet in diameter; is rather irregular; for it somewhat resembles the form of a cross. This area is surrounded by upright stones, from which rises a tall conical ceiling about twenty feet high, crowned or covered atop with a large flat stone. At the first rise of the cone above the upright stones it is octangular, up to the height of fifteen or sixteen feet, then the sides are reduced to six, next to five, and at last to four. It is difficult to conceive the reason of these latter forms. The octagon, it is well known, is a symbol of the earth, distinguished into so many divisions of the horizon or compass; the square is also a symbol of the earth, but the hexagon and pentagon are utterly anomalous from any known principle, and can be best ascribed to the unskilfulness of the workmen. On the floor of the cave stand two oval basins of stone, each in diameter about four feet by five. One stands on the ground, the other on a stone, as on a base.

Several of the stones forming the gallery of approach to the cave are marked with characters, which, as explained by Gaelic scholars, state that the whole fabric was dedicated to *Nature*, the *Great Mother* of all things. If the name be derived from *grian*, the sun, the structure must have been dedicated to the Great Father also; a supposition which accords with the cruciform floor, allusive perhaps, to the *linga* of the *Sastra;* and the form of the conical ceiling is circular to a certain degree and to a certain degree square, which implies a union of the male and female principles. Other inscribed stones record that men, oxen, and swine, had been sacrificed

at the dedication of the work. Aengut or Oengus is the name by which the work is known in the neighbourhood: it signifies the work is *the tomb of heroes*, or, according to another interpretation, the tomb of the Magician. The uncertainty of this interpretation of this name given by the vulgar, affords no objection to the more decisive evidences afforded by the inscription and the established name of the structure. There are records which state that the work was in ancient times surrounded with a grove.

The forms of the sacred caves found in different countries now invite the attention to the question, what were the purposes for which these caves were constructed, making a great addition to the simpler barrow, a mere mound of earth or stones. Some writers, like the author of the Etruria Celtica, confidently affirm that the structures were exclusively sepulchral. Others maintain that they were temples dedicated exclusively to some deity. The traveller Clarke, treating of the caves of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, observes, that if they were sepulchres, they were of course temples, and that the double character was invariably attached to them. Of this diversity of opinion it may with truth be observed, that none of these positions are exclusively right or exclusively wrong, for that these structures were of a mixed character; that some of them were temples in the most simple sense of the word, not being used for interment; others were exclusively sepulchral, and sacred only as being the appropriate abode of the spirit of the person interred; while others again were structures dedicated to some particular god, and at the same time places used for interment. A reference to examples stated as above will sufficiently shew the truth of these three positions.

When Homer and other classic writers of antiquity speak of the taphos, or sepulchral barrow, they regard it merely as being the place where the remains of the person departed are deposited, and do not make reference in the slightest

degree to any other personage. They do indeed regard it as an object that ought to be held sacred, or at least in high reverence, because the spirit of the dead is supposed to be there specially abiding, and even to be sensible of any act of reverence or respect performed at the mound by kind and affectionate friends. The taphoi of Achilles, Hector, and other heroes who fell at Troy were thus regarded; so also was the taphos of Agamemnon, when visited, according to Euripides, by Orestes and Electra; as also the tumulus of Misenus, the pilot of the fleet of Æneas. These remarks apply also with equal truth to the Celtic barrow mentioned in the poems of Ossian; and, as far as our knowledge extends, they may be applied with equal truth to what are called the fire-towers of Scotland and Ireland. These may properly be regarded as sacred structures, but merely sepulchral.

It has been shewn in a former chapter, that the sanctity of the taphos and the barrow was derived primarily from the patriarchal altar, and communicated more immediately from a supposed resemblance to the created world, regarded either as a symbolical representation of the divine presence, or rather, according to the theories of idolatry, as the god actually in person present. The temple is always symbolical, in like manner, of the same presence; whence it follows that no incongruity ensues from the supposition that the taphos or barrow may be properly assumed to be appropriated and dedicated to any individual deity, and be constructed for that purpose only. At one of the gates of Troy was a tumulus of ancient Ceres, held in such reverence that, like a temple, it afforded an asylum to Æneas and many Trojans. The Treasury of Atreus was not the sepulchre of that king, but the cave in the mound or taphos was the locality where the idol of Danaë was kept, as was supposed, in perfect safety. This Danaë was a divine personage; she was the object of religious worship, and the cave of the mound was the temple of her presence. The Treasury of Minyas was a temple of

the god worshipped by that chief of an ancient tribe, not his sepulchre. There is not the slightest reason for the belief that the cave of Cacus was sepulchral. The Celtic cromlechs afford many instances of the tumular cave, some dedicated to the goddess *Ket*, as *Kit's Coity House*, near Aylesford, in Kent. The cromlech at *Plàs Newydd*, in Anglesey, was dedicated to *Ceridwen*. The Welch mythological poems make mention of the sacred *llahns* or temples dedicated to *Ket* and other deities, where solemn and probationary rites were performed, which was evidently the most important and only use of the structures thus named, for there is no evidence that they were places of interment. These facts fully justify the position that all the taphoi and barrows, and the cavern apartments within them, were not sepulchral, but that many were sacred structures or temples dedicated exclusively to individual gods.

It must not, however, be denied that many of these tumular structures were exclusively sepulchral, and that many were temples dedicated as above to certain gods. This circumstance has led to the error that all were either the one or the other. This also is an error, for many of these structures have been used for both. Instances of this kind are numerous: a reference to a few may sufficiently establish this position. In the principal cell within the great pyramid of Egypt was one sarcophagus for the body of the founder, and another in which the remains of an embalmed Apis have been found by modern travellers. The like occur in the tomb of Psammis; facts which shew that both the pyramid and the tomb were dedicated to that god. The area at the base of the pyramid clearly indicates that the pyramid was a temple. The cave at New Grange may be cited as affording a full proof of what may be called the double dedication of the sacred mound, for letters sculptured on the stones of the gallery of entrance state that the structure was dedicated to the goddess Nature; the etymology of the name *grian* in-

dicates that the structure was dedicated to the male power, the Sun. The vulgar name, signifying that the structure is the tomb of heroes, requires some qualification. The area of the cave scarcely admits the idea of its aptness to the interment of many persons: it may admit the supposition of the interment of one, and that a warrior of eminence. The vessels placed on the floor may have been used by relatives, or their personal representatives, on certain occasions when they entered the cave to parentate, that is, to perform religious rites in honour of the deceased. Rites such as these may have been performed, even though the structure were dedicated to the male and female powers. It may be presumed that those powers or deities were the patron saints or guardians of the hero interred, and that the gods to whom the cave was dedicated having been the patrons of the deceased during his life, he sought their society after death. This supposition may afford an explanation in many cases of the true history and use of many of these works.

The pyramids of Egypt were barrows or taphoi; they were quadrangular, and all the sacred structures of that country were of that form. The sacred mounds of the Celts, especially Celts of the earlier ages, were for the most part round. It has been stated on the authority of Diodorus that the African nations were the votaries of Saturn. The nations of Greece, and a large portion of Asia, were the votaries of Titan, the brother of Saturn; for let it be observed that the Grecian votaries of Jupiter and his pantheon contended with the Titans more especially than with Saturn and his sect. The testimony of the Sicilian historian, added to a general view of ancient sacred structures, will vindicate the position that the gentile world of idolaters was divided into two sects or parties, each entertaining different opinions as to the form most proper for sacred structures: of these, the one maintained that the quadrangular form was most proper for sacred structures, the latter contended that the

circular ought to be exclusively adopted. These different observances are to be ascribed, as shewn in our introductory chapter, to the ideas entertained by the sects as to the supposed form of the earth. The hostility of the two sects, though bitter at the outset, was abated by time, so that they held intercourse with each other; and Saturn under the name of *Prydain*, the advocate of the square form, and Titan, under that of *Tydain*, the advocate of the round, shared not unfrequently the religious reverence of the tribes of Britain and of those of other countries also. This community of worship and usages left the choice of the form of the sacred structures by either sect perfectly free, and the remains of antiquity shew that either the quadrangular or circular form was used as circumstances might invite, and the cell within the barrow or the cromlech obtained these opposite forms, as now seen in many instances. The square cell of Ariadne is joined to the coved round tower of Atreus; the round and the square tomb had been covered in the hill of Cucumella; and the rectangular cells beneath the cromlech are seen in the same fields with the round temples of Abury and Stonehenge.

The conical ceilings of these caves were the first form of the magnificent domes of the most celebrated Christian Churches; the reason why these laboured forms were sought will be found in the principle, to which there has been occasion repeatedly to refer,—the benefits supposed to be obtained if structures dedicated to the worship of the gods were made in such form as resembled the created world. This doctrine appears to have regulated the external form of the barrow and taphos during many ages. How it came that the same doctrine should have been extended to the interior of those structures may be gathered from the following facts.

On opening many barrows raised over the remains of persons interred, it has been found that a cell formed of

upright stones, covered by stones laid across, was the receptacle of the corpse. This was also regarded as the abode, or rather the home of the spirit of the departed. Increased accommodations given to the cell of interment must be supposed to have contributed to the convenience of the departed, and most so if made in the form resembling a temple acceptable to a god, and consequently in the form of the barrow itself. Arguments such as this doubtless produced structures such as the Treasury of Atreus, and other like caves, within the tumuli of earth which occur in many countries. When these caves acquired the forms held sacred, their dedication to some god became a natural, it may be said a necessary, consequence, supposed likely to be attended with the advantage of the society of the divine spirit to which the structure may have been dedicated, and where consequently he might be supposed, at least occasionally, to abide. Such were the motives which led to the construction, first of the simpler cromlech, consisting of upright stones and imposts, and next of the conical cave. An examination of the means adopted to construct caves of such form will be found to afford much important information of the progress, not only of sacred, but of secular architecture also.

The conical dome of New Grange is constructed of stones, not shaped into voussoirs forming portions of a wedge and capable of regularly bearing against each other laterally, but squared, so as to form a regular face of the intrade or inner surface of the arch; not fitting closely throughout, they leave intervals behind to be filled or stopped by small stones laid dry, that is, without cement, to bind the several layers or courses into one mass: the strength or firmness of the structure is consequently almost entirely dependent on the incumbent weight. Any irregularity of pressure which may arise from the defects in the fitting of the stones would have a tendency not only to occasion a change in the intended and proper form of the

fabric, but to weaken it and render it insecure, and not unfrequently to cause its fall. It should seem that such disasters might always be apprehended in every structure composed of stones imperfectly shaped, and must often have happened; for in forming these caves, a centering of wood, or more probably of earth, must have been used to support each block of stone till the proper incumbent weight should be laid upon it, and when that centering came to be withdrawn, the defects of the structure and the cause of the defects would be then first perceived, and it would be found necessary to remove the materials and begin the work anew.

The fault discovered, the remedy was obvious. The mischief having been occasioned by filling the back interstices of the coving stones after the old Cyclopean manner, the advantage of giving those stones the form of a flat truncate wedge must become apparent. The same art that could form the stones of the fabric into squared masses would readily produce this other; and each horizontal layer or course being thus constituted, the irregularity of the horizontal thrust would be completely corrected, for every layer or course had become a complete circle,—an arch, though in an horizontal position.

The horizontal or lateral pressure being thus secured, yet still the perpendicular pressure was imperfect, and could only be made secure by incumbent weight, which, if insufficient, the cove would lose its stability, and be disfigured, if it did not fall. It would soon be observed that the conical form given to the upper and under surface of each stone must remedy this defect, and afford stability in the perpendicular as well as in the horizontal pressure or thrust. After this discovery, it became no longer necessary to finish as before with a flat slab laid as a crowning cover, or by continuing the cove up to a point, for the keystone, the last laid, completed the work, and rendered it secure, whatever might be the external pressure or weight upon it.

That it was by some such process as the above, by which the structure of the coved ceiling or dome of the cave was first invented, appears so probable as to approach almost to certainty. A due examination of these structures might verify the supposition. The number of the tumular caves in the Cimmerian Bosporus, as stated by the traveller Clarke, seems to afford ample opportunity for such investigation, for it is likely that these caves will be found in every variety of form and size. One example described by him shews that some had been constructed of the most perfect form, with voussoirs and keystone complete. It is the same as the cave treasury of Minyas, near Orchomenus in Beotia, which was regarded by the Greeks as a wonderful work, only, perhaps, because they did not understand the use of the voussoir, which shews to a certainty that this structure was not the work of a native of Greece, but of an artificer whom, perhaps, they would call a Scythian, and consequently barbarous.

The Greeks, at the time when the Treasuries of Acrisius and Minyas, and the Celts, when the caves of Killeavey and New Grange were constructed, were ignorant of the mechanical powers of the pulley and the screw; even the wheel was hardly available for the conveyance of heavy weights. The simple instrument called the lewis, or lewisson, by which stones of vast weight are now lifted, is of invention altogether modern. Unaided by these engines, the builders of works such as those above mentioned were compelled to use animal force, either of men or of horses and oxen, aided by rollers, to convey to the place of destination the large blocks of which many of their sacred fabrics consist. When the mass was to be elevated to any height, the lever and the inclined plane might be used. An inclined plane of earth and beams of wood having been formed, the imposts of the outer circle of the stones of Stonehenge, and the covering stones of the cromlech and the blocks that compose the sides of the tumular caves, might be shoved into their position by nu-

merous levers; after which, when the inclined plane had been removed, the vast blocks of stone were left highly elevated in air, the objects of astonishment to the ignorance of the times in which they were so placed, and the wonder of all succeeding ages. It was by means such as these that the Peruvians, previous to the Spanish conquest, are known to have wrought similar works, and they were then in a state similar to the Greeks and Celts above mentioned.[a] By means such as these rude nations supply the deficiencies of art; and patient perseverance, and the joint exertions of numbers, achieve performances which ages better acquainted with the uses of the arts regard as almost impossible to be effected without them.

The interior of the tumular cave appears, from the examples now extant, to have been intended to bear a close resemblance to the external shape of the barrow. This may be assumed as the rule regulating the form of the cave of the interior. It is found in the pyramids of Jizeh. Belzoni writes of the sepulchral chamber of the second pyramid, that it has a pointed ceiling or roof, composed of calcareous stones meeting in the centre, and forming a roof of the same slope as the pyramid itself.[b] Clarke makes the like observation of the first or great pyramid. The elevation of the roof or ceiling of the cave or crypt within one of the pyramids of Saccara was so steep as to resemble a lancet window. It may be presumed that this barrow had been, when perfect, externally of the same form; and since barrows were, with some few exceptions, of greater height than the diameters of their bases, and since the cave within was, from known principles, required to be of the same form as the external surface, it was a necessary consequence that the rise of the internal cove should be greater than the span, it partook therefore more of the character of the arch called Gothic than the

[a] Robertson. Hist. Amer. Book vii. and Note 35.

[b] Belzoni, p. 271. Clarke's Travels, vol. v. chap. 1, p. 22.

circular. Indeed the intrade, or interior facing of the arch, of some of the caves, is found to be so tall as to be properly denominated a Gothic arch. This fact gives to the Gothic arch a greater antiquity than the circular. When the centering, most probably of earth, had been removed, the facing of the intrade seems, in most cases, to have been formed by the chisel; but not in all: for the intrade of the cave of Killeavey retains the angles of the blocks of the arch, which form a coving of what may be called inverted stairs. The coving of the Treasury of Atreus is wrought into a proper arch. That of the cave of New Grange, intended to have been octagonal and symbolical of the eight quarters of the horizon, has been deprived of the intended form, most assuredly from the want of skill in the workman.

As the long barrow was formed by the juxtaposition of several single barrows, and the oblong cavity in the cromlech and of the cave temple with flat ceiling by the union of several quadrangular caves, so the oblong cave with an arched roof was most obviously the result of several quadrangular caves, such as those of Killeavey, placed together in continued and undivided succession. An arched structure of this form might have been readily formed by the use of centering, whether of wood or of earth, in manner described above. Whether any such long arched ceilings may have been constructed in buildings, which, for distinction from subterranean, may be called superterranean, has not been ascertained; it may, however, be presumed that there have been such, for the same skill which enabled the architect to construct the angular coved ceiling of New Grange would be most assuredly competent for the construction of one of length. That such long arched ceilings were not unknown in very early ages is proved by several still extant in different parts of *Hindosthàn*, particularly by the following in the vicinity of Ellore, named *Viswa-carma*. This cave has already been noticed, but its description deferred because it belongs to the present portion of the subject.

The approach to the cave is by an area of about thirteen yards square, with colonnades of square pillars on each side; the entrance is a square door in a portico or propylæum, surmounted by a balcony richly sculptured. The interior of the cave bears the appearance of an elegant chapel, with a roof or ceiling of a pointed arch, supported by square pillars, from each of which rises a rib of stone of the same curvature as the ceiling itself. The length of the temple is seventy-nine feet, the breadth forty-three, the height to the centre of the arch thirty-five; the height of the pillars about fifteen feet. Behind the pillars, of which two are square and twenty-eight octagonal, there is on either side an aile with flat roof, about eight feet wide. At the upper end of the cave is a structure bell-shaped, like the sacred mounds of the Buddhists, surmounted by a kind of cupola, in front of which, under an arch pointed like the ceiling, a person is seated on a pillar, which, being the usual symbol of the power by which the world is supported, shews decisively that the seated figure must be a representation of the created world, the symbol of the Creator, to whom the cave is dedicated.[c]

The form of the structure at the upper end of the cave being that of a bell, shews that the whole must have been the work of the disciples of *Buddha*; who being of the last of the *avataras* of the *Sastra*, is to be assigned to a period of an age later than the other *Hindù* deities, but yet anterior much to the christian era. This circumstance gives great antiquity to the structure of the cave, and consequently to the pointed arch, which constitutes the principal feature of the fabric. The theory which ascribes the forms of the more elaborate cave temples to the imitation of temples not caves, but superterranean, that is, built upon the face of the earth, must be admitted as to this; and this being of an imitative structure, it follows that many temples with pointed domes must have been built before this cave was wrought, and that the

[c] Asiatic Researches, vol. vi. No. 10.

pointed arch was not only known, but perhaps had been much used, before the advocates for cave-worship excavated the work from the solid rock. The outrages which are wont to take place between rival sects, but more certainly the persecution by the Moslems of the *Giaours* or infidels, may sufficiently explain why none of those temples which the disciples of *Buddha* imitated in the structure of this cave are now extant in *Hindosthàn.*

It is to be observed of the temple of *Viswa-carma*, that although the ceiling of what may be called the nave of this temple be a pointed arch, yet that the pointed form is not used in the doors of the temple, nor yet in the intercolumniations of the pillars, for that the horizontal lintel is there retained, and the ceiling upborne by the pillars rests on the horizontal architrave, as in structures of an earlier date. The mural arch seems therefore not to have been generally adopted, when, in some instances, the ceiling was arched. This circumstance accords with the present theory, that the arched ceiling was an immediate consequence of the coved ceiling of the tumular cave, and that it preceded, perhaps long preceded, the use of the arch in doors and other openings in walls. This circumstance may be attributed to the primary usages in the construction of cave temples made in imitation of the Celtic cromlechs and the tumular cave. The entrances into these were invariably furnished with an horizontal lintel. This structure is found in the treasuries of Atreus and Minyas; in all the temples of Greece, even when covered with a ridged roof, or, what is more in accordance with the present theory, when crowned with a dome open atop, as in the magnificent Pantheon at Rome, or covered close like the Temple of Vesta. In these the doors and openings were bounded atop with the horizontal lintel; and this practice was continued for many centuries after the mural structure of the arch was known.

This will appear the more extraordinary when it is

observed, that the invention of the voussoir taught the principle of the arch, whatever might be its position, whatever might be its form. The external pressure upon the quadrangular truncate wedge gave stability and fixedness to the material of the structure, not only in the horizontal line but in the perpendicular also. Even slight considerations must afford assurance that a line of voussoirs placed in perpendicularity and with abutments such as a wall, must be firm and immoveable, and competent to sustain any incumbent weight. This being obvious, it follows that the applicability of the arch to the openings of walls might be expected to have been as ancient as the invention of the circular dome, or the long coved ceiling: that it was so the following examples will sufficiently shew.

In the work termed a Glossary of Gothic Architecture, published at Oxford, the following note occurs under the article Arch. "Sir G. Wilkinson, a careful investigator, who has had better opportunities than most people of ascertaining the fact, and whose opinion is therefore entitled to have great weight, asserts in very decided language that the ancient Egyptians were thoroughly acquainted with the arch. He had long felt persuaded that the greater part of the crude bricks used in the western tombs of Thebes were at least coeval with the eighteenth dynasty, but had never been fortunate enough to find proofs to support his conjecture, till chance threw in his way a tomb vaulted in the usual manner, with an arched doorway of the same materials, stuccoed, and bearing in every part the name of Amunoph the First (B. C. 1540). Innumerable vaults and arches exist in Thebes of early date, but unfortunately none with the names of kings remaining on them. The style of the paintings in the crude brick pyramids evince at once that they belong either to the end of the last mentioned or the beginning of the seventeenth dynasty."

It is regretted that the ingenious observer does not state

the form of the arches of which he speaks: it is however probable that their form was circular, which is an improvement of the pointed arch, and consequently of later date. Belzoni and other travellers give instances of circular arches formed with horizontal courses, and without a keystone, which proves that the Egyptians were approvers of that form, even when they were unacquainted with the voussoir; but when the true principles of the construction of arches were known, then they adopted the circular form in the construction of circular arches for openings in walls and of circular domes, as may be seen in the catacomb at Racota in the vicinity of Alexandria. This arch, however, appears to have been used in subterranean structures only; it seems never to have been used in what, to use a neologism, may be called their superterranean structures,—their temples. The reason may be found in the incongruity of the arch with the cavern principle adopted in those structures agreeably to the principles of African Troglodytes.

The reason why the Egyptians may be supposed to give the preference to the circular above the pointed arch, and the horizontal architrave above either, may be found in the pointed form of the sepulchral rooms of the pyramids of Jizeh and Saccara. These structures were the works of the Auritæ, or Shepherd Kings, who long kept the Egyptians in subjection, ruled them with a rod of iron, and treated their religion with insults and with hate. The Auritæ adhered to the doctrine that the cave within the barrow or the pyramid ought to be of the same form as the external structure. The pyramids were held in abhorrence by the Egyptians, and therefore they avoided the use of such forms, and the use of the arch, which bore a resemblance to their forms, with religious abhorrence, notwithstanding they understood perfectly the principles of its structure: similar reasons prevented the use of the arch, and retained the architrave, in the structure of the Grecian temples dedicated to the gods of the pantheon of

Jupiter, whose worship began in the cave, and on that account the cave principle predominated in all the temples dedicated to them also.

Reasons such as these will shew the cause that prevented the appearance of the pointed arch in the countries above-mentioned, notwithstanding it must have been well known in all parts of the world; that it was known very generally before it was used in the European structures called Gothic, the following examples will clearly shew. The traveller Clarke states that he found the pointed arch in the Cimmerian Bosporus, where it may have been coeval with the first invention of it, in all probability in ages not much posterior to the excavation of the pointed Buddhist temple near Ellora. Studying with much learning and research the subjects connected with the scenes he had visited in his peregrinations, and illustrating them with valuable remarks, he states, that the pointed arch is seen in the aqueducts of the reign of the emperor Trajan in the second century of the christian era; that the empress Helena used the same in the fourth century in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem; the emperor Justinian in the sixth century built the Church of St. Sophia at Nicotia in Cyprus, with pointed arches; and that such arches were found in the oriental cities Ptolemaïs, Dio Cæsarea, and at Rosetta in Egypt. These latter were the works of christian eras, and of course long posterior to the arches of the Cimmerian Bosporus, and still more so than the ceiling of the cave at Ellora, and therefore are not to be regarded as the inventions and discoveries of those ages. Why the arch should not have been of more general use in earlier times will be seen on farther enquiry concerning the sacred structures superterranean or builded above ground, which are properly called temples, according to the common use of the word, and which will be undertaken in the next chapter: it may however be proper, before such advance be made, to notice briefly the opinions enter-

tained by Zoroaster, and his disciples the *Parsis*, the worshippers of fire, who are somewhat numerous in the provinces of north-western India; for although they reject the use of temples, and have therefore little connexion with the theory of sacred structures, yet they held in high estimation cave temples, the first form of the regular temple. Their architecture had, moreover, a peculiar character, which will necessarily come into notice in some following discussions.

Zeratusht, or Zoroaster, was a person of a birth miraculous, as tradition says, similar in every respect to the *avataras* of the *Sastra*. After having undergone a penance in a cave, of twenty years, such as is still practised by the *Hindù yogi*, and was prescribed to the Celtic aspirant, he appeared among the nations westward of India, teaching doctrines not altogether novel, except as to the following dogma. He maintained that two principles operate in the created world: the one named Ormusd, or according to the Greeks Oromases, a good principle or spirit; the other Ahriman, or Arimanes, an evil principle or spirit. This doctrine, however corrupt, the sage mystagogue gathered from patriarchal tradition. The worship of fire he enjoined as altogether indispensable. This was readily received, for it was in perfect accordance with usages of the nation in which he was born, and practised by their ancestors, the fire-worshipping builders of Babel. The doctrine of the two principles excepted, his code of precepts may be presumed to have been nearly the same as that of *Menù* and of the *Sastra*, for the Persians held in special reverence the three regions of space, *Earth*, *Sky*, *Heaven*—places continually named in the sacred rites prescribed by the *Sastra*. In places symbolical of these three regions the Persian adored the deity.

It is stated by the Tyrian philosopher Porphyry,[d] that "Zoroaster first of all men consecrated in the mountains in the vicinity of Persia a natural cave, beautiful with flowers

[d] Porphyr. De Antr. Nymph. p. 253.

and moist with springs of water, in honour of Mithra, the father and creator of all things;—the cave affording him (Zoroaster) a symbol of the world which Mithra created: the things within the cave bearing from due arrangement a figurative representation of the elements and the fair order of the world. The person who succeeded to the authority of Zoroaster instituted mysteries in caves either natural or artificial, even in other countries beside Persia, so that, as they had builded temples and cells and altars to the gods of Olympus, and maintained fires in honour of terrestrial gods and heroes, but to the subterrestrial gods they had excavated pits and covered cots, so to the world they (the inhabitants of those countries) formed caves and caverns."

In this passage the philosopher shews that Zoroaster, when he taught his disciples to worship in caves, deviated from the more plain and simple worship of the early Persians, of which Herodotus thus speaks. "The Persians have no images nor temples, nor yet altars, on which any portion of the victim is consumed; but having slain the offering, they eat the whole, maintaining that the deity requires the life or spirit only."[e] It appears however, from the testimony of the historian, that gods, both male and female, were worshipped, and though, like the early Celts, the Persians had no idols, that they were idolatrous; and other authorities shew that they sank at length into all the excesses of idolatry. All these errors followed the worship in caves first introduced by Zoroaster and by his successors. On this testimony it may be believed, that the disciples of Zoroaster first introduced the worship in caves into India, and even among the Celtic nations of Western Europe, teaching them to form the caved cromlech and the caverned mound, despising the simple barrow of earth, and its surrounding platform, the altar of their ancestors. If the opinion here submitted be true, that the followers of Zoroaster taught the worship in caves, of which

[e] Herodot. lib. i. c. 131.

no trace is observable in the Institutes of *Menù*, and the Indians used caves when *Indra* was the god supreme of the *Sastra*, it should appear that Zoroaster lived in an age not much later than *Menù*, that is, than the thirteenth century before the christian era.

The geographer Strabo, writing chiefly from his own observation, states that in his times the Persians, or at least great portions of them, had adopted many of the rites and usages of the heathen nations: that they did consume by fire some portion of the victim offered, distributing the remainder among the worshippers, who took their portions to their respective homes. The following passage affords a competent idea of the religion of the Persians in later ages.

"In Cappadocia is the greatest number of the Magi, and many temples of the Persian gods. The *pyratheia* or fire-temples are large inclosed places, having an elevated place in the middle. On that the Magi maintain a perpetual fire burning on a large heap of ashes. Entering daily these inclosures, they chant at these places for about an hour, holding certain small twigs in their hands, wearing cowls on the head with fillets which cover the cheeks and lips. These rites they perform in the temples of Anaitis and Omanus, for temples are dedicated to those gods, and the statue of Omanus is on certain occasions carried in procession. These things," adds the author, "I myself have seen."[f]

From these statements it appears that the temples of the Persians were merely inclosures in whose centre a fire was maintained burning, not on a builded altar, but on the earth, or rather the heap of ashes formed by the combustion of the fuel used. In this respect these rites resembled the ceremonies of the *Hindùs* as described in the Asiatic Researches, for the *Hindù* performs his sacrificial rites on the ground, plain but previously purified. The Persians chanted their service; whence it is inferred that the *Hindùs* still do the same. In

[f] Strab. lib. xv. p. 732, D.

ancient times all the recitals made in worship appear to have been spoken in some tune or chant, if an opinion may be formed from the name hymns, given to various ancient poems still extant. The caution taken to avoid breathing on the sacred fire is not practised by the *Hindù*, and was probably a refinement of the earlier rites of the Indians. The bearing the image in procession is a *Hindù* rite, and was probably borrowed of that people, from whom the Persians learned to build their *pyratheia*, for the circular structure described by Strabo resembles very closely the inclosure of the Indian pagoda, except that it is round, not square. The Persian temples or *pyratheia* were all hypæthral; that people abhorred the idea of an inclosed and covered temple. All such, whether in Egypt or in Greece, the Persian invaders most zealously destroyed. Travellers who have visited the ruins of the ancient Persepolis, observe structures exactly of the same massive form as the propylæa of the temples in Egypt. There can be little doubt that they belonged to some of the *pyratheia* above described, and were adopted to give to it the character of the cave, the only temple which Zoroaster allowed.

CHAPTER VI.

ON TEMPLES.

The sacred places and structures of the Greeks, and, with little difference, of other heathen nations, were of four kinds: first the Ἱερον, (*Hieron*) which was merely an altar or mound, a pillar or stone, set up and dedicated to some deity or divine personage. The Τεμενος (*Temenos*) was a sacred inclosure, encompassing, in some instances, a *hieron*, and a grove in others: either the one or the other was wanting. A third sacred place was the Σηκος, (*Secos*) a kind of chapel, or small close and covered room, containing matters symbolical of the divinity, as a branch of a tree, a fruit, a flower, or perhaps an image. This fabric in some instances bore the form of an ark or chest; in others, of a shrine resembling a cupboard with folding doors; and in others it was a kind of open pen, the true meaning of the word. This pen commonly stood within the area of the temple, and surrounded the image or images of the god or gods, guarding them from profane touch or approach. The Naος (*Naos*) was a struc-

ture of a fourth kind. The name is derived from a Greek word signifying the place of the dwelling of some deity, and of the same signification as our word *church:* by the insertion of the Æolic digamma it becomes naFos or nave. The names of sacred structures have generally been of the same signification with all nations. The language of the Egyptians being lost, the name given by them to their sacred structures is unknown, but it was probably of the same signification as *Devellì* or *Deo havellì,* God's house, the term used in the *Sanscrit.* The Latin word *templum,* temple, is somewhat whimsically derived by Varro from *contemplor,* or *a contemplando,* allusive to the solemn thought which such sacred structures ought always to excite. Of the four forms used by the Greeks, the three first have been discussed in the preceding pages, and it has been shewn that they all owed their origin to the altar used by the patriarchs, a resemblance of the first altar constructed by the Deity when he prepared the Garden of Eden. The altar, the pillar, and the tower, three different forms of sacred structures, having been duly considered, the temple, understanding by that word a building erected upon the plain ground, and in part or in the whole covered by a roof, now remains for discussion.

The cromlech and the tumular cave were in every respect temples according to the established signification of the word. They were not constructed below the surface of the earth, and consequently they were not caves or cavern temples, although covered by the soil or stones heaped upon them: they were like inhabited houses, altogether above ground, and were approached by avenues and entered by doors exactly in the same manner as are our modern churches. The uses to which they were applied were nearly the same, except that the recesses were not capable of containing a large assemblage of votaries, and consequently the greater part of the rites of worship must of necessity have been performed on the outside of the sacred edifice; but this practice

was in accordance with the primal patriarchal worship, when every rite was performed at the altar, either with or without the pillar, the symbol of the divine presence, with no other inclosure than the grove, which in some instances, but not in all, surrounded it. The cromlech of *Plas y Newydd*, in Wales, and the Treasuries of Atreus and Minyas in Greece, were such temples; the former, now the original covering is removed, affords a model, rude indeed, but not unapt, of an Egyptian temple; and the Treasuries, were they stripped of their coverings of earth or stones, would bear forms not altogether unlike a common *Hindù* pagoda of the present day. But the cromlech and the Grecian Treasury were forms of the cavern temple; hence it may be seen that the cavern temple gave rise to the temple properly so called, and through it the origin of the true temple may be traced from the patriarchal altar and the altar in the Garden of Eden. This theory has been already applied to the Egyptian cave and the Egyptian temple; the records of heathen antiquity will shew that this same theory is equally applicable to the Greek temple, and, as far as evidences can be obtained, to the temples of other nations also.

In the fifth chapter of his tenth book, Pausanias gives an account of the various forms which the celebrated temple at Delphi had successively borne, according to information gathered partly from early tradition and partly from regular history. The words of the instructive antiquary are of the following purport.

"Tradition says that the oldest temple dedicated to Apollo was made of the branches of laurel fetched from Tempe, and that the figure of the temple might be said to resemble a cave or cell.[g] The second temple, say the people of Delphi, was made of the wings and wax of bees sent by the Hyperboreans of Apollo. Another account states that a man of Delphi named *Pteras*, (or Wing,) constructed this

[g] Καλυβη is a cottage, a hut, a cell.

second temple, and that it obtained the name from the builder; but," says the antiquary, "to the tale that they formed the temple of πτερις, (*fern*) growing on the mountains, I can give no credit. That the third of these temples should be of brass is no wonder, since Acrisius made a chamber of brass for his daughter, and the sacred mound of Minerva of the House of Brass is still extant. How this temple disappeared I cannot learn. They say that it fell into a chasm of the earth and that it was consumed by fire. A fourth temple was built by Trophonius and Agamedes. It was made of stone, and finished when Herceladus was Archon at Athens, in the first year of the fifty-eighth Olympiad (A. C. 456). The temple of our present times the Amphictyons built out of the sacred funds."[h]

A history more complete yet concise cannot be given. Whatever perplexity may attend the account will be readily removed by a reference to the principles advocated in this treatise. The first form of the temple was that of a barrow containing a small cell; the exterior of the mound being covered, agreeably to what appears to have been the general practice, with trees, which in this instance were laurels, growing from branches fetched from some similar mound in the vale of Tempe, where it may be supposed laurels grew on a similar mound or barrow and that they owed their sanctity probably to some legendary tale, telling perhaps that they had been planted by Apollo himself. We learn from the account of the construction of a mound by Jason and the Argonauts, that when trees were not growing on the sacred hill, branches were substituted instead during the performance of the sacred rites; but trees actually growing on the mound were always desired, and, when it was possible, were always planted. The barrow at the gate of Troy, sacred to ancient Ceres, was shaded by an old cypress; that of Dercennus king of Laurens was darkened by the ilex.

[h] Pausan. lib. x. c. 5, s. 5.

The caved mound of Apollo was doubtless covered in the like manner by laurels. The supposition that the temple was a hut composed of laurel twigs is not supported by any authority, it is even idle and absurd: a temple formed of laurel twigs would not last two years, and would have been utterly unworthy any notice.

The history of the second temple had been so mystified by the theologues of old times, that it perplexed the antiquary even in an age when the morals of such fabled histories were not ill understood. That a structure should have been formed of the wax and wings of bees it were absurd to suppose; but the interference and influence of the Hyperboreans may, it is presumed, have introduced a change of the plants shading the sacred *calybè* or cell, and have substituted the vigorous and handsome fern instead of the laurel. Such a change was very probable, for the latter plant might be aptly indicative of the solar power as the former. The form of the mound, it may be presumed, remained the same while it supplied the growth of either plant.

In the next structure the temple was much improved in dignity. Instead of the low, oven-like cell, such as the Bower of Black *Anù* near Leicester, it received the more dignified form of the conical cave of New Grange, or the Treasury of Atreus. It was of brass; not covered or roofed with that metal externally, like the temples of Rome when powerful and rich, but lined internally with plates of brass. A room lined with brass, if kept bright, must have made a very handsome and even splendid appearance. The practice of lining these cells with plates of metal seems to have been common. It was also found to be very useful; it must have prevented the drip of waters apt to percolate through the earthy covering, and even the arch of stone, to the great annoyance of all who might enter the cave, and to the injury of the sacred articles treasured therein.

The temple was first built of stone in the year five

hundred and forty-eight before the Christian era, and sixty-two before the battle of Marathon, about which period temples of stone were first introduced into Greece. The antiquary does not make any particular notice respecting the form of this last temple; whence it is inferred that it differed in no respect from the Parthenon at Athens, and others, whose ruins are still extant. The Delphic appears, however, to have surpassed all others in the very numerous and rich offerings made to the god by the applicants for responses from the oracle. A plain proof that the piety of the ages during which it retained celebrity, depended more upon hopes and fears, than upon pure principle and reverence of the gods.

Although the last temple at Delphi received the noble form for which the later sacred structures of Greece are celebrated, yet it seems that the construction of temples of the older forms was still adhered to, at least in some instances. Trophonius and Agamedes, the architects of the Delphic temple, built a treasury for Hyrieus at Orchomenos, in Beotia. From the general signification of the word *treasury*, as used by Pausanias, there can be no doubt that this treasury was a sacred structure, and that the romantic story of Agamedes, beheaded by Trophonius when caught in the snare of Hygeius, was sacred treasure, the product of offerings made at the subtumular temple which they had built. The forms of all the sacred structures made at Delphi in the different ages were, very probably, quadrangular, as the last certainly was; for it has been seen that the cave temple of the female deity Ariadne, in the Treasury of Atreus, was quadrangular, but the one dedicated to Bacchus was round; the latter was the temple of the male, the former of the female. All the deities to whom the temples of Delphi were dedicated were females. Gæa, or Earth, was the first and most early deity worshipped at Delphi.[1] After-

[1] Pausan. lib. x. chap. 5, s. 3.

wards Themis, to whom Neptune was united, honoured, according to the theory, the one by a round, the other by a squared structure; but Apollo ultimately obtained the right of the place, and held the rule till paganism was extinguished by the truths of the Gospel.

Adam and the early patriarchs built their altars at the foot of hills, and religious worship was not offered on high eminences until the errors of idolatry gave locality to the Deity, and men, influenced by an obscure reference to the events passed in the elevated heights of the Garden of Eden, were led to imagine that the gods abode on the summits of mountains and remarkable eminences. Influenced by this belief, the Celtic mystagogues deviated from the primal practice, and constructed their altars and their temples on midway heights in the vicinity of others more lofty, by which means they made a reverential approach towards the gods they worshipped. It is presumed that this rule will be found to apply to all Celtic structures. When superterranean temples came to be adopted instead of the hypæthral altar or the cave and cavern, they were in the outset constructed in low or slightly elevated situations; but at length the highest eminences were rather preferred for the sites of temples, and many noble structures stood like the Parthenon on the high Acropolis of Athens, and the temple of Jupiter on the proud Capitoline hill at Rome. Such was the progress by which the worship of the gods was transferred from within the earth till it seemed to be above it, and thus the temple towered above the earth as if in utter forgetfulness of the lowborn cave to which it owed its origin and its form.

Temples built of wood or stone, whether quadrangular or circular, belong to a late class of sacred buildings, for they held a place in the line of architectural progress which followed the use of the cave temple. The cells of the cromlech may be cited in proof. Some have been so bold as

to assert that religious worship was first practised in caves. This opinion is, however, contradicted by the facts adduced relative to the worship performed at the altar and other sacred structures. A love of mystery caused many rites to be performed in cavities within the earth; and it has been shewn that cave temples of great dimensions were sought for, or fabricated for, such rites. It would often happen that caves for worship, and especially mysterious worship, could not be had where required; there might be a deficiency of rock suitable for excavation, or the situation being low, did not admit of subterranean apartments; such defect was supplied, as is shewn by the cromlech and the Grecian Treasury, by artificial structures first bearing the character of the cave, but afterwards the temple was built without any pretension to the character of the cave. The covering mound was altogether relinquished, as in the towers entered by doors high above the base, and the temple stood a structure altogether open to the day. The comparative facility with which these structures were wrought led greatly to the increase of their dimensions. This seems to have excited the rivalry of the zealous cave-worshipper. Several of the caves of *Hindosthàn* appear to have been wrought in imitation of temples covered with roofs supported by pillars. Upon these authorities it may be affirmed that the cave temple gave rise to the temple properly so called, and that the true temple led to the enlargement of that of the cave.

That the cave temple thus led to the invention and construction of the true temple, may be inferred from the fact that many of the most ancient of these latter structures show that their builders entertained particular attachment to the cave: they often chose low sites for their structures even when circumstances rendered the work difficult, and attendance at the place inconvenient. They preferred the base or foot of the hill before a site high up the sides; in doing which it may be presumed that they were anxious to secure all the

advantages of near approach to the Deity supposed to be obtainable by worship performed in the cave within the earth. It is admitted that temples occur in every variety of situation. This may be attributed to convenience, perhaps to necessity; but were a proper attention given to the subject, it is presumed that ample evidence might be obtained in proof of the position that the change of site from the foot of the hill was made gradually, and that it was long ere the summit came to be considered as the proper site of the temple; losing by situation the advantages of the cave. The following instances will show that the temples of the earliest ages were constructed at the foot of hills, or in low situations, and will prove that the true temple owed its origin, as above stated, to the cave.

The temple at Delphi stood at the foot of one of the highest peaks of the mountainous region called Parnassus. Above it once was the city of Lycoreia; but in after times the inhabitants changed their abode lower down for the vicinity of the temple.[k] Whence it appears that the temple at Delphi was built at the foot of a mountain, and was probably intended as a substitute for one of the caves in the mountain, being more accessible and in many respects more convenient for the purposes of religious worship. The same may be affirmed of the temple at Dodona, one certainly of the greatest antiquity in Greece. It was situate at the foot of mount Tomasus,[l] which was first held to be sacred to Saturn, and afterwards to Jupiter, when his pantheon acquired preeminence, and was probably a substitute for a cave in the hill.

The geographer Strabo, treating of the coasts and the cities of Ionia, states that near Ephesus on a low elevation above the sea, is a grove named Ortygia, of great elegance from the number of the trees, and especially of the cypress.[m]

[k] Strab. lib. ix. p. 418, B. [l] Ibid. lib. vii. p. 328, C.
[m] Ibid. lib. xiv. p. 640. D.

Above the grove is mount Solmissus, in which the Curetes struck their arms, and by the sound concealed Latona while in childbirth from the vindictive Juno, an act annually commemorated by rites performed in the grove. At the foot of this hill are, says he, many temples, some very ancient, some comparatively modern. That of Diana was by far the most ancient, being founded, says Pausanias, not by the Amazons when they warred against Theseus as Pindar states, but by Ephesus, the son of the river Cayister.[n] Such was the attachment in ancient times to the construction of temples in low situations. These temples, it may be presumed, bore during several ages the various forms of the taphos or barrow, and of the treasury in the mound; but when in later times the temple was built by Chersiphron in the more modern form the same site was retained, notwithstanding it was necessary, from the marshy quality of the ground, to lay the foundation stones on pounded charcoal and fleeces of wool.[o] These facts are proofs of an extraordinary attachment to such situations for sacred structures. If it be objected that sacred stones were set up on the summits of high hills, as that of Niobe on mount Sipylus, and of Jupiter in a like situation near Tegea, it may be answered that these stones were intended merely to denote symbolically the presence of those personages; but were not intended to give to the places on which they stood the character of temples, although they did confer a certain degree of sanctity on the mountain on whose summit they were placed, and would, like an amber stone, be viewed with much reverence. It was held, especially in early times, to be dangerous to approach such places lest they should meet the god, and seeing him should die. This belief must doubtless have contributed greatly to increase the awe in which remarkable eminences were held. Such was the feeling, according to the Arcadian Evander of the

[n] Pausan. lib. vii. c. 2, s. 4. [o] Plin. lib. xxxvi. c. 14.

Æneis. No one dared in his time to ascend the Capitoline hill; on which the presence of the god was, as they believed, announced by dark clouds, storm, and thunder. In after times, so was the pious awe abated, the approach ceased to be thought dreadful or dangerous; the area of the summit became the site of the temple of Jupiter, at which the people assembled in crowds for religious worship, and the triumphing general with his victorious troops finished those processions which announced the overpowering force of the Roman arms. Such were the changes which took place in the opinions of the later ages of heathenism.

There has been occasion to observe, that in early times it was the custom to set up on headland eminences on sea coasts, pillars and other like remarkable objects; at first, perhaps, merely to direct the mariner in his course. Objects such as these having been placed before the entrances of sacred structures as symbols of the attributes of the god of the place, came to be regarded as sacred. As such the pillar of the headland was viewed, and it was held to be the duty of the mariner to perform some act of reverence in passing by; but it was a proof of greater piety to land at the place and perform some devotional rites at the very pillar itself. The pillar, at first only a symbol of the power, was at length regarded as an idol of the divine presence; and, as the errors of idolatry increased, it was approached as if it were the god himself. By means such as these men learned to venture into the actual presence of the Deity, and next, to construct the builded temple where aforetime the pillar only had stood. As a present proof of these positions, and in addition to others to which reference is made, it may be stated that, according to Strabo,[p] Ulysses, who is justly regarded by the geographer as a figurative personage, erected an altar and planted a lotos tree over it, most probably on an eminence, near the African Syrtis. The act was in perfect accordance with the practice

[p] Strab. lib. xvii. p. 834. D.

of the times in which Ulysses is said to have lived. He is said to have not only founded a city, but built a temple to Minerva, on the shores near Tartessus in the south of Spain.[q] The temple may have been erected on the spot where the pillar or altar had stood; but it is not probable that Ulysses, living, as the fable speaks, in an age anterior to the time of the poet, should have built a structure properly called a temple, for such were not known in the age of Homer, as must be inferred from his silence, for he makes no mention of temples in any part of his works. It is generally agreed that he notices every remarkable object and usage of his times, but he never speaks of a temple; a plain proof that no such structures were extant in his time in Greece; at least none differing from the Treasuries of Acrisius and Atreus: certainly none had then been built on the top of any eminence.

It does not appear that any rites were regularly performed at these promontory fanes, but that their use was limited almost exclusively to the casual worship of the passing mariner; particular circumstances however may have caused the construction of sacred structures on eminences, while as yet the practice had not become general. In Greece, when the provinces were uncultivated and the people few, the first settlers chose some hill readily defensible, and having fortified the summit in such manner as circumstances might allow, they called the inclosed space the city. Such was the origin of the city of Athens. The summit thus inclosed was the city, called Cecropia, from Cecrops, the first founder of the state, and from his taphos, raised, most probably, of earth.[r] This was the first and only temple, or place of worship, for the first inhabitants. It was not till after many centuries that the site of this taphos became the area on which was built the celebrated Parthenon. The history of the Roman Capitol is nearly the same. Although it does not appear that the summit

[q] Strab. lib. iii. p. 149. D.

[r] Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. vii. c. 56. Clem. Alex. Admon. ad Gent. p. 29. A.

of that famed hill was ever inhabited till after the city had become of considerable extent, yet the sacred stone of Tolus had long been the object of religious reverence before it was invited to permit the construction of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus on that eminence on which, greatly to the terrors of the rude natives of the vicinity, the god "had shook his blackening ægis, and called up the clouds."

When the scruples about building temples on the summits of high hills had been overcome, the locality of the sites became altogether optional, and from that time temples were constructed on hills, or in vallies, or open plains, as convenience might invite. The Greeks and the Romans used this liberty without restraint: thus, at Athens, the temples of Jupiter and Theseus were in the city below the Acropolis; the Parthenon with lofty dignity overlooked the whole. At Rome also the Jupiter of the Capitol and many other gods around him overlooked the temples of the Forum and other lower parts of the city. The nations of Gangetic India held themselves restricted by no rule, but constructed their pagodas in situations either high or low, at will; attending, however, to the ample supply of water for the purposes of purification. The temple of Jerusalem was placed on the brink of the precipices of Mount Moriah: not altogether, perhaps, without some reference to the symbolical offering of Isaac by his father Abraham; but chiefly, it is presumed, to secure the wavering fidelity of the Jew by the assurance that, as other nations held that their gods abode on eminences and had there their temples, so the God of his forefathers abode on his hill on high, showing by the temple his house that so far from being an inferior to the gods of the nations, that he was Lord of lords, King of kings, and God of gods.

The temples of Greece, or rather, of the Grecian people, were, almost without exception, of one common form and character. Their plan was a quadrangular oblong, or long square, or cell covered with a roof, having only one opening

door, with a portico at one or both ends, supporting a pediment. They were often surrounded by a colonnade, of a single row of columns, but sometimes of two. The altar on which the sacrifices were offered stood in the front of the portico. Under it stood a vessel of holy water, with which votaries sprinkled themselves before they entered the cell to make offerings at the *secos*, or sacred inclosure, which was either a closed ark or shrine, or else a railed fold, within which stood the image of the god. The generality of temples were covered by a roof, supported by pillars standing either longitudinally or transversely; but there are instances of temples consisting of a colonnade surrounding an uncovered court. These being open in the centre, are distinguished by the epithet *hypæthral*.

The following is the description of the structure of the temple of Jupiter at Olympia given by Pausanias. "In a grove called Altis stands the temple built by the Eleans out of the spoils taken from the people of Pisa in the first year of the eighty-first Olympiad (436 A. C.) The structure is Doric, and peristyle, or surrounded by a colonnade, built of the stone of the country. The height to the ridge is sixty-eight feet; the breadth ninety-five; the length two hundred and thirty. The tiles are not of burnt clay, but of Pentelic stone; a kind of covering invented when Astyages reigned over the Medes (596 A. C.) Gilt vases, shields, images, and historical figures decorate the exterior in every part. Within are pillars and galleries, which make a passage or way round the image of Jupiter; and from that gallery there are stairs which lead to the roof."[s] From this description it appears that the building was without light, except what may be admitted at the entrance, being covered entirely by the roof, and that there were aisles and galleries, differing only from those common in our churches in that they passed all round the interior of the temple.

[s] Pausan. lib. v. c. 10, s. 1.

The celebrated temple on the Acropolis at Athens called the Parthenon, was of the same form as the above. It was of dimensions somewhat less, the area of the cella included within the walls being only one hundred and forty-five feet by sixty-three; but, to use the language of the architect, it was amphiprostyle and peristyle, which, forming porticoes and colonnades, extended the whole base of the structure to two hundred and twenty-eight feet in length and one hundred in breadth, forming an assemblage of columns of almost inconceivable magnificence. The interior had galleries and ailes, as in the temple of Jupiter at Olympia, but it was hypæthral, and therefore only covered in part by the roof, the central portion of the temple being open to the sky.[t]

The temples of Pæstum, at the southern extremity of Italy, invite notice, on account of the extraordinary massiveness of their structure, which leads to the belief that they were Etruscan works, although in their forms and dimensions they accord with the temples of Greece as above described. The columns of the great temple dedicated to Neptune have a base seven feet in diameter, the upper diameter being less than five, which, in a height of somewhat less than thirty, gives an appearance resembling a truncate cone. The interior of the temple, which is hypæthral, was surrounded by a gallery like the temple at Olympia, the roof over it being supported by an upper row of pillars standing upon a lower row, as in many similar structures both ancient and modern.[u] A smaller temple at the same place, though now without a roof, was not hypæthral. At the same place, a third structure of large dimensions has two rows of pillars, transverse of the length, dividing the area into three parts, one being a deep pronaos, or portico, the other two being cells, each dedicated to some particular god. This mode of division will be presently noticed as bearing a resemblance to others extant in different and distant parts of the world.

[t] Pen. Cyclop. Art. Parthenon. [u] Ibid. Art. Pæstum.

The Romans, during the first ages after the foundation of the city, received most of the few arts they exercised from their highly civilized neighbours, the Tuscans; and it may justly be concluded that all the architecture practised in Rome was of the same character as that still remaining at Pæstum. But Rome, conquering and opulent, improved greatly upon the Tuscan models; she even ventured to alter the Grecian models, and to devise a new order of architecture by a skilful and rich union of the Ionic and Corinthian capitals in the composite. The greatest advance was made when she introduced the use of the arch into her works, and varied the prim and sober forms of the oblong cella and triangular pediment of the Greeks by the use of the dome and the apse. To these the Greeks had been most obstinately adverse, although it has been proved that they were not ignorant of the principles of the arch and dome; they certainly possessed sufficient ingenuity for their useful application. Why they should have thus rejected them has not been shewn by any of the writers of their times; if conjecture, noticing the principles by which the forms of their sacred structures were influenced, may be permitted to speak, it will be said that the Greeks, like the Egyptians, adhered pertinaciously to the belief of their ancestors of the powerful efficacy of cave-worship, and of the great benefits that must accrue from rites performed in temples not rising high, but retaining the lowly form of the sacred cave. The Romans of the later ages of their republic and the earlier ages of their empire appear to have forgotten, or at least to have rejected the prejudices in favour of the cavern principle, as the following instances will clearly shew.

The temple of Peace was founded by the Emperor Claudius, and finished by Vespasian.[x] It was rectangular: in length three hundred and twenty-four feet, including the porch of thirty. The breadth of the temple was one

[x] Gwilt's Encycl. of Architecture, s. 217.

hundred and ninety-seven feet. This latter part of the structure was a vault thirty-five feet high. In this porch there were seven entrances, under semicircular arches. The interior was divided into three parts longitudinally, of which the breadth of the middle area, resembling the naves of our churches, was one-third of its length. At the end opposite the entrance was a circular apse. The spaces on each side, which may be called the ailes, were roofed by three domes, as was the central nave; the aile on the right had a side apse. The roof was a vault of three groins, formed by the intersection of three semicylindrical vaults, whose height from the floor was one hundred and sixteen feet. Such was this temple; which, though now in ruins, has been studied by the great architect Palladio, whose account, or restoration as it is called, is admitted to be just, and, as far as possible accurate. It is said, however, that the work of Vespasian had fallen into decay, and had been restored by one of the later emperors. Admitting this, the work repaired was a restoration of the original structure, and was a true specimen of what Roman architecture was when in its pure perfection. The difference between this structure and a Grecian temple is wide and wonderful.

The difference between the Grecian temple and the circular temples is still more wide. How unlike was the Parthenon and the temple of Vesta! The same may be predicated of that temple and the Pantheon; for though they might be compared for their magnificence, they were utterly devoid of resemblance. They were equally different as to the principle upon which they received their respective forms. According to the theory submitted in former pages, the circular form was the symbol of the heaven, or generative powers of nature; the quadrangular of the earth or productive powers; principles always widely opposite in all the theological theories of idolaters, and the cause of the confusion of language, that is, the difference of professed principle

or creed, which first divided idolaters at the building of Babel.

The Egyptians, the strenuous advocates of the female principle, pertinaciously adhered to the quadrangular form in all their temples, from which they never deviated. The adhesion to the former is shown by the construction of sacred fabrics of a circular form, such as were the barrows of the ancient Celts; by round towers; and round temples. The remains of circular temples, such being of very remote antiquity, are few; but such as are remaining confirm the position. In the treasury of Acrisius, the first or outer cave was in all probability dedicated to a male power, probably to Danaus; the second, or innermost, to Danaë. This opinion of the assignment of the two cells accords with the tradition which states, that at a later period the former was given to Bacchus, the latter to Ariadne, his consort according to some authorities. The temple of Stonehenge was dedicated, as all agree, to the male Beil, or the Sun. The circular temple at Abury was most assuredly dedicated to a male deity, the same, at least in character, as Archemorus, the god of the Nemean games, one of the four the most renowned and solemn of Greece.

It may be objected that the temples of Vesta and the Sibyl were circular, and therefore that the form of the temple has no reference to the doctrine of the male or female power; being, as the form seems to imply, applicable to deities of either sex: but it must be replied, that the circular form of a temple dedicated to a female power is only an exception to the general rule, and the exception may be explained by a reference to a well-known fable, the victory obtained by Mercury over Argus of an hundred eyes at the instigation of Juno and for her benefit. The history of that event recorded in the books of the Metamorphoses by Ovid, is to be regarded, like all the histories of that book, as a fabulous or a figurative history of a real event,—the contest

between the advocates of the male and female powers. The Argus of one hundred eyes in the European fable is recognized in the Indian *Indra*, with eyes in every part of the body, the symbols of omniscience, of his character of god supreme. His name Argus is a masculine form of the female Argo, the well-known designation of the ship, the symbol of the earth; and therefore the name must be a designation of the great generative or male power. The Indian Argus, or *Indra*, was deposed from his throne by opposing sects. The Ovidian fable of Argus lulled to sleep and finally slain by Mercury at the command of Juno, signifies that the votaries of the goddess obtained through the agency of Mercury the preeminence of the female over the male power of Jupiter. It does not appear that such advantage was ever obtained by the female power in India; there the male always retained the preeminence, though transferred to other personages: but in the western world it was far otherwise, particularly among the Celtic nations. Among them the goddess *Ket* obtained such preeminence as to exclude all other deities from general notice as well as reverence. In Britain, and it may be said, in Ireland also, few except female deities were noticed or even known in the later ages of Celticism. *Tydain* and *Prydain*, though during certain ages evidently preeminent, (the latter gave the name to our island) are rarely mentioned in the writings of the archæology of Wales. *Ked* and *Ceridwen* are of constant notice. *Aodh*, *Astoir*, *Anu*, and *Brit*, or *Bride*, are preeminent in the mythology of ancient Ireland. These facts clearly shew why the circular temples, once dedicated exclusively to male deities, came to be transferred to female; and the round temple of the male principle, personified in Ouranos, or the Heaven, transferred to Vesta, a personification of the Earth.

The ancient fables, noticing these disputes, relate that a compromise, or rather a union, took place between the

two sects, at least in certain countries. A Grecian fable obscurely records such event, in the reconciliation wrought between Jupiter and Juno. This reconciliation must have taken place long before the establishment of the pantheon of Jupiter, but has been recorded among other legends admitted by the Greeks, although foreign to their system of deities. This union is very clearly announced in the *Hindù* theology, where, as shewn by images common in that country, gods are exhibited by allegorical forms, one half of which has the beard and limbs of a man, the other half the delicate shape and form of a woman; evidently declaring that the god exhibited by the idol was possessed of the two great powers of Nature.[y] The union thus exhibited by an image would not escape expression in the forms of sacred structures, which were always made available to signify doctrinal opinions and theories. The treasuries of Acrisius and Atreus, in which the quadrangular and circular forms stood contiguous, must be taken in proof of the union of the two principles: the same may be affirmed of the hexangular and octangular forms found in Greece, which, though few in number, suffice to shew that the union was not unknown. In Rome the union was general, and is seen in all their structures.

The quadrangular portico of the Pantheon may be presumed to have been intended to signify the union of the powers: it cannot well be explained on any other ground: without some such reason the portico would not have been annexed to the circular temple. The reason for the annexation must have been powerful, for the union is altogether an anomaly. The temple of Minerva Medica at Rome, though circular, and crowned, like the Pantheon, by a lofty and wide dome, had a rectangular vestibule, most assuredly for the same reason; the union of the two principles.[z] The introduction of the circular apse into different parts of the quadrangular temple is explicable upon the same principle,—the union of the male and female powers.

[y] Moor. Hind. Panth. Plates. [z] Gwilt. Encycl. Archit. s. 215.

Another consequence, and that of no little importance, in the progress of sacred structures, may be attributed to the same cause,—the general use of the arch in sacred structures. The Egyptians and the Greeks seem to have abhorred the introduction of the arch into their sacred structures; they were averse from eminences towering above the earth: the tendency of their principle led to a worship beneath; and therefore in all their structures they adhered rigidly to the use of the horizontal lintel. Not so the Romans: they adopted the arch in all their structures. The doorways of the temple of Peace were headed by semicircular arches; so likewise were the greater part of the windows, which were numerous in most of their sacred structures. This practice apparently indicated an abhorrence of cave-worship and its gloomy rites; and courted, on the contrary, the light of heaven. The swelling dome was adopted as the proud covering of their temples. Instead of cowering upon earth, they, improving upon the practice of building upon high places, gave a free elevation to their temples, as though they were the intended symbols and figurative forms, not of the earth only, but of the whole universe.

All the Roman temples had, like those of Greece and Egypt, an oblong form, some few circulars excepted. The reason for this general usage does not appear from any of the principles already noticed. The circular form was adopted from the idea that the world was a sphere; but there is no authority to sanction an assertion that the earth was ever imagined to be an oblong body. Had the forms of quadrangular temples been so proportioned that the length should have been thrice the breadth, and had it consisted of three cubes, it might have been presumed that the temple represented the three regions of space of which the *Sastra* speaks, or the Hades, Earth, and Heaven of the Theogony of Hesiod. But it does not appear that this triple form has ever been used in any instance. Under these circumstances it becomes

necessary to consider what other principle may be found which served to regulate the construction of the oblong quadrangular temple. It is impossible to imagine that such a form should have been the result of chance; or that, since every rite and every other structure had a figurative or symbolical meaning, the temple should be the only exception to the general rule. Whether there were any principle on which the oblong temple was constructed, or what that principle may have been, demands enquiry.

When the taphos or barrow had been raised over the corpse interred, the spirit of the deceased was supposed to abide more especially in the cavity, and obtained for it a degree of sanctity greater than belonged to other parts of the structure. The cavity formed to contain the corpse was regarded as the most holy place; it was a kind of temple dedicated to the departed spirit. This idea may be presumed to have led to the construction of similar mounds in honour of gods as well as men. In India they are of frequent occurrence; and many others raised in early times in different countries, as well as in the British Isles, were, like those of India, dedicated to gods. The sanctity of structures was much enhanced, if any substance in any degree identifiable with the divine personage, and entitled to the character of a relic, were deposited in the consecrated mound; whence in after times arose the high estimation of altars in which relics were deposited. Great importance being given to these deposits, they were always procured by some means, and a cavity such as that beneath the pillar at *Sarnatha* was always provided for their reception. This was the most holy place; this, in reality, was the temple in which the deity was supposed to abide. The cavity having been regarded as a place for the reception of a person interred, seems to have always been constructed of an oblong form, such as is the *soros* which is found to have contained the embalmed body of the sacred bull in the pyramid of Jizeh.

The most early, or rather, the most simple cell within which the corpse was deposited, was formed of stones set on edge, with stones laid across, to cover the corpse when laid on the plain earth; over which was raised the mound of soil or stones. Such was the tomb of the heroes who fell at Troy. The rude cell was superseded by a vessel or chest, perhaps of wood, but oftener of stone, in which the body was laid, as in the tombs of the kings of Egypt, and in the cells of the pyramids. It is not to be supposed that the coffin or soros found in these grand structures were the first examples of the practice: it may have been seen long before in the conical cave of the barrow, and still longer before in the simpler cavity of the cromlech. The zeal which devoted these structures to desecration spared for the most part the burial receptacles of the dead, but never the cells dedicated to gods, and the relics or symbols indicative of their personality or presence. Wherever these were supposed to exist, they were ever sought out with diligence, held up to derision, and consigned to destruction; and therefore the sacred relics which once gave sanctity to the cell of the mound can never be likely to reward the search of the antiquary.

The sanctity thus acquired by the cell of interment might readily and with propriety be assigned to any fabric capable of containing the body of the departed friend, or the relic, or even the symbol of the presence or existence of a divine personage. Hence it came that the sacred chests or arks were held in awful reverence as the mysterious recesses of the divine presence: and hence it came that even Israel received by the command of the Almighty the form of the soros or coffin-chest, in which he was said, in the language of inspiration, to have "dwelled between the cherubim." There has been occasion to observe, that certain divine personages, whose names are almost hid in the darkness of great antiquity, were said to reside in vessels of the like form. *Ket*, the great goddess of the Celts, had a similar abode, in which the

devout Celtic aspirant Taliessin boasted that he had been inclosed.

Quadrangular oblong arks, of various lengths, were thus held to be the places of the actual abode of gods. The material of which they might be made was a matter of indifference; the form was all-important. The quadrangular fabric was regarded as more apt than any other for the abode of the god. Even the dilapidated cromlech shows that such form was most proper for the reception of the *kist-vaen*. The same was prescribed for the ark of Israel. When therefore men became inclined to give increased dignity as well as reverence to the god of their worship by enlarging his abode beyond the dimensions of the sacred ark, and chose to give fixedness to the locality of the divine abode, they applied to the skill of the architect, and called him to supersede the hand of the mechanic by rearing a fabric of solid materials, of brick, stone, or marble. Whatever the material, the structure must be quadrangular and oblong, for long opinion and practice affirmed that such form was most acceptable to the Deity, and was therefore indispensable. The sacred structures of Egypt show that such was the doctrine of that ancient nation: but it was not peculiar to Egypt; it was general; and it wrought in the caves of *Hindosthàn*, in the cromlechs of Britain, in the temples of classical Greece, and in the far greater portion of the prouder temples of imperial Rome. The funereal *soros*, first formed within the barrow, was the model of the oblong quadrangular *naos*, or temple, whatever its dimensions, or wherever situate.

It has been very commonly supposed that the Romans borrowed the form of their temples from the Greeks, and the Greeks from the Egyptians. There seems, however, to be reason to doubt the truth of this opinion, and that each of these nations, in the construction of these works, acted upon some favourite principle, and that the differences (for there were considerable differences in their works) were owing to

the peculiar opinions severally entertained by each. The quadrangular oblong form was adopted, whether the temple were subterranean or superterranean: thus far they all agreed: but from this point, which may be regarded as the outset of the architecture of the temple, each seem to have followed the bent of their peculiar tastes and fancies, and varied the location of the parts of their structures and the character likewise: so widely did they differ, as to preclude the supposition that any of them ever constructed their sacred fabrics otherwise than in accordance with their religious theories and their own opinions of utility and effect. A few notices of the discrepancies observable in the works of different nations will fully establish the truth of this position, somewhat novel perhaps, but yet true.

The Egyptian and the Greek, having constructed the temple, placed the pillars, the symbols of strength, the one within the inclosure, the other outside of the fabric. The pillars of the Egyptian temple were placed close, almost in contact; those of the Greek temple were always at least at a distance of three or more diameters. The roof of the several covered apartments of the former was invariably flat; the roof of the latter was always raised to or tended toward a ridge at an angle the same as that of the pediment of the front. In some instances the *secos* or more sacred part of the Greek temple was hypæthral, or open to the sky, like the altar when surrounded by the grove: the Egyptians always covered the sacred recesses or rooms of their temples; and the sacred idol, whether a compound material substance or a symbolical animal, sought reverence in a mysterious gloom, shunning not only the light of the sun, but the fresh air of heaven.

If any resemblance is to be found in the architecture of Egypt and of Greece, the capitals of the columns will afford it. The cup-like shape of many of the Egyptian capitals, nearly the same as that of the capital of the Corinthian order, was taken from the flower of the aquatic nymphæa lotos

plant, the symbol of the divine power by which the earth was raised above the waters at the creation. Of this accordance it may be justly observed, that it may, or rather must, be ascribed to a unity of principle, than to an imitation of practice. The doctrine of the earth having been raised above waters is a simple truth familiar to patriarchal tradition, and noticed in various ways by heathen fable: this its import has been clearly exhibited in the paintings of the *Hindù* theologues; and it were strange to suppose that the symbol should have been unknown in the regions not altogether remote from those in which the families of the Greeks were born. For these reasons the identity in form of the Egyptian and Grecian capitals may be rather ascribable to the common use of the symbolical lotos, than to a servile imitation of Egyptian usage, a practice to which the Greeks were never prone, and to whom, from their acknowledged ingenuity, it could never have been necessary.

The capitals of the other Grecian orders are so far different from the Egyptian, that it is impossible to suppose that they can have been borrowed from Egypt. The Ionic capital has been supposed to have had its form from the compressed lotos. The curvature of this volute bears indeed a near resemblance to the horn of the ram, which was an apt symbol of strength, and an animal the favourite object of reverence with the Asiatic nations. *Amun*, symbolized under the form of a ram, was not unknown in Egypt; yet the horn of the animal never appeared in any capital: whence it must be inferred that the Greeks did not take the Ionic capital from Egypt. The same may be said of the Doric capital. Whether it was or was not a form of the lotos, it was of a character too simple for Egyptian approbation; and was not borrowed, but rather invented, by the Greeks of Doris. These facts strongly controvert the notion, that the nations of heathen antiquity were wont to form their sacred structures in imitation of those of the neighbouring countries. The facts do

more: they prove that each formed their sacred structures upon its own principles, and used symbols significant of its own principles. The Egyptian formed not unfrequently the head of Isis into a quadrangular capital, doubtless of the same import as the globe placed between the horns of the crown of the goddess. The Persian disciple of Zoroaster gave the head of his favourite symbol, the bull, in the capital of the pillar of his architecture. The disciple of the *Sastra* not unfrequently gave to the higher part of his column the mighty elephant. The Indian, the Persian, the Egyptian, each exhibited his own symbols in his architecture. It were strange to affirm that the Greek did not do the same. If the Greek acted in accordance with his own opinions in the structure of the column, all his capitals, the Corinthian, the Ionic, and the Doric, may be regarded as the lotos under different circumstances and degrees of distortion from implied pressure. This variety is a clear evidence of ingenuity and invention altogether abhorrent of imitation.

That Rome conquered Greece by her arms, but Greece conquered Rome by her arts, is a remark rather trite than true; but upon the authority of such remark it has been imagined that all the structures of Rome, whether sacred or civil, especially those of the later ages of her republic, or the earlier ages of her empire, were of Grecian invention, and consequently that all their beauty and magnificence was owing to Grecian taste. Such sentiment is utterly unworthy the greatness of imperial Rome. That she bore the arts, as she did the spoils, and even the gods of the conquered nations, to her own proud abode, will not be denied; but that she was destitute of all the arts and elegances of civilized life till she imported them from Greece, and that she had no fixed principles of her own, is far from the truth. The mention of her temples made by history, her mighty structures, works wrought even in the infancy of her power, her laws also, and public institutions, tell that she was great even

from her infancy; and that when she transferred the inventions of other countries to the cities and fields of Latium, she engrafted them upon her own, and made them there bear better and richer fruit than in their native soil they had ever before produced. This is especially true of her sacred structures; they are such as the science and skill of subsequent ages has never been able to surpass; they are such as all succeeding generations have been eager to imitate.

That the buildings at Rome at the first foundation by Romulus were little else than mud cottages covered with thatch, must, from the rudeness of the age and want of means and opportunity, be believed. Even in the reign of Numa the temple of Vesta was of wicker-work, roofed with the same materials. The sacred structures of the city were doubtless nearly of the same description, till, in the reign of the last Tarquin, the foundations of the temple of the Capitoline Jupiter were laid, of such magnitude, that they were not finished during his reign. This king being of an Etruscan family, must have been partial to the theory of the religion of his nation, and well versed in their arts; whence it is inferred that the temple whose foundation he laid partook of the character of others builded by his nation. It is with reason believed that the magnificent structures of Pæstum were of Etruscan fabrication: it may therefore be inferred that the temple of the Capitol must have been of similar form. The temples of Pæstum are called Doric, but they gain that title from the form of the capitals only; in other respects, as to the shape of the column, which is nearly conical, and the intercolumniations, they scarcely retain any of the Doric proportions, and cannot be said to be imitations of the Grecian architecture. The columns more nearly resemble the conical pillars *Icin* and *Boaz* which king Solomon set up in the vestibule or porch of the temple at Jerusalem. These were more conical in their forms than the columns of Pæstum, and shew that the Etruscan and Roman,

when they varied from the Greek models, did not imitate the Israelite, but that they, like other nations, constructed their temples with columns indicative of the power which supports the earth, but that the mode in which they symbolically exhibited that power was peculiarly their own.

The want of records renders it impossible to ascertain all the forms which the Roman temples bore during the earlier centuries of the republic; but ere that form of government had been overthrown, the hypæthral Pantheon had been built, and the temple of Vesta had been constructed, of more solid materials than it had received in the reign of Numa. These structures were circular, they could not therefore have been copied from the temples of the Greeks, who from the establishment of the pantheon of Jupiter may be said so to have avoided as to have abhorred the circle, the arch, and the dome. These forms, which the Romans introduced with zeal into their works, were not therefore borrowings from the Greeks, but forms approved upon principle. The hypæthral temple owed its origin to the altar in the grove; darkness was not therefore required in the Roman temple, and therefore they admitted the light by windows into their sacred structures. In the temple of Peace, and indeed, in all their structures, they sought the admission of light even with avidity: their windows were made high by the arch, instead of being depressed by the lintel; they thus received a character and form not only not imitative of the Greek, but even to the utmost opposed to it.

It may not be denied that the Romans introduced into their architecture the Doric, the Ionic, and the Corinthian orders; but still they vindicated themselves from the character of humble imitators, they varied the proportions of the parts, and added rich ornaments to several. They surpassed the conquered Greeks by inventing a new order, the Composite; they surpassed them most assuredly in the application of all. Rome thus conquered Greece, and in

doing so she subdued barbarism in every form, and introduced into almost every region of the known world her own dignity and magnificence, and transmitted them to all succeeding ages. To the varied combination of Roman practice, the most admired structures of modern Europe, whether they be classed with the Grecian or the Gothic kinds of architecture, owe their usefulness, their beauty, and their grandeur. In this their course the Romans acted under the influence of the two primal principles, united the male principle in Nature, symbolically represented by the round form, and the female principle exhibited by the square.

The notices that may be offered concerning the temples of other nations are few and unimportant. The Persians, once highly eminent among the kingdoms of Asia, had their temples, notwithstanding their general principle that the tops of mountains were the fittest places for worship.[a] But the forms of their structures were peculiarly their own. The pillars still extant among the ruins of Persepolis are tall and slender in the extreme, and the capitals are formed, not of the lotos of Greece and Egypt, nor, as in the latter country, of the head of Isis the powerful supporter of the world, but of heads of the bull, the symbol of Mithra, the sun of the universe and the generative principle of Nature. The sketches of travellers exhibit, in the specimens of Persian architecture, the solid portals of the Egyptian temples, contrasting widely indeed to their slender column; but this form seems to say, that they worshipped the God of the universe in the three regions so constantly noticed by their neighbours the *Hindùs*, Earth, Sky, Heaven. The former they worshipped in the cave; the next in structures solid as the Egyptian, built beneath the open sky; the third on the mountain top, deeming it the not unapt symbol of heaven.

So much has been already said of the temples or pagodas of the *Hindùs*, that little remains for observation. The

[a] Gwilt. Encycl. B. i. c. 2, s. 4.

pagodas of the present times may generally be regarded as exhibitions of the Celtic barrow, either with or without inclosures and other accompaniments. The cave temples belong to a class altogether different; yet their descent, perhaps somewhat illegitimate, has been traced from the same primal parent, the altar in the grove. The columns and pillars seen in many of the pagodas are of a character peculiar to the people, and shew clearly that their construction was not in imitation of the fabrics of other nations, but that they owe their forms to *Hindù* invention exercised upon *Hindù* principle. Like all the pillars of early antiquity, especially the Icin and Boaz of the temple of Solomon, the pillars of the *Hindù* structures are massive, often even to clumsiness, but conveying the idea that they are proper symbols of the power that supports the world, which is not unfrequently represented by the spheroid that crowns the top or occupies the place of the capital. In some instances, especially in the works of the cave temples, the form of the elephant appears in the support of the ceiling, and either in part or entire becomes the capital. Such is the symbolical import of the capital of the pillar used in the provinces of *Hindosthàn*. It is the same as in other countries. It affords a confirmation of the argument that, as the temple, wherever it may be, is a figurative representation of the world, so is the pillar, a part of the structure, a representation of the power by which the world is supported; and the capital of the pillar is the symbol of the agency of the Deity immediately occupied in the important office. In this import of the pillar all nations are agreed; but in the form of the symbolical pillar, each nation takes that which is most familiar to its notice, and held by it to be best expressive of that sentiment. Each nation seldom or never acts in imitation of others, but acts agreeably to its own opinion of what is most aptly expressive of what it deems the sacred truth.

There has been occasion to observe, in some preceding

pages, that the ancients divided the visible horizon first into four, then into eight parts. The Tuscans divided the horizon into sixteen parts, for the purposes of accurate navigation.[b] In modern times a farther subdivision has been made into thirty-two, beyond which no other appears to be requisite. It has been seen, especially in the pyramids of Jizeh and the temple of the Winds at Athens, that the position of these structures is regulated by an accurate reference to the several regions of the earth, or more immediately to the divisions of the horizon. The position or direction of temples, and indeed of all sacred structures, with regard to these points of the horizon, has always been regarded as a matter of much importance, and is most assuredly so considered even in the present times. The subject is consequently such as demands some attention.

The philosopher Porphyry, whom opposition to the progress of the Christian religion led to treat minutely of the doctrines of idolatry, speaks of the position of temples in words of the following purport: "Almost all temples have their entrances and their statues facing the east, so that persons entering look towards the west, and stand with faces directed towards the west when they offer honours and reverence to the gods."[c] Dionysius of Thrace, a writer living in the century immediately preceding the Christian era, says the same: "The temples of the ancients usually received the rising sun, so that, as soon as the doors were opened, they were filled with light."[d] Were travellers to give attention to this matter, there can be little doubt that the writers above-named would be found to be correct: it is to be lamented that they are in general silent on this subject; probably because they are not aware of its importance. Of the temples which there has been occasion to describe some-

[b] Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. ii. c. 54. [c] Porphyr. de Antr. Nymph. p. 251.
[d] Lib. iii. Diæres.

what particularly, it has been seen that the cave temple of Ybsambul on the west bank of the Nile opens directly on the east. The temple of Stonehenge has its principal opening to the point at which the sun rises at the summer solstice, so that during that period the sun at rising illumined the whole interior of the temple, and shone directly on the idol stone beyond the altar, when sacrifices were instantly offered, and the area of this Celtic temple flowed with the gore, not of beasts only, but of men also.

In after times the position of the vestibules, or entrances into temples, was changed, and they were placed at the western end of the structure. The faces also of the images were turned westward. Hyginus, the freedman of Augustus, states that "the ancient architects recorded rightly that temples fronted towards the east, but in after times it was the pleasure of the world that every religious rite should be directed toward that quarter of the heavens from which light comes upon the earth."[e] To the same effect writes Clement of Alexandria: "The most ancient of the temples (meaning the oldest extant in his time) looked towards the west, so that persons standing before the images might be taught to turn towards the rise."[f] These and other like authorities which might be adduced, shew that it was the practice of the earliest ages to turn towards the west and from the east in the performance of all rites of religious worship. The practice of turning toward the west appearing from these evidences to have been the oldest upon record, and no testimony being found to the contrary, it may be presumed that such was the practice of all the patriarchs from the time of the first man Adam. If conjecture, founded upon opinions already submitted, may be allowed, it will be said that the first parents, having been driven from the Garden on the eastern side of the eminence, built their first altar of sacrifice

[e] Hygin. de Agror. limit. p. 93.
[f] Clement. Alexandr. Stromat. lib. vii. p. 724. C.

on that side of the hill; and when they made their offering upon their altar, they turned westwardly, towards the summit which had once been their happy abode, made it the *kebla* of their worship, and contemplated with penitent devotion the volcanic flaming sword on the top, which rendered approach to the Garden impossible. The temple became in time the improved representative of the altar; and that change was made before the custom of directing the face to the west was superseded by the adoption of new principles and new practice of turning towards the east.

When the theory of idolatry taught that the works of the creation which made manifest the divine attributes were a manifestation of the Deity himself, and even were the Deity himself, they next proceeded to give the form of a person to the world, and that form the human form, because of all animal forms the human is most perfect. In this process of personification they taught that certain quarters of the world were the face of the world, and others the arms of the body. The Egyptians, says Plutarch,[g] consider the eastern regions as being the face of the world; the northern as the right hand, those on the south as the left; and consequently the Nile, flowing from the south to the north, and there received by the sea, is properly said to have its birth on the right and its death on the left hand: and on that account the priests regard the salt water as unholy, and call it the spume of Typhon, and, among other things prohibited, they never place salt on the table. They protest also against the masters of vessels, because they traffic on the sea, and gain their livelihood from it. This, it is presumed, may be the reason why the *Hindùs* annex the idea of impurity to the sea, and are unwilling to sail upon it, for the sea receives and swallows up the waters of their Ganges and other rivers. There seems to be some confusion in the statement of the philosopher in

[g] Plutarch. de Isid. p. 363. E.

the use as above of the terms right and left, which will however be rectified by an explanation.

It was the practice both of the Greeks and Romans to divide the heavens into portions distinguished by the names of the right and left; words which had evidently a reference to the front or face of the earth, agreeably to the doctrine of the Egyptians. Cicero, regarding with ridicule the Roman auguries, notices the seeming contradictions observable in the exercise of the office of the augur in the following terms. "Where is there any consistent and admitted steadiness of decision among augurs? Ennius said, agreeably to the practice of our auguries,

> With happy omen in a sky serene
> It thundered on the left;

but the Ajax of Homer, enquiring of Achilles concerning the ferocity of the Trojans, speaks I know not what in manner following:

> By right hand lightning Jove with favour spoke.

Thus with us the left is the best, but with the Greeks and other foreign nations the right appears most fortunate."[h]

Plutarch, in his Roman Questions, thus solves the difficulty which perplexed the Roman orator. He asks, Why are birds flying on the left hand a fortunate sign? After referring to some ancient usages illustrative of the augurial practice, he proceeds: Is it not that to persons looking toward the east, the north is on the left hand, which some regard as the right hand and the higher part of the world? But do not those who watch the actions of birds (the augurs) give importance to that which, though the weaker part, is notwithstanding the sign of good fortune? Overlooking the defect of power and intending to contrast things terrestrial and mortal to things heavenly and divine, they consider that

[h] Cic. de Divinat. lib. ii. c. 39.

the objects which, with us, are on the left hand, the gods send from their right.[i]

This augurial question depends altogether on the supposition that the world is a person, and having arms, the right and the left; that the person has a face, as also other parts of the human animal. This theory was sufficient to alter the primary *kebla*, or point of worship; and it caused the entrances of temples and the faces of idols to be turned from the west, as in the earliest times, to the east as in later ages, when idolatry had so far advanced as to adopt the use of images bearing the human form. Such are the authorities on which the reason for turning toward the east in worship depends, and such the reason by which the practice may be vindicated.

According to the statements given in the Asiatic Researches,[k] this very same theory was adopted by the *Hindùs*, and most assuredly for the same reason, namely, that the world was a person, and as such had limbs, signified by names accordant with a person of the human form. The learned author of the seventh number of the eighth volume of the Asiatic Researches informs us that the *Sanscrit* word *para* signifies the fore part, or the east; that it also signifies the face or front of the person. *Su-para* signifies very *far east*, and is the name *se-phar*, called in the Book of Genesis a mountain of the east.[l] The privative *a* prefixed to the word *para* forms the word *apara*, signifying the negative east, that is, the west. From this word the *Sanscrit* scholar derives the words Aphar, Ophir, and Africa. According to the same authority, *dacshina*, the south, is the Greek δεξιον, (*dexion*) and *dacsh-tir* is the Latin *dexter*, signifying the right hand. *Vama*, or the north, is the left. All these terms presume a face as being a part of the person of the world. How far the *Hindùs* attend to this form of the person of the world

[i] Plutarch. de Quæst. Rom. p. 282. D.

[k] As. Res. vol. viii. No. 7, p. 372.

[l] Genesis x. 30.

in the position of their sacred structures the reports hitherto obtained do not determine. Travellers, when aware of the importance of the question, will, it is hoped, attend to it in future visits. The present information, however, is sufficient to shew that according to the most ancient evidences the faces of the worshippers, whether at altars or temples, were invariably directed toward the western quarter of the earth; next they were directed toward the east. It seems from the words of the Alexandrian Father, that only the temples of ages long anterior to his time were constructed with the entrances facing the west, and that the position of the temple seems to have become in his days a matter altogether of indifference. The fronting of the tabernacle and the temple of the Israelites was not a matter of indifference; it was expressly commanded that the entrance should be at the east, and the *kebla*, or point of worship, on the western extremity of the temple.[m] May not this matter have been so ordained, partly because the *kebla* had been from the first in that direction, and partly in opposition to the corrupt doctrines of the later idolaters, who taught that the world was God, and that, in turning to the east, they addressed him when worshipping, with face to face.

The terms face, hands, and arms, first used by the heathen augurs, have been adopted by the holy penmen to designate the powers and attributes of the Almighty. This practice, borrowed, like many others, with much advantage from the heathens, invites some remarks that may obviate mistake, and lead to a just understanding of their purport. It is obviously certain that the terms are used by the holy writers, not, as by the heathen, because they are indicative of a reality in the divine person, but as figurative only. They do not suppose when they mention the right hand of God, that the

[m] Exodus xxvii; Ezekiel xl.—Gross was the idolatry of worshippers of the sun: turning toward the east to face their god, their backs were turned toward the entrance into the temple. Ezekiel viii. 16.

God supreme has parts or limbs; an idea incompatible with the true doctrine, that parts or limbs are not attributable to a Being having no parts nor passions. The term however having been made familiar by the usages of the augurs, may perhaps be absolutely necessary to signify the power and authority of the Saviour, who after his ascension into heaven, is said to sit at the right hand of God. The right hand being the most strong, and, according to the augurial doctrine, the side of power and good fortune, the phrase signifies, according to the true doctrine, that the Saviour has been highly exalted by the benefits won by him for the world by his death and sacrifice; and that being now raised to such a degree of eminence, he can dispense at will the divine beneficence with a power and authority signified by the right hand, the symbol of good fortune and happiness. Such is the symbolism adopted by the writers of the New Testament, and its use is sanctioned by the same divine authority as that which requires all persons to receive with implicit faith whatever is there stated. Thus do holy writers, thus does the Saviour himself, use earthly symbols, even those invented by idolaters, to illustrate, as far as may be possible, truths heavenly and eternal.

CHAPTER VII.

OF IDOLS.

A FABRIC more grand than the image of Jupiter in the temple at Olympia can hardly be imagined. It was a work noble from its magnitude; for although the image is sitting, the head nearly touches the roof sixty-eight feet high.[n] It is magnificent from the rich and splendid materials of which it was composed; admirable for the taste and beauty with which the several parts were wrought; most instructive also from the doctrines taught, and the historical facts recorded by the emblematic figures and the historical scenes by which it was adorned.[o] It may be considered as the perfection of sacred structures; it therefore demands particular attention in a treatise on the rise, progress, and import of the use of idols and idolatrous worship. The antiquary Pausanias recites from actual inspection the following particulars, which are selected from among many others, as being most relevant to the present subject.

The god is seated on a throne composed of gold, ebony,

[n] Strab. lib. viii. p. 353. D. Pausan. lib. v. c. 10, s. 2.
[o] Pausan. lib. v. c. 11.

and ivory; he wears a crown made in imitation of shoots of olive. In his right hand is a figure of Victory, of gold and ivory, filleted and crowned; in his left hand is a sceptre, beautifully adorned with all kinds of metals. On the top is the figure of an eagle. The sandals of the god are gold, as also is his robe, on which are wrought many animals and a great number of lilies. The throne is ornamented with gold and precious stones, as also with ebony and ivory, and assemblages of animals engraved on it, together with sculptured images. Four images of Victory in the attitude of dancing are placed at each foot of the throne. Before each of the front feet of the throne two scenes are exhibited, one of Thebans borne away by the feet of sphinxes, the other of the sons of Niobe pierced by the arrows of Apollo and Diana. The throne is supported not only by the feet, but also by an equal number of pillars standing in the middle space between each foot. On the steps of ascent to the throne are a great number of figures representing scenes and events in mythological history.

Every figure of this fabric is a symbol; and the whole signifies the many attributes or powers of the god, and also a history of the various events which attended the rise, progress, and final establishment of his preeminence as the god supreme. Some of these are explained by the lexicographer Suidas in terms nearly as the following.

[p]The god is exhibited sitting; indicative of the stability of his power. The upper portion of his person is naked; intimating that he is clearly evident to persons of intellect and to beings of the higher order: the lower portion is covered; intimating that he is unknown to persons of worldly attachments. He holds a sceptre in his left hand, significant of the great extent of his power: on the other he holds forward an eagle, intimating that as the eagle predominates over birds of highest flight, so does he over the air-borne spirits.

[p] Suid. ad voc. Ζευς.

Phornutus writes: "The eagle intimates the quickness of his decisions: the olive of his crown is a symbol of the vital energy with which he is endued: the images of Victory intimate that his power renders him invincible."[q] He is represented as being of a middle age, and consequently in a state of perfection in every faculty. The animals adorning his robe accord with the doctrine that Jupiter the supreme is the world or earth. The same is farther intimated by the well known signification of the pillars which, together with the feet of his seat, sustain him immoveably. Standing on the square base of the throne, they refer to the firm but mysterious basis on which the earth stands. The sphinxes and other objects introduced as ornaments of the basis, refer to well known legends, and indicate the triumph of the votaries of the great Jupiter over those of other gods, especially the advocates of former religious theories or modes of worship.

It is impossible to suppose that a structure so complex and so grand as is this image of Jupiter could have been the work of one invention,—of one age. The combination was perhaps the design of Phidias; but the parts were suggested and supplied by theories devised by persons of different ages and under different circumstances, and required nothing more than an ingenious arrangement by the hand of art, to express symbolically the whole history of the god. Whence they were derived, or rather, how they were invented, is a question intimately connected with the origin, the progress, and import of the fabric of idols. The attempt to answer the question will recall the attention to the earliest principles of heathenism, and of worship rendered either to idols or images. Such worship, absolutely forbidden by the Divine commandment, was altogether of human invention,—was an error, a corruption of the primal pure religion learned by Adam from conferences with his Creator. This error led

[q] Phornut. de Natur. Deor.

to consequences not only fatal to piety and virtue, but even made a virtue of vice; for acts not only immoral, but abominable, were practised as religious duties: every malignant passion was cherished as laudable and excellent, and the murder of man in sacrifice was held to be an offering most acceptable to God. Such were the evils ensuing from idolatry.

An idol[r] is a material substance, either animate or inanimate, intended to exhibit by a figured form, not an actual resemblance, but to excite the idea of some certain personage, usually such as may be supposed to be superhuman or divine. An image is an idol, but differing from the idol by being, though inanimate, supposed to be an actual resemblance of the personage intended to be exhibited, and to be the same in effect as the actual presence. Both the idol and the image were imagined by the heathen to be influenced, and even informed, by the spirit of the personage represented, and to be in consequence proper objects of religious worship, and regarded as the god present. How this error originated and spread to such extent as to be in danger of being universally prevalent, to the extirpation or suppression of the worship of the true God, we proceed to show.

Authorities cited in the introductory chapter have shown that the true doctrine is this. The Creator is visible in the works of the creation, in all of which he is spiritually present. This had led to the erroneous inference, that the Creator was identified with his works, and that the things created were the same in reality as the Creator himself, and, in fine, that the world was God, and being God, that the world was the proper object of religious worship. This error led immediately to another still more gross, namely, that all apt

[r] The word *idol*, *ειδωλον*, is derived from *ειδω*, (Etymol. Mag.) to see, and intimates a representation visible without a reality. The word image is derived from *ειμι*, *sum*, I am present actually. Vid. Æneis. lib. vii. v. 177.

representations of the created world were with equal propriety objects of religious worship; and farther, that any part, any creature, whether animate or inanimate, was an object equally entitled to be honoured with religious reverence and religious rites as was the whole, provided it were a symbol aptly representing any one or more powers of the Great Supreme. This principle justified the use of every emblem or symbol which fancy might fix upon, and which might be approved for even the most frivolous reason: hence the infinite number of gods; and hence the continued augmentation of their number; for every new combination of powers or attributes might constitute a new god. Such was the origin of idols, and such the reasons by which the use of idols was vindicated. This the facts about to be stated will clearly show.

The doctrine that the world is God, and the person of God, vindicated at once the offer of religious worship to every material object, whatever might be its quality, whatever its form; and consequently all the substances called elements became gods in very early ages: so also did the heavenly bodies, especially the sun and the moon. Observations on the worship of these objects would be foreign to the present subject; they belong to the history of idolatry, rather than of idols; for although they may be said to claim the character of gods because they are parts of the God, the world, yet they cannot properly be called idols; and in that view they were regarded by idolaters themselves, who not unfrequently represented them by various objects, natural or artificial. The idols which properly belong to the subject of the present treatise, are either inanimate bodies, such as artificial mounds, stones, pillars, and towers, or they are trees and plants, or they are animals of various kinds. Mounds, stones and pillars, and towers, have already been sufficiently discussed; it now remains that some notice be taken of the symbolical use of the other objects, especially such as were

used to adorn the image of the god of the temple at Olympia, and the process also by which the symbolical personage was at length exhibited in the human form.

The theory or doctrine commonly entertained, which taught that the whole world was a divine Being, did, in accordance with the general principle, assign a certain degree of preeminence to such portions of it as were endowed with vitality in any degree. Animal creatures were regarded as possessing that quality in a very high degree; and even vegetable creatures very justly claimed the same in a certain degree also, and in consequence both animal and vegetable creatures or substances were held to be divine beings, of various eminence, determinable chiefly by their individual perfection or usefulness. The sanctity of their character, and the degree of reverence justly due, were regulated according to this rule, which caused them to be used first as symbols, and ultimately worshipped as gods; an error which led to all the extravagances of idolatry. This a few examples will clearly shew.

A species of the *quercus* or oak, called *esculus*, or esculent, because in some countries the acorns or fruit were ground and made into bread, appears to have received religious reverence in very early ages, and perhaps worshipped as an idol of Jupiter or the God supreme.[s] The laurel was an object of similar reverence; possibly because of its rich growth, and some other qualities, as that of crackling in the fire when burned on the altar, from which the attendant worshippers divined. It was first worshipped as a symbol, and then dedicated to the Sun, and in later times to Apollo. The olive came to be dedicated to Minerva, because of the richness and usefulness of its fruit. The myrtle was dedicated to Venus, from its pungent fragrance, and perhaps for other reasons. The poplar was the symbol dedicated to Hercules, because of its vigorous growth, seemingly muscular. Such,

[s] Plin. lib. xii. c. 1. Martyn. Miller's Dict. Art. Quercus.

according to the Roman naturalist,[t] was the sanctity of these and many other plants, retained from early times; and to such extent, that even in his age, when temples had become numerous, trees, the scenes of early worship, were used in rural and remote districts as sacred temples. Traces of this usage may still be found under circumstances which at once prove its antiquity and great extent.

The Negroes of many provinces of Africa have the *Bentang* tree in every village or assemblage of families, at which they meet on all public occasions, and at which they perform all the public rites of their religion.[u] In many of the villages of England there still subsists, or traces might be found, of a tree called *the green*, of a public character, and the place of common assemblage. It would not be extravagant to suppose that this, like many popular customs, might be traced to the times when the Celtic religion prevailed, and when Druids performed most of their religious rites under oaks. At Dodona in Greece the oak was the temple and the oracle also, for responses were given from among the boughs.[x] A laurel was the first temple of Apollo and Diana, who were born beneath the shade of that tree; a fact recorded in the language of fable, signifying that the laurel was the kind of tree at which they were first worshipped, and may therefore very properly be called their first temple. Whether this ancient usage originated in the use of the trees in the middle of the Garden of Eden as the temple used by man while abiding in the Garden is far from improbable, it is almost certain. It may indeed be said that this is but a conjecture; but it is a conjecture supported by the strongest probabilities, and certainly is not opposed by any authority either sacred or profane.

The high veneration with which certain trees were regarded will be seen by the following passage from Pausanias. After mention made of trees planted by Menelaus before the

[t] Plin. loc. cit. [u] Park's Travels. [x] Pausan. lib. viii. c. 23, s. 4.

Trojan war, and by other persons of ancient times, (a proof that trees were planted for religious purposes) he thus proceeds: "If, attending to the traditions of the Greeks, I must enumerate such of these trees as are still preserved and flourishing, the oldest of them all is the Vitex or Agnus Castus growing in the temple of Juno at Samos; next to that the oak at Dodona, and the olive in the Acropolis, and the olive at Delos. The third rank in point of antiquity might be given to the laurel growing among the Syrians."[y]

This evidence shows that trees were not unfrequently growing in temples; most probably because the tree having been planted and made in old times the place of worship, or even the idol of the god, still continued to be such when in later times a temple was builded, enclosing the sacred and ancient tree. Of the antiquity of this use of trees the Mosaic Law affords full proof in the following command given to the Israelites: "Ye shall utterly destroy all the places wherein the nations which ye shall possess served their gods, upon the high mountains, and upon the hills, and under every green tree."[z]

The Roman naturalist observes of plants, that though they are not endowed with an intellectual soul, they do possess a certain portion of vitality, or of that divine spirit which pervades the universe, and consequently that they are all without exception divine beings of certain degrees of excellence and eminence; that all of them have Fauni, Sylvani, Dryades, male or female divinities, abiding in them.[a] That vegetable bodies have a certain degree of vitality superior to mineral bodies is certain; they are endowed with life for limited periods, within which they act according to certain laws; but their acts are merely mechanical; they cannot be said to have volition or intelligence; and consequently, are not fit to be endowed with the powers

[y] Pausan. lib. viii. c. 23, s. 4. [z] Deut. xii. 2.
[a] Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xii. c. 1.

of locomotion; and are therefore of a grade far below the lowest creature of the animal world. It were however inconsistent with the wisdom of the Deity to suppose that the lives of plants should be altogether useless in the system of the creation. The life of every plant may be conducive to some useful purpose, extending beyond the life of the individual plant. The truth that nothing is good which does not tend to the production of some further good, may teach that it may be impious to deny this position. The sound philosopher will readily assent to it: the heathen theologues directly affirmed it; for they taught that every plant had not only a soul, but a soul divine, and therefore immortal; a soul that grieved to quit the body when the plant decayed or died; and that it was a grievous wrong to deprive the plant of life. To destroy some plants was an impious act. The following, out of many instances, will show that such was the high estimation in which many creatures of the vegetable world were held in the ages of idolatry.

The learned Analyst of Ancient Mythology[b] shows from undoubted authorities that the word *sar* is a primeval word signifying eminence and honour. He also shows that *On* is a name signifying the Deity. These words united in *Saron* signify the *God supreme.* Pliny[c] writes that ancient Greece called the oak *saron;* a proof that the tree was the object of religious worship. A certain order of priests were known by the name *saronides,* evidently because they were dedicated to the service of the *saron* or oak. The author of the essay called the Celtic Researches derives the word *druid* from *derw,* an oak, and *gwydd,* a priest.[d] The Druids were therefore, like the Saronides, priests of the oak or ministers in the worship of the tree. It appears, however, that they were of an order different from the Saronides. These were an order not unknown in the ages of ancient Grecian record. Druids were, as Cæsar positively declares,

[b] Bryant, vol. i. p. 90. [c] Plin. lib. iv. c. 5.
[d] Davies' Celtic Researches, sec. ii. p. 139.

of British origin; but that after their first institution in Britain they had extended their influence and authority all over Gaul.[e] The religion of the Gauls and Britons cannot with more propriety be called Druidism than Romanism can be called the religion exclusively of any of the orders of monks. Celticism may be the more appropriate name.

The worship of the oak had, it seems, become obsolete in Greece at the time of the Trojan war. Penelope, the wife of Ulysses, after stating to a stranger who was her husband in disguise, but unknown, and pitying her condition, enquiring of him his family and country, observes:

> Thou art not of the oak once famed, or rock.[f]

The Scholiasts explain: Thou art not of an age so advanced as to have been in former times a worshipper of the oak, or even the amber-stone;—a worship which had been relinquished generally in years not long anterior to the time in which she then spoke. The line of Homer seems to intimate that the worship of the rock had been superseded by the worship of the oak. The verse decides that the oak tree was in certain ages, in Greece as well as Britain, regarded as a god. The following authority will show that certain other trees were objects of worship also.

The Oriental Plane tree is a plant often in warm countries of gigantic growth and of magnificent foliage; circumstances which most probably obtained for it deification. In the eighteenth idyl of Theocritus, the Spartan virgins thus address one of those trees:

> Weaving a garland of the trailing lotos,
> We'll hang it on the plane of spreading shade,
> Then, taking ointment from the silver vase,
> We will anoint the plane of [g] spreading shade,
> And on the back we'll carve, in Doric guise,
> Come, give me worship; Hellen's plant I am.[h]

[e] Cæs. de Bell. Gall. lib. vi. c. 12.
[f] Odyss. T. v. 163. Schol. et Eustath. in loc.
[g] Sic. [h] Theocrit. Idyll. xviii. v. 43.

Thus were plants dedicated to gods, and thus was worship paid to them. The verse also shows that the Hellen of Sparta was a goddess.

This divine character of plants will show why a reward consisting merely of the leaves, the shoots, or the fruits of certain kinds should have been received by the victors in the sacred games of Greece as the greatest blessing and the highest honour that could be conferred, and an ample recompense for the most severe trials of previous preparation and bodily effort. In these games the victor was supposed to owe his success to the special aid and favour of the gods; and the reward, in reality worthless, was a symbol of such aid and favour, by showing that he was a person thus favoured, and consequently entitled to be held in honour and high reverence. This sentiment was extended to his family, his friends, and even to the state to which he belonged. As such the Roman general was crowned with laurel in his triumph: his crown was a promise of divine favour and consequent prosperity to his country. The same sentiment was transferred even to the ordinary actions of common life: the festive reveller was crowned with the ivy of Bacchus, and the happy lover with the myrtle of Venus. Such were the symbolical uses of trees and plants, and thus did they give a figurative meaning to actions in appearance altogether indifferent, and far remote from the offices of religion. The practice of decorating houses, streets, and roads with boughs and garlands on festive occasions may well be supposed to have originated in these uses of plants and flowers: boughs of trees were strawed in the way when the Saviour made public entry into Jerusalem. It were somewhat idle to suppose that a practice so general as to be found in all ages and countries should have originated in chance.

An Indian of the interior of North America, ignorant of the use of letters, supplies the defect by figures of plants and animals drawn rudely on rocks, stones, and trees. These,

from use, are readily understood by the persons of his tribe, so that the European regards with wonder the extent and accuracy of the communication effected by such simple means. The like necessity of the use of similar figures must have obliged Adam and the patriarchs of the early antediluvian world to have recourse to the same practice, and to signify acts of every kind by the figures of plants and animals:—the personification of the evil spirit in the history of the fall proves that they did so:—and thus the figurative or symbolical use of plants and animals may be said to have been nearly coeval, if not with the creation of man, at least with his fall: it was intimately connected with religion in every way: the institutions of the Mosaic Law show that the use of symbols has been ever sanctioned by the Deity.

Whether vegetable or whether animal creatures were first in use were perhaps an idle question: the Indian uses both, as occasion requires; the patriarchs doubtless did the same. Of the two the animal seems to be capable of the most varied expression; but yet, in the symbolical exhibition of the actual presence of the Deity, the tree having been the first temple or supposed abode of the Deity, was most probably first assumed by the idolater as the idol of the Deity. The instances of the worship of vegetable creatures all concur in proof of the position that plants were the creatures first made the idol representing the actual presence of the Deity.

This use of vegetable creatures led, however, directly to the adoption of the animal. The latter being endowed, like the former, not only with vegetable life, but with the added powers of sensation, locomotion, free will, and a degree of intellect seeming in many instances to approach to reason in no low degree of perfection, must have soon been thought a more apt symbol of the divine attributes than an inanimate plant, and would in consequence be soon adopted when men had been somewhat reconciled to the use of the vegetable. Whether the antediluvian world

had advanced thus far in error, and whether the worship of images formed an article in their wicked enormities, may perhaps be doubted; but that they worshipped the Priapic symbol is evident from the anger with which Noah regarded the act of Ham and the supposed assent of Canaan. If the antediluvians rendered divine honours to the parts of animals, there can be little doubt that they worshipped the whole animal; and farther, that they worshipped any animal, and even all animals. It is upon this supposition that some Divines have imagined that the Deity destroyed all flesh by the waters of the deluge, because not only man but "all flesh,"[i] both man and beast, and the creeping things, and the fowls of the air, "had corrupted his way upon the earth." It were difficult to conceive how the animal portion of the creation could have corrupted itself, except by having been made available for the purposes of idolatry. By such worship the evil became enormous, and then the destruction of all flesh was an act perfectly accordant with the divine dispensations,—to subject the whole to one common destruction by which the wicked folly of the worshipper and the inefficiency of the things worshipped was made apparent to all future generations of mankind. It is a remarkable fact that the profane records of all nations and ages are silent on the subject of the general deluge. May this silence be ascribed to the condemnation the deluge denounces on idolatry in every form?

That the figurative use of animals was frequent with the patriarchs may be seen in the blessings pronounced by Israel on his several sons when he lay on his death-bed.[k] The power of the tribe of Judah was figured by a lion's whelp; his dominion by a sceptre; and his affluence by the ass's colt bound unto the vine, and his garments washed in the blood of grapes. Again, Issachar was an ass couching between two burdens; Dan a serpent; Naphtali a hind

[i] Gen. vi. 7, 12. [k] Gen. xlix.

let loose; Joseph a fruitful bough by a well. Such was the mode in which the patriarch signified his solemn and prophetic history of his descendants. It is commonly supposed that the symbols mentioned by their father continued long afterwards to be the ensigns of the several tribes.

The symbolical use of plants and animals was doubtless frequent, and by degrees became general; at length they were combined in the instructive and popular form of the fable. The parable, or rather the fable of Jotham, given in the Book of Judges,[l] is one of the most ancient on record, and it shews that such methods of conveying useful truths are very ancient. The fables of Æsop, or rather the collection of the apologues made by him in the sixth century before the Christian era, are not of his invention, but they are the composition of different sages of different ages and nations. The like may be said of the Hitopadesa of *Vishnucarman*, translated by Sir W. Jones from the *Sanscrit* of the *Sastra*.[m] All of them may be safely presumed to have been allegorical tales, composed as circumstances might invite in the course of a long series of ages. It is not impossible that some of them may have been first used in the family of Adam, being from the want of letters the most effectual means of teaching and recording truths of the greatest importance. The use of figurative objects introduced the use of figurative terms in language which imperfect knowledge rendered necessary. The six days of creation are figurative terms, used to designate a complete period of long duration, possibly the great astronomical year of nearly twenty-five thousand solar years. The day thus understood, the discoveries of the geologist become perfectly reconciled with scripture history. The want of letters must have compelled Adam and the patriarchs to adopt figurative acts and symbolical objects in recording the genealogies of

[l] Judges ix. [m] Jones' Works, vol. 6.

families and many other particulars of early history. When therefore Moses was led by inspiration, or rather, perhaps, by the divine command to reduce into a written narrative the traditions and histories of the generations and times continued from the periods figuratively called the days of the creation, his office often was to interpret figurative expressions, figurative acts, and figurative objects, and commit their purport to language as plain and intelligible as the learning of the time might allow. In the performance of this work it may be presumed that he was greatly aided by the Divine Spirit, which enabled him rightly to understand the figures used, and to transmit faithfully to all succeeding ages a true and correct account of the creation, which is the ground of the obligation by which man is bound to serve and obey his God.

Religious reverence paid to animals was a step in the progress of idolatrous error altogether unauthorized and unexampled. The objects were wholly different from those which had aforetime been regarded as divine: and being thus different, it might seem that former usages could not have led in any manner to this unprecedented and seemingly unaccountable error. Good and evil, virtue and vice, never make progress by sudden and great advances, but have always been regulated by the ordinary operation of cause and effect. Such was the case in the present instance. The idolater was led to worship brute animals by degrees, and by means which, when stated, will shew that this error was nothing more than what may be termed the natural result of antecedent practices, and that the worship of animals was a step easily taken after worship had been paid to creatures endowed with vegetable life.

When king Solomon dedicated the temple, it is recorded that he "offered unto the Lord two and twenty thousand oxen and one hundred and twenty thousand sheep."[n]

[n] 1 Kings x. 63.

It were strange to suppose that such a number of animals were actually slaughtered and burned upon the altar on the occasion: a portion only would be used as the occasion might require, and therefore a large number must have been actually immolated suitable to the solemnity of the dedication, the magnificence of the monarch, and the festive enjoyment of the assembled numbers. The sheep and oxen not required for these purposes would be kept alive ready to supply the demand of the ordinary daily sacrifice, and the sustenance of the administering priesthood. The animals thus reserved having been presented and thereby dedicated to the Lord, had obtained a character somewhat differing from ordinary animals; they had become to a certain degree sacred: they had become the property of the temple and would be committed to the care of proper keepers.

The same causes would be likely to give sacred animals to heathen temples; and profane records shew that such flocks and herds were frequent. The following instance noticed by Plutarch in his life of Lucullus fully explains the purposes for which these flocks and herds were kept, and also the means by which they were first formed and afterwards from time to time supplied. Speaking of the military transactions on the approach of the Roman general to the banks of the Euphrates, the historian describes one of these sacred herds in the following terms: "Cows are kept sacred to the Persian Diana, (Anaitis) whom the barbarians dwelling beyond the Euphrates honour most of all the gods. These cows they use for sacrifice alone. When not required for that purpose, they roam without restraint over the country, branded with a torch, the brandmark of the goddess. To take one of these when required is a task by no means easy or of little trouble."[o] One of these, says the historian, offered herself voluntarily to Lucullus in a manner considered by the soldiers as miraculous, which, together with a bull, the

[o] Plut. in Lucull. p. 507. E.

general sacrificed to the god of the river. Another miracle of the same kind is reported by the same author to have happened while Cyzicus was besieged by the Romans. A black cow kept sacred to Proserpine left the pastures and herd with which she was fed, and swam from the continent to the town, to be offered a sacrifice on the festival of the goddess.[p] The learned author of the treatise on the Laws of the Hebrews contends that these sacred flocks and herds consisted of animals which had been dismissed after the manner of the scape-goat of the Mosaic Law; and he cites the authority of Hesychius, who writes, "the *αφεται* (*aphetai*) are sacred cows set at liberty."[q] There is however this difference between the animals liberated by the heathens and the scape-goat of the Hebrews: the latter was considered as accursed, devoted to evil, and was held in abomination; the former were held in the highest honour, and to offer them any injury was a crime of the greatest magnitude and a sin of the deepest dye.

The practice of maintaining sacred animals was very frequent, especially in the earlier ages of heathenism. Like most other idolatrous superstitions, it is to be found among the Egyptians, with whom in all probability it first originated. On this head Herodotus thus writes: "The Egyptians are very superstitious in regard to things held to be sacred, and especially the animals regarded as such." How animals became sacred he forbears from conscientious reasons to say, but the rule concerning such as are sacred is as follows. "Both men and women are admitted to the office of providing for them food, an honour which the son obtains in succession from his father. All the inhabitants of the cities address to them their prayers, presenting through them their petitions to the god to whom the animal belongs."[r] The practice of appointing attendants to sacred animals appears to have been frequent; it was observed at the palace of Æetes king of

[p] Plut. in Lucull. p. 498. A. [q] Hesych. ad voc. [r] Herodot. lib. ii. c. 65.

Colchis. The Argonautics mention the servants attending on the great bull kept in the courts of the royal residence.[s] As the Colchians were a colony of Egyptians,[t] the duties of these attendants will be perfectly intelligible.

Wherever the practice originated, it was observed in so many places that it seems to have been universal. Lucian, describing the temple of the Syrian goddess near the banks of the Euphrates, speaks of the sacred animals which formed a part of what may be termed the immense establishment. "In the menagerie are kept consecrated to the goddess neat cattle of large size, and horses also, eagles, and bears, and lions. These are perfectly harmless, and are all sacred and tame."[u] He adds, "There is a lake not far from the temple in which are fed sacred fishes in great numbers and of various kinds. Of these, some are of vast size. These have names, and come when called." Spencer[x] cites various authors shewing that the Arabians, previous to their conversion to Islamism, consecrated in like manner female camels, sheep, and goats. Eustathius, in his commentary on Homer,[y] writes concerning sacred animals as follows: "The Grecians used to consecrate whole herds of tame animals to the gods. These it was unlawful for any one to touch. Among them even birds were kept as sacred, such as geese and peacocks, and others of which history makes mention." The geese of the Roman Capitol are well known. With them may be classed, it should seem, the chickens of the Augurs. They probably owed their supposed prophetic powers to their sacred character. Herodotus speaks of the sacred horse of Cyrus drowned in the Gyndes.[z] It was doubtless of the same character as one of those which belonged to the splendid retinue of Xerxes: these were dedi-

[s] Apoll. Rhod. lib. iii. l. 270.
[t] Dionys. Perieg. l. 689.—Herodot. lib. ii.—Diod. Sic. lib. i.
[u] Lucian. de Deâ Syriâ, p. 907, 908.
[x] Spencer. de Leg. Heb. lib. iii. Diss. 8. c. 4, p. 465, vol. 2.
[y] Eustath. in Odyss. xii. l. 128.
[z] Herodot. lib. i. c. 189; lib. vii. c. 55.

cated to the sun, and drew a chariot sacred to Jupiter, the Persian Mithra.[a] The horses and chariot of the sun maintained near the temple by the idolatrous monarchs of Judah[b] were evidently of the same character. That a similar superstition should have been observed by Julius Cæsar may seem surprising, yet Suetonius mentions "the herds of horses which that commander consecrated on his passage of the Rubicon, and which he turned loose and left to roam about without a keeper."[c] The horse turned loose to roam at large for a year before the disciples of the *Sastras* could offer him in the sacrifice called *Aswamheda*[d] was doubtless sacred, but only treated as such so long as he remained within the dominions of the prince to whom he belonged, for which reason it was held that no one could offer this sacrifice except a prince of extensive dominions. The means by which the numbers of these sacred animals are kept up may be seen in the following usage. In some parts of the Indian Peninsula women anxious to become happy mothers make an offering of a bull calf to a temple of the god *Siva*.[e] These animals being considered as sacred, are allowed to roam about without restraint, and are fed very liberally by those whose abodes they approach. From these bulls the farmer breeds his stock. They were serviceable to the same purpose in other parts of the world. The strange obligation by which the Minister of some parishes in England was anciently bound to keep a bull and a boar for the stock of his parishioners may be supposed to have been founded on this custom.

Spencer writes[f] on the authority of Athenæus, that even women were in like manner dedicated at the temples, where they resided rambling about at pleasure, and devoting

[a] Quint. Curt. lib. iii. c. 7.
[b] 2 Kings xxiii. 11.
[c] Suet. in Jul. Cæs. c. 81.
[d] Ramayana, Book i. s. 11, p. 115.
[e] Buchanan's Mysore, c. xi. p. 381.
[f] Spenc. de Leg. Hebræor. lib. iii. c. 4, diss. 8, p. 465.

themselves from religious motives to whoredom. The Egyptian Rhodope built a pyramid by the presents received from her gallants.[g] Laurentia, who saved from drowning Romulus and Remus, was of the same habits and profession as Rhodope. She was called Lupa,[h] not from licentiousness, but because she was devoted to the service of the god Lupus, the same as the Greek god *Λυκος*, Lycus, whom Bryant affirms was the same as *El-Uc*, a personification of the Sun and of the God supreme.[i] According to Lucian every virgin was obliged to devote her maidhood to the Syrian Venus: this was a sacred service which secured ever after the favour and protection of the goddess.[k] What all these women were in ancient times may be seen in the *Bayaderes*, young women belonging to the pagodas of *Hindosthàn* in the modern. A correct account of them is afforded by Bishop Heber.

The Nach Girls of the central provinces of India, or the *Bayaderes*, as they are called in the Peninsula, must be regarded as human animals devoted to the service of the god of the pagodas to which they belong. They are certainly retained upon the principle of reverence to the female or productive power of nature, and in accordance with the pitura of Western Asia, as noticed by Lucian in his account of the Syrian Venus, of which a practical instance appears in the Mosaic Book of Numbers. The amiable Bishop Heber gives the following account of the females above mentioned.[l] "They are all in the service of different temples, for which they are purchased when young, and brought up with a degree of care which is seldom bestowed on the females of India of any other class. This care extends not only to dancing and singing and other allurements of their miserable profession, but to reading and writing. The dress of the southern devotees is lighter than the bundles of red cloth which swaddle

[g] Herodot. lib. ii. c. 134.
[h] Liv. Hist. lib. i. s. 4.
[i] Bryant, vol. i. p. 97.
[k] Lucian. de Deâ Syr. p. 907.
[l] Heber, Trav. chap. xiii. p. 372, 382.

the *figurante* of *Hindosthàn*, and their dancing is said to be more indecent; but their general appearance and manner seemed to be far from immodest, and their air even more respectable than the generality of the lower classes of India. The poor girl whom I saw at Sadras, making allowance for the difference of costume and complexion, might have passed for a smart but modest English maid-servant. The money which they acquire in the practice of their profession is hallowed to their wicked gods, whose ministers are said to turn them out without remorse, or with a very scanty provision, when age or sickness renders them unfit for their occupation. Most of them however die young."

"I have heard," says the Bishop, "that the Bayaderes were regarded with respect among the *Hindùs* as being servants of the gods, and that after a few years' service they often marry respectably." This, however, he says, is doubted, for their name is a common term of reproach among the women of the country. According to the principles and practices of ancient idolatry, the *Bayadera* should not forfeit her respectability by her prostitution.

It can scarcely be doubted that the practice of thus devoting the person, whether man or woman, to any deity, owed its origin to the religious appropriation of brute animals. The antiquity of the practice may be seen in the history of the daughter of Jephthah, given in the book of Judges. It is generally admitted that she was not slain at the altar, but devoted to maidhood for life. She passed her days in the mountains as an anchorite, solitary, but not altogether without attendants suitable to her rank. The vestal virgins at Rome were sacred personages of the same character. With the Celts were women dedicated to the gods. The monks and nuns of the Church of Rome owe the origin of their institutions to the same principle. They are persons set apart for the service of God, and, like the sacred animals, they belong not to this world, which they professedly renounce.

How far monastic institutions may be salutary is a question which does not require an answer in this treatise, but it may be observed that all the benefits arising from this dedication of either animals or men, might under proper regulations have been obtained without them.

Homer, in the eleventh and twelfth books of his Odyssey, describes the flocks and herds kept in Sicily sacred to the sun. His verse affords a just conception of the veneration in which these animals were held.

The goddess Circe, giving directions to Ulysses concerning his voyage, speaks as follows:—

> You touch at Sicily, where numerous feed
> Sacred to Sun, vast bulls and fairest sheep:
> Seven herds of those, seven the flocks of these:
> Fifty are found in each. They never breed,
> And yet they never fail. On them attend
> Beings of heavenly birth, nymphs fair of hair,
> Lampetie and Phaëthusa, erst
> Born of Neæra to the father Sun.[m]

Of these two nymphs, who, though called daughters, were probably maidens devoted to the god, the author of the Argonautics says, the younger, Phaëthusa, took the tendance of the sheep, Lampetie of the oxen.[n] He adds also that the latter were perfectly white, a quality which the Egyptians deemed necessary in the oxen of sacrifice; that they had gilded horns, a decoration commonly bestowed on things held sacred.

Circe proceeds thus to admonish Ulysses:—

> If these you pass and harm not, ye shall come
> At length to Ithaca, through many toils.
> But if you harm them, then must I forebode
> Harm to your ship and mates. In evil plight,
> Though you shall scape, yet late shall you see home,
> All the companions of your wanderings lost.[o]

[m] Odyss. M. v. 127. [n] Apoll. Rhod. lib. iv. l. 971.
[o] Odyss. M. l. 137.

To these evils, Tiresias, in the preceding Odyssey,[p] had added that should either the hero or his companions commit outrage on these cattle he should wander long, solitary, and miserable, and on his arrival at Ithaca, find his house full of suitors to his wife, wasting his goods, and not to be expelled without the utmost danger to himself. Some of the crew of the ship of the hero, under the pressure of extreme hunger, did slaughter one of the sacred herd in his absence: the consequences were as had been announced, Ulysses was shipwrecked, his companions perished, and he did at length reach his home, but in poverty and unknown. He recovered his rights, but not till after he had encountered many difficulties and dangers. Ovid[q] gives to the fields where these cattle were fed the name of Melas; and the Scholiast[r] of the Argonautics says it was a peninsular promontory of Sicily. To these facts, which speak plainly concerning the great extent of the practice of keeping sacred animals, some few more may be noticed, serving to shew the justness of the inference that it was once general.

The cleansing of the stables of Augeas, one of the celebrated fabulous or mythological labours of Hercules, may reasonably be conjectured to signify some act of the sect or worshippers of Hercules, by which the religion or mode of idolatrous worship maintained by the king of Elis was overturned or changed, and the sacred bulls maintained by him driven away or destroyed, but not till he had completely vanquished him in a serious war, as is plainly intimated[s] by the poet of the Olympics, and asserted by the scholiast. Theocritus,[t] describing the herds of Augeas, speaks of twelve bulls that were sacred. That they were of the same character as other sacred animals may be inferred from the circumstance noticed by him, that they were "white as swans." Of

[p] Odyss. Λ. l. 114. [q] Ovid. Fast. lib. iv. l. 476.
[r] Schol. in Apoll. Rhod. lib. iv. l. 965.
[s] Pind. Ol. x. l. 30, et Schol. 39. [t] Theocrit. Idyl. xxv. l. 121.

the bulls of the Druids enough has been already said. Of those of Geryon, the three-headed or three-bodied king or god, some notices may be illustrative of the present subject.

Hesiod writes, that this personage was the son of Chrysaor, according to some authorities the Vulcan, according to others the Apollo, or Sun of antiquity, by the nymph Callirhoe, a daughter of Ocean.[w] He was therefore of the race of Neptune, or the aqueous principle, to whom the bull was sacred. Detailing the history of this Geryon, the Theogonist thus proceeds:

> Him at his oxen mighty Hercules slew
> In Erytheia girt around by sea,
> What time he drove those oxen broad of front
> To sacred Tiryns, crossing Ocean's wave;
> Herdsman Eurytion, Orthos too, he slew
> In the dark cave beyond the sea renowned.

It appears from the legend of Cacus given in the eighth Æneid,[x] that Hercules drove these oxen to Greece through Italy, and that by destroying Cacus, who had stolen four of them, he abolished the Celtic religion prevalent in that country, and the cruel sacrifices which constituted a portion of its rites.

Such is the legend of Geryon. Its obscurity has occasioned much perplexity, first to the geographer attempting to ascertain the place Erytheia, and next to the mythologists anxious to explain the character of Geryon. The following may be regarded as a fair result arising from the various evidences and arguments connected with the subject. Erytheia certainly was, according to Hesiod, an island, and as various evidences shew,[y] the seat of the worship of Geryon, a personification as it may seem, like the celebrated Triad of the *Sastras*, of the God supreme. His three heads or bodies, like the trident of Neptune, indicated a power or

[w] Hesiod. Theog. l. 289.

[x] Æneid. viii. 185, & Æneid. vii. 661, et not. Servii ad l. 662.

[y] Virg. ut supra. Dionysius Perieg. l. 558, et not. Eustath.

dominion over air, water, and earth; and the sacred oxen kept in herds about his temple confirm this opinion. The difficulty of ascertaining the scite of the isle in which he was worshipped is increased by the mention made of the Macrobii by Dionysius Periegetes, and that the isle lay "beyond old Ocean's wave."[z] The sacred oxen kept in this isle were borne away and the worship of Geryon abolished, or in mythological language, the god was slain, by the Tyrian or Phœnician Hercules. The epithet *girt around by sea* tells that Erytheia was an island. The ancient authorities place it near the coast of Spain. No such however is near that coast, and the phrase signifying that it was only accessible by crossing Ocean's wave tells that it was distant from the coast of Spain, or rather the European continent. These circumstances suggest the supposition that Erytheia was Ireland; for Ireland was peopled by tribes of the Celtic race, using the Celtic rites of worship. Milesian and other colonies from the east were settled there, and the voyage thither was consequently familiar to the Phœnicians. The theft of an idol and of a herd was regarded as an event most triumphant. So also was the theft of the oxen of Apollo, committed, according to fabulous or mythological history, by Mercury:[a] it was regarded as a proof that the god was unable to retain and protect the sacred animals which were the honoured accompaniments of his temple and worship.

Such were the usages of the early ages of antiquity. The wonderful permanence of established customs maintained by the *Hindùs* exhibits the practice unchanged to modern times. Bishop Heber speaks of these sacred animals in the following terms.[b]

"The sacred bulls devoted to *Siva*, of every age, tame and familiar as mastiffs, walk lazily up and down these

[z] Eustath. not. ad 558. Dionys. Perieg.

[a] Homer. Hymn. in Merc. v. 119.

[b] Heber. Trav. vol. i. chap. xiii. p. 372, 382.

narrow streets, (in Benares) or are seen lying across them hardly to be kicked up; any blows indeed given them must be of the gentlest kind, or woe be to the profane wretch who braves the prejudices of this fanatic population in order to make way for the tonjon (a two-wheeled carriage). Monkeys sacred to *Hanumàn*, the divine ape that conquered Ceylon for *Rama*, are in some parts of the town equally numerous, clinging to all the roofs and little projections of the temples, putting their impertinent heads and hands into every fruiterer's and confectioner's shop, and fetching the food from the children at their meals. The court of a celebrated temple in the same city, small as it is, is crowded like a farm-yard with very fat and very tame bulls, which thrust their noses into everybody's hand and pocket, for grain and sweet-meats, which their fellow votaries the *Hindùs* give them in great quantities." Speaking of *Mathura* or Muttra in the province of Agra, the fabled birth-place of the god *Crishna*, he observes,[c] "In consequence of that legend it swarms with paraquets, peacocks, Brahmeny bulls, and monkeys, which last are seen sitting on the tops of houses and running along the walls and roofs like cats. They are very troublesome, and admitted to be so by the *Hindùs* themselves, but so much respected that a few years since two young officers who shot at one near *Bindrabund* were driven into the Jumna by a mob of Brahmens and devotees, where they perished." It is to be observed that the paraquet called the lory, is the *vahana* or bird that bears on its back *Cama* the Indian Cupid, and is on that account sacred to the god. The peacock bears *Carticeya*, the god of war.

The step which led the keepers of these venerated assemblages of sacred animals to the direct worship of them was short and easy. It has been seen that in some instances the animal had been honoured with religious rites to obtain its advocacy, imagined to be very powerful with the god whom

[c] Heber. Trav. vol. ii. chap. xx. p. 328.

he figuratively represented: the animal was believed to have the same influence as the Romanist maintains that his patron saint has with God. Rendering such worship to the animal, the idolater in fact made it his god, at first figuratively, and soon in reality, for when the prayer is addressed to the mediator without any reference to an ulterior person, the reverence paid places the mediator on the throne of god, and makes him god. By process such as this the idolater converted the animal into a god, and in consequence it obtained place in the temple held to be the place of the divine abode: it was lodged in the *secos*, the sacred recess, the holy of holies, and lived the object of awe and adoration. The records of profane history now extant do not serve to shew that all nations entered thus far into the mazes of error. That the Egyptians did is well known, and the grossness of the practice called forth all the energies of the first advocates of the Gospel for its suppression.

Clement of Alexandria, a christian advocate of the third century, writes of these animal gods and the temples of Egypt in the following terms.[d] "The walls shine with gold, silver, and amber, they sparkle with the various gems of India and Ethiopia: the recesses are made secret by splendid curtains, but if you enter the penetralia and enquire for the image of the god for whose sake the fane was built, one of the Pastophori or attendants that officiate at the temple, assuming an aspect of reverence, and chanting a hymn in the Egyptian language, drawing the veiling curtain a little aside as if to shew a real god, exhibits a ridiculous display of the deity; instead of a god, to see whom we had taken so much trouble, there is nothing but a cat, a crocodile, or a snake of the country, or some other beast utterly unworthy of a temple, but fitter for a cave, a dungeon, or common sewer. The god of the Egyptians is a beast wallowing on a carpet and under a purple cover."

[d] Clem. Alexand. Pædag. lib. iii. c. 2.

Origen in his tenth book against Celsus writes, that his adversary admires a proposition of the Christians, that the Egyptian spirit by their ignorance exhibitions the external perfections of God; and do not, as many persons suppose, render honour to senseless creatures as dogs and goats, and other like animals. It is very certain that all the objects of the heathen worship had a reference to truths chiefly relating to the soul's nature and the attributes of the Deity: a fact which affords some colour to the practice: but their ignorant priests worship'd mankind or animals. Just as St. Paul says concerning the worship of the creature more than the Creator, and that it was which rendered religion subservient to vice and sin. Thus as the Athanasian adversary says, concerning a passage immediately following that cited above, which the Romanists of the Church applies to the present times, as also to the acts of cruelty practised in that church, advancing often to murder, sometimes voluntary, sometimes involuntary, clearly shews.

The notices of the symbolical uses of animals already taken might sufficiently serve the purposes of the present treatise, in shewing why the forms of brute animals were taken to represent and exhibit things divine, were it not that the parts of different animals were often compounded into a single one, forming what has often been called abominable monsters, but containing, as the heathen advocate Celsus shrewdly remarks, a few observations in the symbolical manner of what were called sacred animals will shew the extent to which the use or rather abuse of symbols may be carried, and how it led to the adoration of monstrosity, the exhibition of God in the form of man.

Of all symbolical animals the bull was the representative of the Egyptian god Osiris, as the most known and esteemed. Strabo describes the animal and the manner in which he was worshipped, as follows: "Memphis is a temple where he

Origen contra Cels. lib. iv. p. 154. Strab. lib. xvii. p. 806.

is maintained within an enclosure, and where he is regarded as a god. His forehead and some other small parts of the body are white, the remainder black; signs by which, when one dies, they judge of a proper successor. In front of the enclosure is a hall, and another in which the dam is maintained. Into this hall Apis is sometimes let out, especially when shewn to strangers; at other times he is seen through a window, as they rather desire that he should be seen from without. After a short recreation they drive him back into his proper abode." Again: "the Momemphites worship Venus, and maintain a cow in the same manner as is Apis at Memphis and the bull Mnevis at Heliopolis, for these are held to be gods in those districts. Such as are maintained in other places, for many oxen both male and female are kept both within the Delta and beyond it, are not regarded as gods, but only as sacred animals."[g]

It is well known that Osiris was a personification of the male or generative power of Nature: and therefore the bull was either a personification of the god, in which case he was a god, or if not a personification, he was only a sacred symbol. In the one or the other of these characters the animal was regarded by many nations. He was the symbol of *Mithra* the great god of the Persians. Under the name of *Baswi* or *Nanda* he was the *vahana* or vehicle of the great god *Siva* of the *Hindùs;* that is, he was the symbol of the active power of the god. In Greece, the bull of Marathon was once of great celebrity. In Italy and the west he was held in the highest reverence.[h] To that country it may be affirmed that he gave the name; a question which, being connected with the extent of the worship of the bull, may deserve some attention.

Virgil,[i] and some Greek authorities of an earlier age, affirm, that Italy obtained its name from *Italus* a king of

[g] Strab. lib. xvii. p. 803. C.

[h] Hygin. Fab. xxxviii.

[i] Æneis, lib. i. 537, et Serv. not.

Sicily or rather a chief of the Sicani, a Sicilian tribe settled in the southern part of the Peninsula nearest the island from whence they came. Other authorities of later ages than the Mantuan poet, state that the name was taken from the Greek word ιταλος, *italus*, which in the ancient language of that country signified a *bull*, whence the Latin word *vitulus*, a calf.[k] These latter authorities say that the country was so called because of the fertility of the pastures, on which large herds of oxen were fed. Of these different statements it may be observed that the first deserves little credit, neither does Virgil regard it as such; he says that his statement is founded merely on *fama*, common report, seemingly admitting that he did not believe the report to rest on any good authority. Others affirm that the name Italia was given because the rich pasturage of the country gave it a claim to the name. This reason however is not of much weight: for Italy, especially Southern Italy, is not by any means eminent for the fertility of its pastures. Another and better reason for the name may be found in the religion of the ancient inhabitants of the country, who held the bull in highest reverence, and, like many other nations, made the animal an object of their idolatrous worship.

That the early inhabitants of Italy were a Celtic race has been shewn by a variety of authorities, and especially by the evidences adduced by Sir W. Betham, who proves that the Etruscans spoke the language of the Irish, nearly the same as the Welch. It is evident from Welch archæology that the Welch regarded the bull as a sacred animal; and the same may be inferred of the Etruscans and Irish also. Evidences to the same effect may be gathered from Italy itself. The Cacus of the eighth Æneis was a Celt, and his bold theft of stealing four of the oxen driven away from the fields of Geryon by the victorious Hercules is significant not only

[k] Varr. Fragm. p. 212. Aul. Gell. lib. xxxi. c. 1. Hesych. ad voc. Ιταλος.

of his desire to possess such animals, but from a spirit of retaliation which urged the giant to recover some of the spoil which the Tyrian had insultingly taken from a god of the same system or pantheon as that which Cacus and the Cyclopes received.

The name *italos*, given to the bull by the Ausonian Celt, shews the high reverence in which the animal was held. After the proofs given in the Etruria Celtica that the Erse of Ireland was the language of Tuscany, it may be safely averred that the word *italos* is a Celtic compound. *It*, in the Welch, is the pronoun demonstrative, and *tal* is an adjective signifying *towering* or *eminent*, whence *italos* is a name that denotes the *great one*, a title likely to have been given to an animal the symbol of the great generative principle in Nature. If the *a* in *tal* be pronounced broad, it becomes *tol*, and with the addition of the Latin termination, *tolus*, the name of the person[1] whose bleeding head is said to have been discovered when Tarquin laid the foundation of the temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline hill. That a head should have been found is an event in full accordance with the usages of ancient idolatry: the Buddhists of the present day always cover within their sacred mounds some symbol of the god to which they are dedicated, and therefore some such was most probably found in the barrow raised on the Capitoline hill. That it was a bleeding head requires no refutation; it may justly be classed with those unauthentic traditions which supplied the materials of the history of the first centuries after the foundation of Rome: that it was a human head is equally improbable. The head of an *italus* or bull was in such accordance with the known practice of idolatry as to leave little room for doubt that the head of Tolus was the head of a bull. There is no record shewing that a man or a god bearing the name of Tolus ever lived; the existence of any such person must be admitted to be altogether

[1] Dionys. Halic. Antiq. Rom. lib. iv. p. 257.

imaginary: but the authorities noticing the Talus, or Tolus, the mighty symbolical bull, are decisive. The word *italus* or *itolus*, with the Celtic *cap*, signifying a covering for the head, prefixed, becomes the word Capitol, and shews that it signifies that a mound had been raised on the hill as a covering of the head of the sacred Italus, the bull, the symbolical representation or idol of the first and greatest of the gods.

There has been occasion repeatedly to observe that the religion of the Celts, commonly, but erroneously called Druidism, migrated westwardly, or rather was extended westwardly, from the provinces of the east, where it prevailed before it was superseded by new and more complicated forms of idolatry. It had prevailed in Greece, and had been there superseded; but it subsisted in Italy in ages somewhat later than in Greece, and in ages still more late in Britain. In the Celtic system of idolatry a personage of the highest eminence is designated by the name of *Hu-gadarn*,[m] which signifies the *Mighty Pervader*, the active spirit that gives life to every animated creature. *Beli* is another name given him, but referring chiefly to the spirit supposed to abide in the sun: thus he is the same as the Egyptian Osiris, a personification of the God supreme. According to the Triads, the oxen of *Hu* drew the *Avanc* or Beaver out of the waters of the sacred lake. The author of the Treatise on the Rites of the Druids, misled by the theories of the mythologist Bryant, supposes this fable to intend the elevation of the dry land above the waters of the general deluge. The land was not drawn out of the water at the deluge, but it was raised by the agency of the Divine power at the creation above the primal ocean, which covered the earth beneath. This Celtic fable signifies that the beaver, a creature almost amphibious, was the symbol of the world, and the oxen the symbolical agents of *Hu*, the great author of the creation. Such was the import of the ox

[m] Davies' Rites of Druids, sect. 2.

or bull in the Celtic legends, and such a character attached to the animal might well entitle him to the highest meed of religious reverence. *Italus*, the bull, with the addition of *aia*,[n] meaning *country*, may be presumed to have given the name of *Italia* to that portion of the earth which under the empire of Rome became the seat of rule and centre of civilization to all the world. Thus does it appear that the symbolical use of the bull did, during certain periods, prevail from the bay of Bengal in the east, to the remote regions of Britain in the west.

The Egyptian records shew that the male sheep, the ram, was, with some sects, the most approved symbol of the Divine power, as was the bull with others. The animals were, however, the symbols adopted by distinct and opposite sects. The votaries of the ram were the advocates of the male, or igneous principle in Nature; the votaries of the bull were the advocates of the female, or aqueous. It has been shewn that votaries of the ram commonly distinguished by the title of *Amun*, or Ammon, after ruling in Egypt during several generations, were at length overthrown and driven from the country by their opponents, who reestablished their own form of religion and modes of worship. The expulsion of the sect of the ram did abolish altogether the use of the symbol which often appeared in the figurative histories of the Egyptian temples. But the worship of the animal did not subsist in Egypt lower down the Nile than the Thebaid;[o] but Iarbas, king of Gætulia,[p] maintained continual fires and honoured the ram in one hundred temples within his dominions, which extended over a great portion of Northern Africa. The fame of the Jupiter Ammon is familiar to every mythologist. In the temples of the Libyan oases he was absolutely worshipped in the animal ram. Other instances shew that the same symbol was used in several

[n] Odyss. Λ. v. 300.—Iliad. Γ. v. 243. [o] Herodot. lib. ii. c. 42.
[p] Æneis, iv. v. 199, et Serv. not.

other countries, as would appear from the history of the Golden Fleece of Colchos. In India *Agni*, the god of fire, is often exhibited riding upon a ram. Thus extensive was the use of this animal symbol.

The instances of the symbolical use of animals already cited might have been sufficiently illustrative of the principles on which it rested, had the symbols been restrained to the use of the bull or the ram; but the heathen theologues, desirous of exhibiting with greater accuracy other powers or functions of the God supreme, not only adopted a variety of other animals in their simple and natural shape for the expression of their theological and philosophical opinions or conceits, but they combined into the same idol, either by sculpture or painting, several parts of different animals into one body, thus producing a form altogether imaginary, which may be called a *compound idol*. To render such imaginary combinations intelligible, it becomes necessary to notice and explain the symbolical import of some other animals than the two already noticed. The enquiry will shew that this symbolical use of animals was arbitrary in the choice and unlimited in the application: it will also shew by what advances the votaries of idolatry at length produced the image of Jupiter and its symbolical adornments as exhibited in the temple at Olympia.

The earlier *avataras* of the *Sastra* claim precedency in the use of symbols, for the three first of those figurative theories relate to events or facts differing little from the symbolical pillar of earlier use. The first or *Matsya avatara* is a figurative or fabulous account of the new creation of the world after one of the *pralayas* or destructions as taught in the *Sastra*. A particular exposition of the moral of this fable would be found to confirm the doctrines of modern theology. It will be sufficient to observe that the first represents the power by whose agency the earth was raised above the waters at the creation. The sanctity of fishes, and

the forms of idols seen in other countries, shew that the symbol was known in places widely distant, which affords the assurance that the symbol of the fish was of very ancient as well as extensive use.

The extraordinary strength of the shell of the *Courma*, the Land Tortoise, renders it a fit symbol of power to sustain great weights; and therefore the animal was taken to represent figuratively, not the pillar supporting the earth, but the foundation or basis on which the pillar stands. Images of Venus resting one foot on a tortoise are well known symbols noticed in the records of western mythology. They, like the *Courma avatara*, represent the female and productive earth supported by a power firm and indestructible as is the shell of the tortoise. The same may be said of *Varaha avatara* or that of the boar. This animal is proverbially firm, even to obstinacy, and indicative of a total aversion to change. As such he is an apt symbol of the divine purpose of giving stability to the earth. This fable, like the others now noticed, was not unknown in the regions westward of India. Adonis slain by a Boar is a fable signifying the generative power of Nature rendered inert in the winter season by the changed position of the earth wrought by the boar, whereby it is deprived of the genial heat prevalent in the other seasons.

Of the animals noticed with such indignation by Clement of Alexandria, who had abundant opportunities of witnessing the idols of which he speaks, the cat is sacred to Bubastis, a goddess according with the Grecian Diana, and therefore the Regent of the moon. The reasons why this animal should have been made the symbol of the goddess are thus stated by Plutarch:[q] "They (the Egyptians) represent the moon by a cat, because of her varied colour, because she prowls by night, and because of her prolification: for she is said to bear first one kitten, then two, three, four, five, and

[q] Plut. de Isid. p. 376. D.

so on to seven, all amounting to twenty-eight, which is the number of the days of each moon." The following however, says the philosopher, is somewhat more suitable to the language of fable. The pupils of the eyes appear to be broader and more full at the full moon, and to become more weak and languid during the decrease. By the resemblance also of the visage of the cat to the human face is exhibited the intellectual and rational principle by which the changes of the moon are regulated. Such are the grounds of the observances of idolatry!

There seems to have been as many sects in Egypt as there are in England, although it is a country professing the Christian faith. This appeared in the different opinions entertained of the crocodile. Some sects held the animal in utter abhorrence, affirming that Typhon the god of evil and destruction entered into and informed the beast,[r] and in accordance with this opinion whole cities held themselves bound to undertake the destruction of crocodiles at stated times of the year. Others on the contrary regard the crocodile as a symbol of the airy and moist medium in which they imagined the sun to move,[s] and therefore they represented the great luminary sitting in a kind of boat placed on the back of a crocodile, an emblematic figure admitted into the *Hindù* mythology,[t] in which *Varuna* the Regent of the waters is exhibited kneeling on the back of a sea monster, a proof of the extensive use of these symbols. "The crocodiles kept in the temples are fed with great regularity; some are tame and live in pools or lakes. All are regularly fed, and the attendant priests divine from the manner in which the food is taken; an eager acceptance is indicative of good, indifference or refusal is held to be a sign of evil fortune."[u] Whatever be the esteem in which this animal is held, he

[r] Plut. de Isid. p. 371. D. [s] Euseb. Ev. Præp. lib. iii. c. 11, 115.
[t] As. Res. vol. i.
[u] Strab. lib. xvii. p. 811. D.—Ælian. de Animal. lib. viii. c. 4.

seems to have been regarded as a symbol of the destructive power of Nature, like the god *Siva* of *Hindosthàn*, and, as in that country, to have been worshipped by some, outraged by others, but feared by all.

In all the books of our sacred scriptures the serpent is mentioned as a personification of the evil spirit. Far different is the light in which the animal is regarded in the profane writings. The old Phœnician mythologist Sanchoniatho recites the qualities of the serpent in the following terms.[x] "Of all creeping creatures it abounds most in spirit and fire. Through its spirit it exhibits a swiftness unequalled in its kind, without feet and hands, or any other organs by which other animals perform their movements. It exhibits a variety of symbolical facts. Its progressive motions are of a spiral form, and made with great velocity at will. It is an animal that lives for a very long time, assuming not only fresh youth by casting off old age, but acquiring at each renovation a size greater than any former. When it has attained to the fulness of the destined period of its life, it is, as Taaut has observed, received into itself, for which reason this animal has been admitted both into the temples and the mysteries."

Reasons such as these recited by the old mythologist, and taken from authorities of ages still older than himself, afford the assurance that the serpent has been used as a sacred symbol from the earliest ages, and that the imports of the symbol have been very numerous also. From the supposed extreme length of his life the animal has been taken as the symbol of eternity, and also as significant of long life; for this reason the basilisc[y] or royal serpent adorns the heads of Egyptian monarchs and *Hindù* gods. His coiled folds signify successions of ages; and when the tail is hid in the folds he exhibits

[x] Euseb. Ev. Præp. lib. i. c. 10; p. 41.

[y] Etymol. Magn. ad voc. βασιλισκος. Belzoni, plate.

unfathomable antiquity.[z] When forming a circle, the tail in the mouth, he is the symbol of the ενιαυτος, *eniautos*, the period returning into itself, the year renewing at each termination a course in all respects the same.[a] In this circular form the symbol is not unfrequently borne in the hand of Saturn, the *Prydain* of the Celts, and the personification of Time. The energy of the vitality of the creature has made him a symbol of the *anima mundi*, the soul of the world, and of the generative principle: as such, a figure of a serpent is engraved in the socket of the *linga* called the *throne* in the Museum at the India House in London. The *linga* is the *crux ansata* held in hand by several of the gods of Egypt.

These various characteristics of the serpent may be presumed to have rendered him the animal deity entertained in other temples than those of Egypt. The apocryphal history of Bel and the Dragon shews that the living animal was kept in the temple of Babylon. The Grecian fables tell that he was entertained under the name of Python in the sacred recesses of Mount Parnassus. There can be little room for doubt that the living serpent was maintained in the Dracontia of the Celts, and that *Nidhoger*, the serpent of the Scandinavians, was kept as a god by the Scalds.

The travellers who enter the pyramids, the tombs, and the catacombs of Egypt, find that these animal gods were not only worshipped while living, but treated with every honour that could be devised at their death: they were embalmed with all skill,—were deposited in *soroi* or cells of stone, with every testimony of honour and reverence most expressive of piety and devotion. The ibis, the ichneumon, the sorex or shrew mouse, as well as the crocodile and the cat, were all embalmed, and lodged in crowded heaps in the catacombs, so as to excite astonishment, the utmost astonishment, in every visitor. They also excite abhorrence.

[z] Horapoll. lib. i. c. 1. [a] Moor, Hind. Panth. plate 8.

The choaking dust and the offensive effluvia arising from the disturbed masses of these embalmed bodies prove that they must perish. They shew the folly of the attempt to perpetuate the remains of a departed animal. The Egyptians however did make the idle attempt, and for the same reasons, it may be presumed, as those which induced them to embalm the bodies of departed friends and relatives: they may be presumed to have been confident that when the world after having been destroyed shall be renewed, and the course of events return the same as before them, the embalmed gods shall again be found in their former temples, and mindful of the worship paid in the former world, they will be disposed again to favour their faithful votaries in the new one.

The adoption of animal and vegetable creatures as symbols of the Deity was a step in the progress of error far more injurious to the worship of the true God than the reverence paid to the high place, the tower, and the pillar: it taught that every animal partook of a character which might be called divine, and thus it advanced or rather elevated the animal more near to the rank of the Creator, but it also lowered the character of the Deity to a level more near that of the animal, and prepared the mind to admit the notion that God might not only be aptly represented under the form of a man, but farther, that the Deity was in truth a being differing only from the human race by the endowment of the most perfect form, of powers of almost unlimited extent, and, above all, of a life exempt from decay and death,—in short, the use of creature symbols pressed to conviction the assurance that gods were none other than human beings of the highest imaginable perfection and eminence. The Egyptian theologues seem to have been aware of this consequence, and to have endeavoured to avoid it; for although various animals were maintained in the temples of Egypt and worshipped as gods, and the form of man

was often introduced into their compound idols, yet they never placed a human person in the *secos* or most sacred place of their temples. Even the gigantic Memnon was not a god; was never admitted into the *secos*, but always held his place in the avenues of the temple, the mighty symbol, like the pillar or obelisk, of the firmness of the Deity. The human person was never advisedly made the adored image of God, till in ages comparatively late the exhibition was seen in the person of the Grand Lama of Thibet, in imitation, it is presumed, of the Indian ascetic who, adopting the doctrine of the *Sastra* that voluntary sufferings of the person and mystic abstraction of the mind render man a god, assumed the character of Buddha. Beside these fanatics, no instance occurs of such audacious wickedness. The heat of Protestant animosity has sometimes charged the Pope, the Bishop of Rome, with such extreme impiety, but, it is hoped, without sufficient cause. The time however will come when the continued corruptions of the Christian religion shall produce the Man of Sin, the Son of Perdition; when it shall be said that he "as God sitteth in the temple of God shewing himself that he is God."[b] But that time has not yet been; except as above, idolaters have never approached to such extreme of blasphemous daring.

The arts of the statuary appear to have been first exercised in the formation of animal idol forms; of which the earliest instance on record is the formation of the molten calf made by Aaron for the Israelites,—an imitation of the sacred bull of the Egyptians. The circumstances attending this transaction suggest the idea that this calf, as it is called, must have been a figure sufficiently rude, resembling the animal in little else than a flattened form. Whether Egyptian artists were at the age of the exodus competent to the production of the cast of an animal in proper relief does not appear: the work of Aaron was perhaps little

[b] 2 Thess. ii. 4.

else than an imitation in metal of the paintings on the walls of the temples of Egypt, which were imitations of the picture writings of the patriarchal ages before the invention of letters. Whatever may have been the state of the arts at the time of the exodus, the present sculptured figures of Egypt shew that in due time artists were found who gave the just forms to the animal images. Nor was this art confined to Egypt: the elephant and the bull now seen in front of the cave temples in India shew the extent of the exercise of the art of sculpture, and of the worship of animals symbolical of divine powers, and even of the gods themselves.

The unlettered patriarch, when about to express his sentiments in figure writing, would have occasion to exhibit the forms of animals in close position—to exhibit different kinds of animals in the same scene. This juxtaposition of two animals must have led to the combination of the two into one. A sketch intended to represent the swift flight of the eagle with the strength of the bull or the wisdom of the serpent, would signify the sentiment by the union of the animals in one body. It would be found convenient to affix the wings of the eagle to the body of the other animal, the bull or the serpent; this done, the purport of the figure would be as intelligible as when the two animals were both exhibited on the same plane. Hence the disciple of Zoroaster gave wings to the images of his symbolical bull—the Egyptian mystagogue a human head to the lion of the sphinx—the Cretan Minos a human head to the body of a bull—and the sect of the Minotaurs the body of a man to the quadrupedal body of the horse. These and similar combinations were never supposed to exist in reality, but yet were well calculated to convey useful information, and often to record valuable and important knowledge. This practice, first adopted, as it may be imagined, for many of the purposes of common life, was

peculiarly applicable to religious subjects; and having, as may be supposed, been used to express doctrinal opinions in religion, was by an easy progress taken to signify the gods themselves. The gods had doubtless been previously represented by the pictured forms of the sacred animal in which they had been worshipped; compound forms were more amply expressive; they were exhibited in the temples, they were worshipped, they became compound idols.

The philosopher Porphyry, anxious to exalt the Egyptian priesthood in opposition to the Christians, offers the following vindication of the reverence shewn by them to animal idols both simple and compound. "Advancing from investigations of this kind and from such an intimate acquaintance with the divine nature, they (the priests) discovered that the Divine Spirit did not pervade man alone; and that the immortal soul while on earth did not abide exclusively in the human animal, but pervaded all animals. Wherefore in fashioning the idols of the gods they made use of the form of every animal: and in some instances they blended together brute creatures and man; in others the body of a bird and of a man. Examples occur among them of idols bearing a human shape up to the neck, having the visage of a bird, or a lion, or of some other animal. On the contrary again, the head is human, while the rest of the parts, whether the upper or the lower, are after some manner composed of the parts of other animals. By these means they intimate that by the will of the gods even such incongruities have a mutual connexion and are nourished together within us, and that the savage nature of wild beasts within us becomes not tame without the operation in some way of the divine will."[c]

This statement given by the Tyrian philosopher shews that the Calvinistic doctrine of irresistible grace was a tenet of the idolatrous priesthood of Egypt, and that animal and

[c] Porphyr. De Abstin. lib. iv. c. 9. Euseb. Ev. Præp. lib. iii. c. i.

even brutal passions were inherent not only in man but in gods. What those passions or propensities may be will in most cases be readily understood by reference to the instances stated as above, as also by others about to be adduced. These however will be few, being no more than such as may serve to shew the wide extent of the use of compound idols; in some of which the introduction of parts of the human body, particularly the head, led by degrees to the use of the simple idol in the human form entire.

If the worship of animals was practised before the Deluge, which, if not quite certain, is at least highly probable, there can be little doubt that compound idols were then worshipped also, for picture writing, which led to the use of the one, would lead to the other also. The early use of compound idols in the postdiluvian world may be inferred from the figures called cherubim placed by the ark of the tabernacle of Israel. It appears from the Book of Exodus, but more particularly from the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel, that these figures had the likeness of a man as to their upright stature; that their feet were formed like those of oxen; each had four wings; two extended over the ark, and two covering their persons. They had hands under their wings. Each cherub had four heads: the head of a man and of a lion on their right side, the head of an ox and an eagle on the left. Many of the institutions of the Mosaic Law were framed with a reference to the institutions of the heathen; whence it is inferred that compound idols were then of common use when the Deity directed and commanded the construction of the cherubim.

Spencer in his learned Dissertation on the Laws of the Hebrews[d] shews that these compound figures were mystic and symbolical figures of near resemblance to the like figures used by the Egyptians, but that instead of representing gods, they were figurative representations of angels, the

[d] Spencer, lib. iii. c. 4, s. 4.

ministering spirits of the Deity: an import plainly signified by the postures in which they were placed. It is not necessary to enter into a full disquisition of the symbolical import of every part of these figures. The following is the import of the four heads. "By the lion," says the learned author, "is signified the strength, the generosity, and the majesty of the angels of God, ever terrible to his enemies. By the head of the ox is signified their patience, firmness, and assiduity in the performance of the offices required of them by God. By the head of the man, humanity, gentleness, and benevolence; by the eagle, the vigour of their divine nature, their activity, and wide extending agency."[e] Such is the interpretation offered by the learned author. It is obvious that this exposition might be much farther extended, for the fancies of symbolists are not easily restrainable within almost any limits.

Ancient authorities now extant shew that the parts of the human person were of late introduction into compound idol forms. The compound idol Chimæra was of greater antiquity than those Egyptian idols which gave occasion for the introduction of the cherubim into the most sacred recess of the tabernacle of the Israelites. The discrepancy of the several accounts of this idol seems to intimate that there were many such idols. The tradition that this idol breathed fire intimates too plainly that it was worshipped by cruel sacrifices until it was overthrown by the hero Bellerophon, and the figure buried in the sands of the Lycian river Xanthus, where it has lain for more perhaps than three thousand years. Some authorities state that the Chimæra was nothing else than a volcanic mountain inhabited at different heights by lions, goats, and serpents: such are the absurdities of conjecture. The true form of the idol, or rather of one of these idols, will now be fully ascertained. The active and learned researches of British antiquaries have discovered the

[e] Spencer, lib. iii. c. 5, s. 5, p. 253.

overthrown and hidden Chimæra, and British love of science has exhumed the long degraded figure, and it now holds its place in the British Museum, where it is seen the most ancient of all the ancient remains of antiquity. The idol is described by two most eminent poets of classical antiquity, who, living in ages long posterior to the time of Bellerophon, by whom the idol was most probably buried, it must be presumed that they describe from traditional reports only. Of these, Homer and Hesiod, living in times nearest those in which the Chimæra had been worshipped, may be supposed to have been able to describe with greatest accuracy. The former records the description in verses of the following purport:

> She was of race divine, and not of men:
> Of lion in front; in body goat; in tail
> A dragon; dreadful breathing fiercest fire.[f]

The following description given by the Ascrean is somewhat different, more exact, and perhaps more accurate:

> She bore Chimæra breathing ceaseless fire,
> Terrible, vast, and swift of foot and strong;
> Three heads had she, one of a lion fierce,
> One of a goat, one of a mighty dragon.[g]

The form of this idol, which, though treated as a real person, because it was supposed to be informed, like all other idols, by a portion of the Divine spirit, is not without its parallel found in the Celtic mythology.

It seems that the figure of a bull bearing three cranes, one on the head, one on the back, and one on the tail, was held by the Celts in high veneration, and was known by the name of *Tarw Trigaran*.[h] The crane being a wading bird, may be presumed to have been a symbol of the created

[f] Iliad. Z. v. 180. [g] Hesiod. Theog. v. 319.
[h] Borlase. Cornwal. b. iii. c. 16.

world raised above the waters by the power of the deity represented by the symbolical bull; the three cranes being symbols of the three regions of space, *earth, sky, heaven,* so celebrated in the rites of the *Sastra,* into which the universe was also distinguished by the cosmogonists of Western Asia and Greece. Whether the three animal heads placed on the back of the Chimæra were symbols of the like import may be properly left to conjecture: the Celtic and Lycian compound idols were certainly of the same character. The idol found and actually brought into England proves that the Chimæra was not a mountain, as Pliny writes,[i] and as Servius, the commentator on the Æneis, believes.

About the period when the Chimæra was worshipped, many other compound idols were honoured with religious rites which, since the idol gods were said to have been great pests to the countries in which they abode, shew that their worship was commonly attended with bloody sacrifices, often human. Among these was the Hydra of the Lake Lerna in the vicinity of Argos, in the Peloponnesus. This personage was a daughter of Echidna and Typhon, the parents also of the Chimæra.[j] Apollodorus and Hyginus record the well known fable that the Hydra had nine heads, eight mortal and one immortal; but Euripides states that she had a thousand. Hesiod that she was *witness of mournful things,* that is, of cruel sacrifices. Apollodorus that Hydra lived in a λοφος, (*lophos*) or barrow, which indicates a Celtic connexion, from which she was driven by the means of fire cast by Hercules into her cell, as when he destroyed the monster Cacus. The fable of the renascent heads of the Hydra is well known, as also is the manner in which they were subdued by fire. When the Tyrian god had completely subdued the monster,

[i] Plin. lib. ii. c. 106. Serv. in Æn. lib. vi. v. 288.

[j] Hesiod. Theog. v. 313. Euripid. Herc. Furens. v. 438. Apollodor. lib. ii. c. 8, s. 2. Hygin. Fab. Præfat.

tradition reports that he buried the head, which was immortal, under a vast stone in the vicinity of Lerna.

The disciples of the Indian *Vishnù* have a compound idol, and a legend that may illustrate the fable of the Grecian Hydra. The god *Vishnù*, the personification of the Creator, is represented lying asleep on the serpent called *Sesha*, that is, *duration*, or *ananta*, endless, a symbol of *infinite duration*.[k] The serpent has many heads, which form a kind of canopy over the head of the god, each giving seemingly constant attention to his expected waking; when, according to the doctrines of the *Sastra*, he again, on waking, gives action to a new creation and a new order of things, in a new, or rather repeated period. The Hydra was most surely the same as the Indian *Sesha ananta*. Her heads were figurative of periods which, when ended, were succeeded by others. This doctrine and its rites, Hercules, that is, his votaries and disciples, suppressed, but not till after much and difficult contest, and even when victorious they found it necessary to compound with their adversaries, and give honour and reverence to the immortal part of Hydra, by setting up an *amber-stone* over the spot where it had been deposited with the rites of holy interment.

The Sphinx is the earliest example of the human head annexed to the body of a brute animal. The form of the greatest celebrity is the union of the head and breast of a woman to the body of a lion. Such union is seen in the gigantic idol, the Sphinx of the pyramids of Egypt. However this is not always the form of the Sphinx. In the avenue of Sphinxes leading to the temple of Carnac, the head of the ram is seen annexed to the lion.[l] The Theban Sphinx and her riddle are matters of almost universal notoriety. Of her Euripides thus speaks:

> Nor oughtest thou, winged monster, mountain maid,
> To have come, O Sphinx, with mournful strains, our grief:

[k] Moor. Hind. Panth. p. 27, 29, fig. 7, 8.

[l] Belzoni. p. 137.

For soaring 'bove the walls with four-fanged claws
She bore the sons of Thebes to ether's heights.
Her Hades sent from forth infernal realms,
Of Cadmeans the pest.[m]

From this testimony it appears that the idol was figured in some instances with wings. The import of the different parts of the different sphinxes may be presumed to have been the same as the similar parts exhibited in the Cherubim of the Israelites. The passage of the poet plainly indicates that the Theban sphinx took without resistance the youthful Thebans, and offered them in sacrifice to the idol on some high eminence, much in the same manner as the Mexicans were wont to sacrifice their human victims. To such conditions it seems the Thebans were subjected till they had solved the riddle propounded by the god, or rather her priesthood. Questions attended by similar conditions were not unfrequent in early times. The riddle proposed by the hero Sampson to the Philistines was accompanied by certain conditions.[n] Calchas, the famed herald of the Greeks, forfeited his life because he failed to answer rightly a question concerning the fertility of a pregnant sow.[o] The prophet Elijah was subjected to a similar forfeiture in his controversy with the priests of Baal.[p] The priests failed in the contest, and suffered of course the penalty incurred. Such were the laws recognized in ancient times.

Besides these idols of compound animal form, there were others of great celebrity in ancient Greece, which may be termed compound human forms. Such were the Titans whom the Ascrean describes in terms of the following purport:

Fierce were they: and their strength beyond compare.
An hundred arms on their big shoulders moved;
Fifty the heads of each, and all alike,
Tower'd proud above their limbs compact and firm.[q]

[m] Euripid. Phœniss. v. 819. [n] Judges xiv. 12. [o] Lycophron. v. 426.
[p] 1 Kings xviii. 40. [q] Hesiod. Theog. v. 670.

It is impossible to imagine that these persons were other than symbolical idols. The same may be affirmed of Geryon of three bodies and three heads, who reigned, that is, was worshipped in Erytheia, which some contend was Ireland.[r] A figure with three heads and six hands has been found in the remote regions of Siberia, with an inscription signifying that it represented the true God.[s] Figures of this kind many and various are found among the images and idols of *Hindosthàn*, particularly *Brahmà* with four faces, the celebrated *Trimurti* with three faces, and idols with many hands. In some the hand is open and the palm turned outward, signifying a liberal distribution of gifts. This symbol is very ancient. It is written of the Deity in the Book of Psalms, "Thou openest thine hand, they are filled with good:"[t] a rhetorical figure; whether taken from the idol or not is immaterial. Thus it appears that the use of compound figures is very ancient, and it may be said to have been universal. Bodies and limbs are given at will to designate the powers and attributes ascribed to the personage represented. The import of every part is in general sufficiently obvious, or may be rendered plain by a reference to the instances explained or illustrated as above. Again, let it be remarked, that none of these monster forms were real beings: whether brute or human, they were fabricated to exhibit definite doctrines or known principles.

These compound symbolical forms, first devised and used for the better expression of common affairs, are still retained for some purposes: they are adopted in the composition of heraldic arms, or armorial bearings. It has been supposed that symbolical figures were depicted on the shields of some of the warriors at the siege of Troy. Agamemnon bore on his shield three serpents, the symbol of the god Archemorus,

[r] Vallancey. De Reb. Hib. No. 14. Dionys. Perieg. v. 557.
[s] Parsons, Rem. of Japhet, chap. vii. 185. [t] Psalm civ. 28.

taken most probably as a charm to ensure victory.[u] Many other instances might be adduced from ancient history. By the knights of the middle ages of European history such symbols were borne not only on the shield, but on the surcoats worn over the armour: whence the phrase *coat of arms*. The figures adopted for these purposes were generally such as might be supposed to indicate the character of the bearer of the arms, and were in consequence compounds of the lion and the eagle, and animals of powerful and warlike character. This use of symbols is especially seen in the arms of nations: the black eagle of Germany and Russia is the symbolical raven of the Scandinavians, changed to the form of the eagle, the common ensign of the Roman legions. The flowers *de lis*, or *de luce*, which is the English form of the word, are said to refer to the marshes of Friezeland and Holland, from whom the French claim descent.[x] In those countries the iris, or flag flower, grows in abundance. The lions of England are symbols of courage and strength. One of the supporters, the unicorn, a creature altogether imaginary like the griffin or flying dragon, is a symbol of power, energy, and activity. But these things are somewhat foreign to the subject of the Treatise: we therefore pass on to the subject of a new combination of symbolical objects, the combination of inanimate with animate forms; a combination somewhat strange, and yet scarcely more strange than the many-headed, many-armed, and many-bodied figures just now noticed, but a combination which produced the image in the human form worshipped not as a symbol, but as the god really present, and as such the ultimate object of human worship.

It has been shewn in the introductory chapter that in the earlier ages of mankind the form of the world was believed to be that of a cube; whence it came that substances of that form were used as symbols of the world, and

[u] Iliad. Λ. v. 26. [x] Guillim. Herald. chap. i. sec. 1.

consequently as sacred idols. The following instances are adduced in proof. Pausanias, speaking of the entrance into the city of Megalopolis, observed images of Mercury in the form of a square stone set up at the gates; for, says he, "the Athenians always represent him in this manner, and from them other nations have learned the practice."[y] It is a question whether these images of Mercury were actually cubical substances, or squared stones of greater height than the square. They may be either; but they were more generally of the oblong form. They were, when first used, without any head or other crowning ornament, in which case they represented either the simple square of the earth, or else the universe, consisting of the earth or terraqueous world, and the heaven above and hell or tartarus beneath; but whichever might be their form, being images of the world, they were held to be actual exhibitions of the person of the Deity. That these images were plain stones, without any addition or ornament, is to be inferred from the mention made by the Grecian antiquary of other stones of the same description, as in the following instances.

In a place near Athens called the Gardens is a temple of the celestial Venus, one of the oldest of the Fates.[z] The building, says the antiquary, scarcely deserves mention, nor yet the Venus which stands near it, for the form of the goddess is a square stone, like those of Mercury, but the inscription on it names the divinity which it represents. This latter circumstance shews that the stone had no token of the personage to which it belonged beside the inscription; whence it is to be inferred that the name inscribed alone designated the deity to whom the several Hermean stones were dedicated. That they were regarded as images or personal exhibitions of the god will be seen from the following instance. In the Forum of the city of Tegea in Arcadia there is an altar and image of Jupiter Teleios.[a] The image

[y] Pausan. lib. iv. c. 33, s. 4. [z] Ibid. lib. i. c. 19, s. 2. [a] Ibid. lib. viii. c. 48, s. 4.

is a square stone. To this image, adds the antiquary, the Arcadians are greatly attached. The altar, and also the reverence shewn by the people, prove that the stone, designated it is presumed by an inscription, was an object of direct worship.

The image of Mercury in the Forum of Pharæ, a town of Arcadia, affords an instance of the union of animated human with the inanimate material form.[b] The image is of stone, has a beard, and of course a head and face; it stands on the plain ground without a base or plinth, is quadrangular and of small size. Near the image stand quadrangular stones, certainly not more than thirty in number. The Pharians worship these, giving to each the name of some god. The marked distinction here shewn between the quadrangular image surmounted by a head of Mercury and the other stones, rude and unadorned, suggests the idea that the plain stones represented gods of grade inferior to the god of the adorned stone. The stones of the circles called Druidic were doubtless idols of gods as in this circle of Pharæ.

At Orchomenos in Beotia were stones standing near a very ancient temple of the Graces, which were said to have fallen from heaven, and were worshipped with great devotion.[c] These stones were doubtless like those at Pharæ, gods inferior to the divinities called Graces. There can be little doubt that in many instances the Celtic priests secured the reverence of the people to the stones inclosing the sacred area by a similar asseveration that they fell from heaven. Many an Irish Romanist might be found in the present times perfectly ready to believe similar audacious falsehoods.

In early times, and at the foundation of Rome, the wolf was a symbol of the Sun, because, according to Ælian,[d] even the night was day to him from the peculiar powers of his

[b] Pausan. lib. vii. c. 22, s. 3. [c] Ibid. lib. ix. c. 38. s. 1.
[d] Ælian. lib. x. c. 26.

vision, so that he had light like the sun during the whole of the diurnal period; and farther, because, like the sun in his course, he always looked forward, being unable from the shortness of the neck to turn the head without turning the whole body. Such were the circumstances which were wont to determine the choice of symbolical animals. The Analysis of Bryant will supply another reason which very probably added weight to the former.[e] The syllables *el, uch,* called by him radicals, signifying the *Great One,* with the addition of the radical *On,* signifying the living God, formed the name Lycaon, a personage said to have been a king, but who was in reality the chief object of worship in Arcadia.

The rites of his worship were generally cruel, and human sacrifices constituted an indispensable part of them. This excited the indignation of Jupiter, that is, of his votaries, who in punishment for his cruelties changed him into a wolf. The poet thus describes the change:

> His vest becomes rough hairs, his limbs are legs;
> He lives a wolf: well shown his wonted fury:
> Grey as of yore; his savage look the same;
> His eyes still glare; his image still is fierce.

It can scarcely be imagined that the moral of this fable can have any other import than the substitution of the animal wolf for some former idol, probably an upright stone, under which the one great God had been aforetime worshipped in the symbol of the sun, named Lycaon. In this sense Lycaon became a wolf, a living symbol of the Deity, and worshipped not only in Egypt but in Italy, particularly at the time of the foundation of Rome, as appears from the history of Romulus and Remus: worshipped also in Thessaly, where a district was named from λυκος, (*lycos*) a wolf, as was also a province, Lycia, in Asia, and other places which might be named.

It is stated in the Cassandra of Lycophron, one of the em-

[e] Bryant. Myth. vol. i. p. 96.

inent men, the Pleiades of the court of Ptolemy Philadelphus, that the idol-wolf was further changed into stone. The poet designates a Thessalian king by the following terms:

> King of Amphrysian and Euryampian men,
> Lord of the wolf now changed into stone,
> Feasted by offerings.

The old Scholiasts on this passage, writing from authorities extant in their times, though now lost, inform that the wolf, the animal wolf, having devoured all the oxen and sheep sent by Peleus the father of Achilles to Adrastus, in atonement for a son whom he, Peleus, had slain by misadventure, that the animal was made a stone by the goddess Themis. The names of Peleus and Achilles fix the date of this event to a period not long anterior to the Trojan war. The terms used by the poet, imply that an image of stone was substituted for the living animal. Indeed it were incongruous to suppose that a mere stone should have been substituted for a living animal, after the living animal had been substituted for a stone. Such a measure would be a retrogression of usage, and almost inadmissible. The figure of the wolf must have been substituted for the living symbol. The like was done by Aaron for the Israelites in the wilderness, which shews that the arts were at the time sufficiently advanced to produce even an exact resemblance of the living animal. The history of the worship of Lycaon and the wolf is thus traced, because a symbolical figure of the animal entire is held to have led directly to the idol exhibition of the human person as an image, the proper object of religious worship.

The brain has long been regarded as the organ of intellect; and consequently the head, the seat of the brain, becomes a proper symbol of knowledge and wisdom. Hence it came that the first images, the first and earliest representations of the Deity to which personal names were given, consisted of pillars surmounted by a human head. The classic

writers of Greece and Rome recount various instances of this kind, more especially the Grecian antiquary Pausanias. A few taken from these authorities will be amply sufficient for the illustration and proof of the position stated above.

Among the almost countless images that adorned, or rather occupied, the Acropolis at Athens, stood an image of Mercury without limbs, compounded of a pillar most usually quadrangular, surmounted by a human head. This is sufficiently ascertained by the description of another image of the same god. At Phigalia, in Arcadia, there was an image of this god, habited in a garment which did not reach to the feet, but only, as it is stated, to the square part of the figure. The lexicographer Hesychius makes mention of images of this god, having three, and some four heads. The former may be supposed to have been of the same import as the Indian *Trimurti*, the latter as the Indian *Brahmà*. These personages were, in certain ages, regarded by the Indians as personifications of the God Supreme. Mercury was once regarded as such, and was probably, at some period, identified with the *Hindù* deities above mentioned. The fact suggests the belief that symbolical images, of many heads and faces, were once common in many countries, though now found only in the pagodas of *Hindosthàn*.

At Elis, the antiquary noticed an image of Mercury *erecto fascino*,[f] a proof that it bore a resemblance to the human form down to the waist and the pedestal on which it stood. It appears from Horace,[g] and also from Herodotus, that these images were very common. At Elis they were held in high reverence, Mercury being anciently the god made visible in the created world, whence he was called, as in the Choephoræ of Æschylus,[h] the terrestrial Mercury, and is termed, together with Earth, the parent of all things. The Roman poet desig-

[f] Pausanias, lib. vi. c. 26, s. 3.
[g] Horat. Sat. lib. i. Sat. 8. Herodot. lib. ii. c. 51.
[h] Æschyl. Choeph. v. 124.

nates the image, of which he sportively speaks, by the name of Priapus, a circumstance which shews Mercury and Priapus were the same gods. The images of both Mercury and Priapus shew that they were regarded as personifications of the male or generative powers of nature, and consequently that these images were the works of the earliest ages of idolatry, and the first personal representations of beings called gods.

Quadrangular pedestals surmounted by the head of a god, were by no means applied exclusively to representations of Hermes, although they seem to have been first fabricated for that purpose. Greece afforded instances of similar idols set in honour of Apollo, of Hercules, and other gods also. At Megalopolis, in Arcadia, there was an image of the Egyptian *Amun*, designated by the head of a ram, the well-known emblem of that god, affixed to the quadrangular column, as in the Hermean images. To these may be added the image of the Ephesian Diana, wrought, according to the antiquary, only to the waist, the lower portion of the image being squared stone,[i] the part from the bosom being, as may be inferred from the words of the antiquary, and as other authorities expressly declare, covered by many breasts, the symbols, as Homer writes and St. Jerome interprets, of the many-feeding earth. The image of the Ephesian Diana, like many others, claimed religious reverence on the allegation that it fell from heaven.

The quadrangular pedestal, sustaining at first the heads, and, in later times, the bodies of gods, wrought down to the waist, was followed by the formation of the stone into legs and feet.[k] But many instances, as that of Mercury in Greece, and of *Anubis* in Egypt, shew that these images were at first formed with joined legs, so as to differ little from the squared stone. It is not, however, to be imagined that this form was taken because the sculptors were too unskilful to divide the pedestal into legs, but the simple form was doubt-

[i] Æschyl. Choeph. 8, 32, 1. [k] Ibid. 2, 10, 6.

less retained because it accorded with the doctrine of the symbolic representation of the world by the undivided pedestal. For this reason the columnar form of the lower part of the image was often retained after the art of the statuary had enabled him to exhibit the human form complete.

The ingenuity of the sculptor co-operating with the love of novelty at length overcame the influence of principle; the quadrangular pillar was formed into legs, and the figurative idol received the human form entire. Still, however, the legs might be regarded as two pillars. Even when the image was sessile, the legs of the image might suffice with the ardent symbolist to signify the same thing. The human form having been once allowed to be an apt representation of a divine personage, idolatry had then advanced to its utmost extent; it remained only to signify the various characters of the deity by difference of sex, of form, of habiliment, and of action, each signifying the varied exercise of the same omnipotent power; thus creating as it were numerous personages and objects of religious worship, capable of continual variation and increase, so long as the invention of the human imagination or the discoveries or theories of science should suggest occasion.

The same principle that gave the head, gave afterwards the body of the god to the quadrangular pedestal. In the temple of Juno at Mycenæ was a complete image of Juno, standing on the capital of a pillar. This, the antiquary observes, was a work of great antiquity; it was brought by the Argives from Tiryns on the taking of that city.

The practice of placing statues on high pillars was very ancient: was probably an improvement of the use of the chapiter, and was therefore adopted from principle: for though the statue when placed on high cannot be the object of much notice, yet it is placed above the world as if the personage intended to be honoured were a being superior to the world below.

A strange fanatic, Simeon Stylites, passed thirty-seven

years of his life on the tops of different pillars; and many fanatics followed his example. Occupying a station to which the gods of ancient times had been wont to be elevated, it may be imagined that they conceived that the act might gain for them the character of superhuman excellence. But it may perhaps be more wise to forbear to search for reasons in cases of absurd action to which zeal, when not governed by sacred precepts, invariably leads. Whether the practice sometimes adopted among ourselves of placing the statues of eminent persons on the tops of columns be borrowed from the example of gods and heroes is uncertain. Nobody, it is presumed, advocates a divine character for the person so elevated in these times. Why then should his form be placed above human view, exposed to every storm, and visited by none but by daws?

The image in the human form entire was the acme of idolatry; beyond this point no farther advance remained for the enormous and extravagant absurdity. The figures used aforetime, whether substances of simple or compound forms, whether vegetable or animal, were in reality merely symbols of the divine attributes, and however abhorred and execrated by the Christian Fathers and advocates, they did assist the grosser mind in fixing the belief and in rendering the reverence due to the deity: doing this, like other symbols less objectionable and even approved, they admitted some excuse; for the Deity is only comprehensible by the mind of man through the aid of symbols: but the symbolical image in the human form entire dissolved the illusion, somewhat excusable, that other idols had excited; it lowered the God of heaven to the same rank among the order of beings as held by men of earth. The god was indeed supposed to be a man of powers nearly unlimited; immortal, or rather of extended but not of unlimited existence; of form beautiful and noble as imagination could conceive, and surrounded by magnificence surpassing regal splendour and partaking of enjoyments trans-

cendently luxurious; but notwithstanding all these excellences, he was still regarded as a being subject to every passion that can agitate the mortal man, but every one most extreme. The effect of such theory on human actions was most lamentable; it encouraged every vice, and paralyzed every virtue.

The progressive steps which led to the construction of images and these abuses having been described, the time when images were first made, and some other particulars, remain for notice.

The earliest mention of images occurs in the following command given in the Mosaic Law: "Ye shall drive out the inhabitants of the land before you, and destroy all their pictures, and destroy all their *molten images*, and pluck down all their high places."[l] Here the principal objects used in idolatrous worship are recited, and images of various creatures are intended. That the Hebrew word signifies the human form also is evident from its use in the book of Daniel, where, in the second chapter, all the parts of the body of a man are mentioned as members of the image.[m] The same may be affirmed of the image set up by Nebuchadnezzar near Babylon. The publication of the books of the law was made about the year 1500 before the Christian era, whence it is learned that images, that is, idols in the form of man, were common in the land of Canaan at that time.

Being known in the provinces of Western Asia, it must be supposed that images were also known and used in Eastern Europe also. An Athenian artist named Dædalus, famed in historic fable for the wings of wax given to his son Icarus, was the first who improved into figures with the limbs of a man complete the statues of gods. The verse of Homer testifies to this effect, and testimonies of facts given by him have generally been fully confirmed by the researches of later times. In the eighteenth Iliad, the poet, in describing

[l] Numb. xxxii. 52. [m] Dan. ii. 32, 33. iii. 1.

the shield of Achilles, the work of Vulcan, alludes to the artist Dædalus in terms of the following purport:

> In it the God displayed the varied dance,
> Like that which erst in spacious Cretan land
> Dædalus wrought of fair-tressed Ariadne.[n]

The antiquary writes that this statue, which was of white stone, was extant at Delos in his time; and he adds, that it was left by Theseus at that island as a donation to Apollo, lest he should give offence and incur trouble by taking the statue to Athens.[o] It seems from various testimonies which might be adduced, that Ariadne was a divine personage, and that in reality the image was that of a goddess whose votaries had assisted Theseus in his escape from the Labyrinth on his promise that the Athenians should adopt her worship, a promise which, it seems, for various reasons, the hero was anxious to evade. The complaints and reproof of the heroine or goddess are figuratively signified in the epistle of Ariadne to Theseus, one of the many elegant compositions of Ovid. Chronologers assign the reign and exploits of Theseus to the middle of the thirteenth century anterior to the Christian era, and a generation before the capture of Troy. This arrangement seems to be just: for the improvement of the art of the statuary being at the time of which Homer wrote, new, and therefore interesting, it was likely to attract the notice of the great poet, who records every thing of importance known in the times and countries in which he lays the scenes of his fabulous history of real events. The figure of Ariadne exhibited in a dance shews beyond doubt that the image must have been sculptured with the lower limbs properly and perfectly shaped, and in a manner far different from the quadrangular columnar images of former times. This image of Ariadne may be presumed to have been the first upon record that can be properly called an image of a god: the improve-

[n] Iliad. Σ. v. 590.

[o] Pausan. lib. ix. c. 40. s. 2.

ment was considered to be of such importance, that all images, whether of wood or stone, were anciently called *Dædalia*, from the name of the first artist.[p]

It appears that Dædalus did not however always exhibit the human form perfect in all the limbs, as in the image of Ariadne. The antiquary mentions an image of Venus in Delos having the arm decayed from length of time, but that instead of feet she had the square pedestal, like other images of olden times. At Corinth was an image of a naked Hercules, said to have been the work of Dædalus.[q] This was doubted; but the antiquary observes that all the images said to have been sculptured by that artist were sufficiently rude, and such this figure of Hercules may be supposed to have been. At Erythræ in Achaia was an image of Minerva, of wood, sitting, having a distaff in her hand and a *polos* or globe on her head.[r] This posture, often exhibited in the ancient idols of Egypt, may be regarded, being of wood, to have been the work of a very early age. At Phigalia in Arcadia was an Hermean image of Liber Pater, or Bacchus. The lower portion of the image was hid by laurel and ivy, the upper was painted red, all symbols of vigorous animal life.[s] At Stymphalus in the same province was an image of Diana, so covered with gilding that it was difficult to determine whether it was of wood or plaster, but on close inspection it was found to be of wood.[t] The gilding of this image perhaps implies that it was a work of an age somewhat later than those above noticed, and yet the antiquity assigned to the temple in which it stood intimates that the image was ancient also. It is now noticed because it belongs to instances not only of great antiquity, but affording a just idea of the progress made in the structure of the images of the heathen gods.

[p] Pausan. lib. ii. c. 3. s. 2.
[q] Ibid. lib. ii. c. 4, s. 5.
[r] Ibid. lib. vii. c. 5, s. 4.
[s] Ibid. lib. viii. c. 39, s. 4.
[t] Ibid. lib. viii. c. 22. s. 5.

Images continued to be made of wood and stone to a late period. The antiquary doubted the truth of the assertion made by the people at Orchomenus, that there had been on a platform in one of their temples a statue of Neptune in brass set up there by the hero Ulysses, for he affirms that the art of founding metals was not known in the age of that hero. In confirmation of this his opinion, the instance of an image of Jupiter made of brass at Sparta may be adduced.[u] This image, says he, is the oldest of any consisting of that metal. It is not formed of one piece entire, but each limb is cast separate by itself, and these are fitted together and kept together by rivets, which prevent it from falling into pieces. The name of the artificer is given, and it is added that he was a pupil of Dædalus.[x] The exhibition of garments and clothed images was first practised by artists patronized by Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, in the sixth century before the Christian era. These circumstances determine very nearly the true dates of many statues, and mark the progress of art in the construction of images of the gods.

The eminence of the god was wont in ancient times to be signified by the magnitude of the image, which was therefore such as the means of the votaries could accomplish. The image of Jupiter at Olympia affords sufficient proof of this: the several gods of his pantheon exhibited in the numerous group are in miniature compared with Jupiter himself. The numerous figures of the *Hindù* pantheon receive a distinction of rank by the same variety of size: the female consort of every god is an infant in stature compared with her spouse; indicating in this instance the preeminence of the male or generative over the female or productive powers of Nature.

Ancient history records instances of images of wonderful stature and bulk: they prove the zeal of the builders of such fabrics. Of these the golden image set up by Nebuchadnezzar

[u] Pausan. lib. viii. c. 14, s. 5. [x] Ibid. iii. c. 17, s. 6.

king of Babylon invites notice, being one of the oldest upon record, as also of the largest dimensions and richest material. The height of the image was, according to the testimony of the Prophet Daniel,[y] sixty cubits, and breadth six cubits, or ninety feet high, and nine broad between the shoulders. The usual height of a man is four and a half of his breadth between the shoulders, whence it should seem that the image was about forty feet high, and that it stood on a pedestal or column of fifty feet, which accords with other testimonies concerning it. It is supposed by the author of the Treatise of the Connection of the Old and New Testament[z] to have been the image of Baal, or Bel, the same as the Beil of the Celtic nations. The terrible punishment by which the worship was enforced intimates that the worship of an idol in the human form was in breach of the usages of the Celtic race and of the Druids, who never used an idol in the human form. The learned author above noticed calculates the weight of the idol to have been eight hundred and seventy-five ounces of gold, and the value three millions and a half of our money. Such was the zeal, such the riches of the king of Babylon.

The Colossus of Rhodes was an image erected at the mouth of the harbour of the city, and dedicated to the Sun.[a] Such were the magnitude of its dimensions, that it was accounted one of the wonders of the world. It was of brass, seventy cubits, or a hundred and five feet in height, and well proportioned. It was founded of the engines left by Demetrius Poliorcetes when he raised the siege of the city: was begun in the three hundredth year anterior to the Christian era: was finished in twelve years: and was overthrown by an earthquake, which destroyed the city also, seventy-eight years after its completion. It lay a monstrous ruin till the year 672 of the Christian era, when the metal of

[y] Dan. iii. 1. Prideaux, Connect. vol. i. p. 119. [z] Ibid. vol i. p. 119.
[a] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 315.

which it was made was sold by the sixth Caliph of the Saracens. It weighed, after lying in a state of ruin nearly nine hundred years, seven hundred and twenty thousand pounds. Such was the zeal shewn by the construction of the Colossus of Rhodes, one surely the most mighty of all others. *Col*, the first syllable of the name, indicates a relationship to the columnar structures erected on maritime eminences to receive religious reverence from the passing mariner. The Colossus of Rhodes being erected at the mouth of the harbour, invited the thanksgivings due on the fortunate termination of every voyage.

Pausanias notices several images of size greatly exceeding the human stature. The images of Damater and Kore, that is, of Ceres and Proserpine, at Megalopolis, which were fifteen feet high; also one of Jupiter, at Olympia, eighteen.[b] Taking the Greek measure of what the antiquary calls a foot, at sixteen inches, which is sufficiently accurate for the present purpose, the images of the goddesses above-named would be about twenty feet high, the image of the god twenty-four. Pliny enumerates many such at Rome. These, however, were again far exceeded by the images of the Egyptian Memnon, set up in front of the temples as symbols of the stability of the god there worshipped. It may be a fair question whether the gigantic figures called Gog and Magog in the Guildhall of the city of London may not be referred to the same usage of exhibiting gods by gigantic images, and whether these may not have been originally representations of gods of our Teutonic ancestors, the guardian deities of their cities and abodes, retained superstitiously by their Christian descendants as symbols of authority and power. The probability, or rather the certainty of this opinion will be admitted when it appears that down to nearly the present times our neighbours of the Low Countries[c] did exhibit on certain festivals gigantic wicker

[b] Pausan. lib. viii. c. 31, s. 1, v. 236.

[c] Milner, Hist. of Winchester, in Brand. Popul. Antiq. vol. i, p. 239.

images, such as are described by Cæsar,[d] in which human victims used to be immolated during the ages of Celtic heathenism. After being exhibited in public procession these giants were destroyed with shouts of revelry, in grateful memory of the abolition of the rites of a cruel religion and the happy introduction of the mild religion of the Gospel in its stead.

Gigantic images of gods are found in India, intended doubtless to signify the greatness of the god. Dr. Buchanan in his official travels through Mysore and other provinces of the Decan,[e] saw in the vicinity of Seringapatam an immense image of a male deity called *Gomuta Raya.* It is seventy feet high, entirely naked, except that a climbing plant entwines his limbs, and other kinds of plants grow at his feet. This circumstance intimates that *Gomuta Raya* is a personification of the earth, and consequently of the god supreme. May not the plants about the person of this image have suggested the somewhat unaccountable practice of weaving or printing flowers upon cloths of cotton or silk? An idol of wood thirty feet high was seen by Bishop Heber before the entrance of a pagoda in the upper part of the province of Bengal.[f] These instances shew that the practice of setting up gigantic images was once very general, and that there always has been a greater conformity of principle in all heathen nations, however distant in age and country, than has usually been imagined.

The stake or post of wood set upright was adopted as a sacred symbol as well as the pillar or upright stone. Jason and his Argonauts used the knotted stem of a vine for that purpose. Wood being more easily wrought than stone, it should seem that the post may have been carved into sacred forms at times somewhat earlier than the stone pillar. How-

[d] Cæs. de Bell. Gall. lib. vi. c. 15.
[e] Buchanan. Journey, c. 19.
[f] Heber. Trav. chap. iii. p. 74.

ever this may be, some of the most ancient images upon record were of wood. At Cercyra, in Achaia, Pausanias saw images of the Eumenides wooden and of small size, set up, as tradition told, by Orestes the son of Agamemnon, and consequently in an age not long posterior to the war of Troy.[g] An image of Dionysus or Bacchus, of an age still older, was seen at Thebes.[h] It was said to have been formed of a piece of wood that fell from heaven at the time when Semele the mother of the god perished by the lightning of Jupiter. This image being decayed, was in an after age repaired with brass. The tradition and the repair prove that the image must have been very ancient indeed, for the birth of Bacchus, that is, the rise or first institution of his worship, was coeval with the *avatara* of the first of the *Hindù Ràmas*, who may possibly have been the Bacchus of Greece, and anterior in all probability to the use of images. These things considered, it follows as a consequence more than probable that the piece of wood seen by Pausanias in the shape of an image had been wrought into that shape in compliance with the taste of later but still of very ancient times.

Images of Minerva and Fortune were seen by the antiquary, formed of wood, but with faces, hands, and feet of stone.[i] Whether the latter materials were parts of the image originally or whether they were repairs added is uncertain. If the stone formed part of the original image it shews that the combination of such incongruous materials was a very ancient practice used with great freedom in the statue of Jupiter at Olympia. In the Megalopolitan district of Arcadia was seen a curious image of Ceres and Proserpine, wrought of one single and entire stone. It was said to have been discovered by a dream, and to have been a work not of mortal hands. Such assertions have served to deceive

[g] Pausan. lib. vii. c. 25, s. 4. [h] Ibid. lib. xi. c. 12, s. 3.
[i] Ibid. lib. ii. c. 4, s. 1. Lib. vi. c. 25, s. 4. Lib. vii. c. 21, s. 4.

the bulk of mankind in every age. The tale might suggest the idea that the image was the work of a very early age: it was certainly a fabric shewing that at the time when wrought great advances had been made in the art of the statuary.

The kind of stone used in the fabrication of images appears to have been a matter of indifference; not so when wood was used. Pausanias names the different kinds of wood of which images might be made, and adds, that the citron alone might be used in the images of Mercury.[k] This law was most assuredly the result not only of the consecration of certain plants, but of the plants being worshipped as real images of gods. The following instances may be cited, in addition to others already incidentally mentioned:—Pelops dedicated a myrtle of luxuriant growth to Venus in Temnos in Æolia, and honoured it as an image or personal representation of the goddess.[l] This doctrine of the appropriation of certain trees to individual deities is very prevalent in India. The *Pipala* or Pepul tree is sacred to *Siva* because the spirits of the departed are supposed to abide in it.[m] According to others this tree is sacred to *Vishnu*, who is said to have been born under it. Doctrines or principles the same as these are known to have prevailed over all the western world: a proof of the universality and uniformity of the principles of the heathen world.

The Christian Fathers, in their zeal for the propagation of the Gospel, declaimed with great justice against the worship paid to animals and to the monstrous combinations of animal forms exhibited in the idols of heathenism. The idol images in the human form were abuses of still greater enormity; in proportion as the images exhibited the god in a form more engaging and admirable to the eye, the perfection of the form seemed to represent an object more truly characteristic of intelligence and wisdom, and more worthy the abode of the

[k] Pausan. lib. viii. c. 17, s. 2. [l] Ibid. lib. v. c. 13, s. 4.
[m] Heber, vol. i. chap. 6.

spirit of a god. The endeavour to represent these personages in a manner worthy of the character and attributes of divine beings called forth all the ingenuity and excited all the energies of the statuaries of antiquity, and produced those works, some of which having survived the outrages of barbarous ages, now fascinate the eye of taste, and stand the models of modern imitation, with which our artists may vie, but which they cannot surpass. Excellent although they be, yet even the Olympian image was held to be nothing but mere matter, until it had become informed by a divine spirit. How this effect may have been supposed to be produced the following authorities will serve to shew.

It has been an opinion entertained in all past ages, that by the performance of certain acts, things places and persons acquire a character which they would not have had without such performances. The reason is plain, certain acts signify firmness of purpose, which by consigning the object to the intended use, gives it, in the public opinion, an accordant character. This is most especially true of things, places, and persons, connected with religion and religious worship. After the performance of certain acts or rites they are held to be altogether different from what they were before; they acquire a sacred character, and in some instances a character absolutely divine. Such are the effects imagined to be produced by religious dedication.

The first act or rite of consecration upon record was that performed by the solitary Jacob, when on his way to Haran he set up for a pillar the stone on which he had rested his head during the night passed in lonely wilds.[n] Not having other victim, he poured oil upon it as on an altar, an act which was thought to be a consecration of the stone rude as it was, and he gave it the name of Beth-el, or House of God. When Abraham and other Patriarchs builded altars, no other circumstance is recorded than that they called upon the name

[n] Gen. xxviii. 18.

of the Lord, whence it is inferred that by the performance of religious worship in which the victim being consumed in part at least upon the altar, and the rite of prayer duly performed, the consecration was complete without any other rite.

After the age of Jacob the use of oil was considered, as it should seem, indispensably necessary. When the Tabernacle or Tent-temple of the Israelites was set up in the Wilderness, the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, "Thou shalt take the anointing oil and anoint the tabernacle and all that is therein, and shalt hallow it and all the vessels thereof, and it shall be holy."[o] The like rites of unction were commanded to be performed in the consecration of Aaron and his sons.[p]

This priesthood was continued by a vicarious succession throughout their generations, that is, from age to age, till the abolition of the law, when the Saviour himself appointed a new order of priesthood. He then sent forth first his twelve disciples to preach the kingdom of God, and afterwards other seventy for the same purpose;[q] an office given to those persons to the exclusion of all others, for it does not appear that any other than these, the twelve and the seventy, did presume to preach the gospel during the time of the stay of the Redeemer upon earth. After his departure, no one in the first Christian ages presumed to assume the office until he had been duly ordained by persons acting on authority transmitted by vicarious succession originating with, and traceable to, the Saviour himself.

The rite of consecration by unction conferred a sacred character not only on officers ordained for the ministry, but on kings also; and hence the kings of Israel were, like the priests, always anointed: hence to lift up the hand against the Lord's anointed was an act not only treasonable but impious. It was productive of many benefits; it gave security

[o] Exod. xl. 9. Lev. xvi. 32.
[p] Exod. xl. 12.
[q] Luke ix. 2. x. 1.

to the person of the king—it tended to ensure obedience to his commands, and promote peace and good order in the state. It is for reasons such as these that the rite of unction has been generally retained in almost all ages, and by all nations, as well as on the coronation of the kings of England.

The author of the work designated by the title of Geniales Dies describes in manner following the rites by which the Romans consecrated their temples.[r] "The officer appointed by the people for the performance of the ceremony touching one of the pillars, a fire having been lighted on the altar, invoked the god to whom the building is dedicated, and declares that it is set apart for his worship to the exclusion of every profane use. In dedicating an altar or an image, the name of the god whose altar or image is consecrated was recited, with denunciations against any one who might injure or profane it. With the Athenians, when an image or statue was consecrated, women habited in garments of divers colours bear around it vessels filled with legumes, and distribute them with thanks to those persons who had been instrumental in the erection of the altar or the statue. At the time of dedication, the temple, or altar, or statue, was decorated with the herb savine." Other nations, especially the Celts, used other plants, the oak or the misletoe. Uniformity of practice in these matters is not to be expected, there being no general rule. The *Hindùs* appear to consecrate their idols by merely washing them with the water of the Ganges. Whatever be the form of the rite used, it is always attended with the most solemn acts of worship, especially such as may give publicity to the intended purpose of the sacred structure, and prevent any act of desecration. The reason why unction with oil has been used by many nations will be seen in the following document.

Phornutus,[s] otherwise Cornutus, a philosopher of the age

[r] Alexand. ab Alexand. Gen. Dies. lib. vi. c. 13, p. 594.

[s] Phornut. de Nat. Deor. cap. de Minervâ.

of the first Roman Cæsars, observes that "oil is the emblem of purity because it is immiscible with other fluids." It may further be observed, that the olive tree, from whose fruit the oil is extracted, is itself the emblem of revirescence, for it revives in shoots growing from the stump of the plant, after being apparently destroyed either by frost or drought: it is therefore an apt symbol of the world, which according to the general doctrines of heathenism, and especially of the Indian *Sastra*, is subject to alternate destruction and renovation during the course of the ages of eternity. The oil, the fruit of the plant, is therefore itself a very proper emblem of the renewal of organised and animated bodies, and at the same time an emblem or symbol of perfect purity also: for these reasons the use of oil in sacred rites was held to be apt and proper.

The article used in the consecration of the Plane-tree to Helen, as described in a former page, is called an unguent. It differs therefore from oil; but yet the epithet used shows that the oil was not deprived of its liquidity. Pausanias speaks of an unguent medicated with the flowers of the rose, the lily, the narcissus, and the iris. [t] This, he says, was used to anoint images of wood, and that it contributed to their preservation from decay. The flowers used in this unguent clearly shew that it was compounded of oil mixed with perfuming matter.

In many instances the images of the gods were painted red. In such cases the paint or unguent with which the image was embellished was mixed with the colouring matter necessary for the purpose, and was regarded as an unguent not less sacred than other unguents unmixed with colouring matter or any matter whatsoever. The red colour was used figuratively, and signified the energy of the vital powers of the god of the image. The pouring of the liquid unguent,

[t] Pausan. lib. ix. c. 41, s. 3.

as described by the poet of the Idyls, will shew how the tabernacle of the Israelites in the wilderness was anointed as commanded by the Almighty; a rite which is presumed to have been of such universal observance as to escape notice in such accounts as are extant of the dedication of temples, shrines, and other sacred places.

The rites practised at the consecration of images were held to be productive of the most extraordinary effects. Augustine, Bishop of Hippo in Africa, cites Hermes Trismegistus, an Egyptian philosopher living as some affirm about the time of the exodus of the Israelites, and shews that the doctrines maintained by the mystagogues concerning idols and images were as follows.[u] "Images, though wrought by men, are the bodies of gods rendered perceptible to the sight and touch. In the images are certain spirits brought by invitation, after which they have the power of doing whatever they please, either to hurt or to a certain extent to fulfil the desires of those persons by whom divine honours and duteous worship is rendered to them. These invisible spirits do, in consequence of certain rites, unite themselves to the visible elements of corporeal matter, so that the images dedicated and devoted to the purpose become bodies animated by those spirits." This act, says the philosopher, "makes gods: and man has received this great and wonderful power of making gods." Asclepias, the pupil of the philosopher, having expressed his doubts of this extraordinary power being thus vested in man, the philosopher in answer says, "Do not you see, O Asclepias, that statues, whatever be your doubts, are animated by sense, are full of life and actually capable of doing such great actions as you see? They are prescient of future events, and they predict many and widely different things, of which every prophet, it seems, is ignorant; they oppress men with infirmities, and inflict on them evil or good, sorrow or joy, as they may deserve." Thus

[u] Augustin. De Civ. Dei, lib. viii. c. 23.

speaks Hermes. This is indeed complete transubstantiation; the Romanists however go farther: they in the sacred elements assign personal identity to the substance, which falls short of the perfection of the image by the want of form.

This power of calling the spirit of any god into any image was held to be so absolute as to be compulsory and irresistible, and many authorities show that the gods so invoked often obeyed the call and exhibited signs of their presence, even when not required to make their abode, in statues and other idols.[x] In some instances they attended the invocation against their will, and often complained of the necessity by which they were compelled to quit their abodes in heaven to serve the occasions of man upon earth.[y] The Christian Fathers or Divines of the first centuries, either deceived by the practices of the mystagogues, or misled by the remaining prejudices of old opinions, admitted the power of their adversaries, but contended that the effect was produced by magic, that is, by the aid and influence of evil spirits and devils. Such was the origin of the strange notions concerning magic and sorcery; notions which are not wholly eradicated from the belief of many persons even of the present age. By the Romanists it is directly and to the fullest extent maintained, in their doctrine of transubstantiation, in which they contend that by the rite of consecration the sacramental elements actually become the body and blood of the Redeemer, and are in consequence absolutely entitled to religious worship. This their doctrine is an adoption of the theory taught by Hermes Trismegistus; is clearly idolatrous; and therefore the protestant martyr in the reign of Queen Mary, rather than subscribe or even assent to it, nobly and piously submitted to martyrdom at the stake by fire.

[x] Euseb. Ev. Præp. lib. v. passim.

[y] In the sublime Norse ode by Gray, called the Descent of Odin, the prophetess exclaims repeatedly, "Leave, O leave me to repose." The subject of that ode formed an article in the creed of every Scandinavian.

The idea that an image duly consecrated possessed the powers above stated, and was actually a god upon earth, led to the belief that the presence or possession of such an image was actually a mighty benefit to the city or country in which such image might be placed. Being ever present or near at hand, it was supposed to be ever ready to receive the prayers of its votaries, and to confer benefits on them in return for daily honours and sacrifices. Hence it came that images of famed celebrity were thought to be properties so highly valuable as to become objects not only of personal benefit, but even of national importance. Influenced by this belief, the Philistines, when they heard that the ark of the Temple, and, as they supposed, the Deity himself, had been brought into the camp of the Israelites, were struck with dread, supposing that the Divine presence would ensure his hostile agency, and victory to his servants.[z] When captured on the defeat of Israel, they placed the ark as a valuable prize in the temple of their god, being persuaded that the God of the ark would thenceforth be their patron jointly with Dagon. Upon the same principle the Romans brought to Rome the gods of the conquered nations, and they worshipped them as their own. Influenced by the same belief they invited from Epidaurus the presence of the god Æsculapius, and conveyed his idol serpent in triumph to the city with the full assurance that his presence would stay the pestilence which raged among the citizens.[a]

From the time when idols first received the human shape, they were sought for with such avidity as to render them subjects not only of civil controversy but even of national warfare. According to this doctrine, the wrong done to the Syrian Laban when his daughter Rachel stole the Teraphims, the family idols, was pleaded and admitted to be so great as to render the offender deserving to be punished by death.[b] Rachel stole them, not, as commentators have surmised, that her father might not be able to divine the route by which

[z] 1 Sam. iv. 7. v. 2. [a] Ovid. Met. lib. xv. c. 50. [b] Gen. xxxi. 31.

Jacob had fled, which must have been well known, but that her husband and his family might be benefited by their possession. Whatever the benefit might be, the patriarch, after having experienced the protection afforded by the God of Abraham in his escape from the anger of his brother Esau, relinquished altogether all the benefits which might be supposed to arise from them: for when he fixed his abode at Bethel, he said, doubtless in reference to the Teraphim of Laban, "Put away the strange gods that are among you."[c] The zeal shewn by the hero Æneas in the preservation of the Penates of his country when Troy was destroyed, is also an instance of the same opinion concerning the importance both of the family and the national gods. The high estimation in which the Romans held the images of their ancestors may be attributed to the same principle, as may also the disgrace which attached to the Egyptian who allowed the embalmed remains of the persons of his family to be removed from his house.

Herodotus begins his history with the recital of the abductions of the maiden Io from Argos in the Peloponnesus, by the Phœnicians; of Europa from Tyre, by Grecians of Crete; of Medea from Colchis, by the Argonauts under Jason; and lastly, of Helen the wife of Menelaus, from Sparta.[d] The historian speaks of these personages as being women, rather, it should seem, in compliance with the fashion of early times, when history had not received the form of plain narrative which he gave, but bore that form of fable in which even the plainest truths were, from the want of letters, signified either by symbolical expression or symbolical figure. This ancient usage, coupled with the circumstances of the histories given, will vindicate the assertion that the women said to have been so stolen were not human personages, but images of female deities bearing the names mentioned above. This position will be established by the following facts.

[c] Gen. xxxv. 2. [d] Herodot. lib. i. c. 1, 2, 3.

Io was the daughter of Inachus, the son of Oceanus and Tethys. Jupiter, a personage, in reality a sect, loved Io, and maintained an amorous intercourse with her, till discovered by Juno, when the goddess metamorphosed the unhappy damsel into a cow. The afflicted creature, after long and painful wanderings, at last found refuge in Egypt, where she regained her human form, and was there worshipped in the person of Isis, the goddess of general adoration in that country.[e]

It is impossible to imagine that this history is other than a fable figuratively representing real events; events, however, not of ordinary life, but relating to religion and the worship of the gods. Adultery is generally used in our sacred Scriptures to signify dissent from the lawful and established mode of worship of the true God.[f] In the fable the adultery of Jupiter signifies a change of religious principle in his votaries, who transferred their worship from the female principle of nature personified in Juno, to a worship somehow different, that of the female principle personified in Io. It may be supposed that this difference consisted in nothing else than the worship of a different image. This change may be supposed to have been followed by violent persecutions, in which the votaries of Io were driven to flight, and compelled by their adversaries to adopt an image in the form of a cow. The fury of persecution continued till the vaccine goddess found safe refuge in Egypt, where at length the human form was restored to her, under which she continued to receive peaceably the reverence of her votaries. Conjecture might spin out a long commentary on the history of Io; but it may be sufficient to observe that the virgin Io stolen by the Phœnicians and carried into Egypt was none other than an image, but that the father of history, (first given by him in a plain narrative) influenced by that awe with which he is often

[e] Hygin. Fab. 145. Ovid. Metam. lib. i. c. 11, 14.
[f] Isaiah v. 7. Jer. iii. 6. Matt. viii. 38. Rev. ii. 20, &c.

found to treat subjects connected with religion, dared not expressly and directly to declare in opposition to figurative language when sanctioned by popular opinion. The history of Io exhibits the high importance attached to images, and the eager, often the violent, means used to obtain them.

That the Helen stolen by the Trojan Paris was an image, and not a real person, is certain, notwithstanding the living scenes described with the sublimity and beauty of the verse of the Iliad. The fable of her birth, which relates that she was born from an egg, renders it impossible to suppose that she was a mortal, but a personage symbolically significant of certain powers existent in the created world, which all nations figuratively signified by the productive egg.[g] When very young she was stolen from the temple of Diana by Theseus, that is, very soon after her image had been set up in the place. This event evidently belongs rather to an image than a girl or child. The many princes desiring to wed her, that is, to have her image set up and worshipped in the temples of their cities, all engaged to defend her image wherever she might choose to wed, that is, to be permanently placed. Her choice (by which we understand the priests who ministered at her shrine) fixed upon Sparta, then governed by Menelaus. From that city the idle vanity of the Trojan prince bore her image away secretly, which however he was not able to take to Troy, but it was detained in Egypt, as a prize taken from the robber. After the Greeks had vindicated the national honour by the destruction of Troy, the image was given up by the Egyptians as a matter of right, and brought back to Menelaus and Sparta. In after times, according to Euripides,[h] she was placed with her brothers Castor and Pollux among the stars of heaven, the region whither all the obsolete gods of Greece were usually placed, and where they were formed into constellations, distinguished by names now little known, except to the practical astronomer.

[g] Helen became a goddess.—Euripid. Orestes. v. 1650. [h] Ibid. v. 1646.

According to a tale recited by Pausanias,[i] the image of Helen had been worshipped at Rhodes, whither it had been introduced by Polyxo, an Argive woman married to Tlepolemus the king of the island. He dying, the queen attributed his death to the goddess Helen neglecting to afford the protection sought. The queen sent women servants habited as furies, who seized the goddess while under the rite of being washed, and hanged her on a tree, which, even in the time of the antiquary, was called the tree of Helen. It being utterly improbable that Helen the queen of Sparta could have been thus treated in person, it must be presumed that the outrage was practised on her image seized while taken from her temple to some stream to be washed by her ministering priests. Ablution was a rite commonly practised on sacred images.

Images, according to the authority cited by Saint Augustine of Hippo, acquired after due rites of consecration all the powers of the gods they represented, and, among others, the power of doing either good or ill at pleasure. Helen, says Pausanias, was an inmate of the family of Achilles. The hero, being about to sail to Himera in Sicily, was told by the goddess to inform the blind poet Stesichorus that the loss of his eyes was owing to her anger. The poet wrote a palinode, and regained his sight.[k] That Helen could be an inmate of the family of Achilles in any other form than that of a statue, it is difficult to imagine. The poet Stesichorus was not born till about seven centuries after the age of the hero of the war at Troy. The Thessalian king may have been a descendant of the leader of the Myrmidons, but the Helen of his household could not have been other than an image of the fabled wife of Menelaus, and must have been a household image from the time when such an image was first set up at Sparta.

[i] Pausan. lib. iii. c. 19, s. 10.

[k] Ibid. lib. iii. c. 19, s. 11. Suidas, ad voc. Stesichorus.

The rape of Helen was therefore most assuredly the theft of an image, and not of a woman. Pausanias cites an instance of a similar act having been committed by a slave in Crete, who stole a sacred image of Diana.[l] This shews that such acts might be of common occurrence. The theft of Danae from the Treasury of Acrisius has been noticed in a former page. The rape of Europa, the same personage as the Celtic Ket, was an act of the same kind exactly. The same may be affirmed of the object of the expedition of Jason and the Argonauts, who bore away triumphantly the Golden Fleece. These outrages were supposed to affect the national honour, and were followed by war and reprisals. The war of Troy was one instance, and Herodotus states,[m] that the deadly enmity existing between the Greeks and the Barbarians or Foreigners of Western Asia originated in the abduction of images practised on both sides. These facts shew the importance attached to images held sacred, and constitute an important portion of their history.

Images being regarded thus as real gods, religious worship was paid to them with all the solemnities due to the real person of the god himself. The image was addressed in solemn prayer, usually offered during the performance of the rites of sacrifice. Hymns expressive of praise were chanted to the sound of such kinds of musical instruments as were suitable to the occasion and the character of the god. Processions were had in which the image itself was occasionally borne in a state indicative of preeminence of powers, and assembled crowds indulged in all the extravagance of joy. Such were the public rites of worship performed either at stated festivals or on occasions which might seem to demand extraordinary worship. On ordinary occasions the votary bowed before the image, or kneeled in prayer: to touch it was an act of worship; to kiss (most probably) the foot, was an act of zealous adoration: a rite which, in the dark ages of

[l] Pausan. lib. iii. c. 18, s. 3. [m] Herodot. lib. i. c. 4.

Europe, the Pope of Rome, claiming the character of God's vicegerent upon earth, assumed to himself.

The image remained in its temple or shrine, unless when removed to be borne in procession or on a visit to other images of the gods. Frequently, perhaps daily, the image was bathed in holy water, improved by perfumes. In India the holy water of the Ganges is deemed to be most efficient for the purpose. Lamps were kept burning continually at the shrines. Flowers in the form of garlands and of crowns, or simply scattered, were supplied in abundance. At Chæronea in Bœotia all kinds of meats and viands were placed on tables before the image.[n] The apocryphal story of Bel and the Dragon shews that in many instances it was maintained that the god himself feasted upon and consumed these dainties. No instance however is now known in which such pretence is alleged: but still in Indian Asia these offerings are made, and are generally left to be eaten by birds and beasts, which is held to be the same as if consumed by the deity himself.

It is obvious to remark that these honours are only due to the image after the rites of consecration have been duly performed, and the spirit of the god has been brought into the figure. As the divine spirit was supposed to have been introduced by the performance of certain acts, so also it was believed that the indwelling spirit might by certain acts be expelled from the image. Any act of gross outrage and indignity might have that effect. To besmear the image with impure and offensive materials might so offend the spirit of the god as to induce it to desert the image, and render purification and renewed rites of consecration indispensably necessary; but whenever the image became mutilated by violence in even the slightest degree, the mischief was held to be beyond remedy: no repair, however artfully wrought, could ever render it an abode fit for the

[n] Pausan. lib. ix. c. 40, s. 6.

reception of the offended spirit. This the following examples will shew.

Bishop Heber remarks that "most of the *Hindù* idols are of clay, and very much resemble in composition, colouring, and execution, the more paltry sort of images which are carried about in England by the Lago di Como people of Italy. At certain times of the year great numbers of these are hawked about the streets of Calcutta: they possess no sacred character, and are frequently given as toys to children and used as ornaments of rooms. But let these same images be consecrated by being washed by a Pandit with due ceremonies in the water of the Ganges, and they become gods, and any treatment indicative of irreverence towards the worthless though now sacred figures could not be seen without giving offence to every *Hindù* who beheld it."[o]

Buchanan, in his journey through the countries of the Mysore in the Indian Peninsula,[p] notices some pagodas and other public structures built nearly three centuries ago from treasures found under an image of the god *Ganesa*, in consequence of a communication made by him in a dream, in which he gave directions for the application. The image under which the treasure had been found was shewn to the traveller, who saw it to his surprise lying at one of the gates of the town unhonoured and neglected. On enquiring the reason why such a benefactor could be suffered to remain in such a plight, the people informed him that the finger of the image had been broken, and that the divinity had deserted it; for no mutilated image is considered habitable by a god. The universal adoption of this principle appears in the mutilated and disfigured images of the ancient pagodas of *Hindosthàn*. The earlier Mahomedan conquerors held it to be an indispensable duty to suppress idolatry, as well as conquer idolaters, and therefore all these acts of fanatical outrage may very justly be ascribed to them. The

[o] Heber, Trav. chap. iii. [p] Buchanan. Journ. chap. vii.

not less fanatical Romanists who invaded the shores of India from the fleets of Portugal, may be well exempt from the charge of the mischief; it may be presumed that they found little of this kind of outrage to commit: the work, idle as it is found to be, had been finished before their arrival.

The same rule was equally applicable to the images or statues of the idolaters of the ancient world. Before consecration they were held in estimation only on account of the value of the material or the ingenuity and excellence of the work; after consecration they acquired another character, they were viewed with reverence, they were worshipped as gods. In many cases the images of ancient Greece and Rome were merely statues. Whether the Belvidere Apollo, the Medicean Venus, and the Farnese Hercules were images or statues only, it may be difficult to determine. The state, partly mutilated, in which they were found, leads to the opinion that they had been consecrated, and had been the objects of the violent indignation of iconoclasts.

The prevalence of this doctrine of the desecration of images by mutilation might be shewn by many facts recorded in the ancient history of Asia and Europe. One may suffice. The mutilation of the images of Mercury standing according to custom before the doors of the houses in Athens subjected Alcibiades, the most influential of the citizens, to the sentence of death. In earlier times this was the commandment given to the Israelite by the law of Moses: "Thou shalt not bow down to their gods, nor serve them, nor do after their works, but thou shalt utterly overthrow them, and break down their images."[q] This duty, such of the kings of Israel as attempted the extirpation of idolatry most zealously performed. The sacred historian, writing in the second book of Kings, gives the following record of the zeal of king Jehu for the extirpa-

[q] Exod. xxiii. 24.

tion of idolatry. In obedience to his orders they "brought forth the images out of the house of Baal, and burned them; and brake down the image of Baal, and brake down the house of Baal, and made it a draught-house unto this day."[r]

The act by which the temple of Baal was thus desecrated rendered it inapplicable to idolatrous worship, even when in later reigns idolatry was revived in all its excesses. The *Hindù* caves described in former pages are now as fit, after some few repairs, for their intended uses, as they were when first wrought; but the disciples of the *Brahmens* leave them to utter neglect. They remain evidences of the zeal with which the men of former ages laboured in the worship of their idol gods: but their labours are now useless; some deed of desecration has been done, perhaps a cow may have been slaughtered within their precincts, and the injury remains irreparable. The pagoda of *Sarnatha*, outraged by Mahomet of *Gazni*, has never been rebuilt, and its once holy gates having been affixed to the tomb of that conqueror, were desecrated irrecoverably, and the offered restoration has not been accepted by the descendants of those Brahmens who in the eleventh century of the Christian era presided at the rich shrines of the god, and died as victims when his sanctuary was violated.

The facts stated in the preceding pages of this chapter will have afforded a general account of the principles and progress of idol worship, and also of the intent and purport of most of the almost countless symbols which are exhibited on the magnificent image of the Olympian Jupiter. A particular examination of each of the material forms, vegetable or animal, which adorn it, has not been given, but the import of many similar objects of various kinds has been stated, so that it must be easy to see with clearness and certainty the true import and intended meaning of every portion of the image above described. The following summary will collect into one view the different portions of the general argument and give clearness and certainty to the conclusion.

[r] 2 Kings x. 26.

The throne of the image is placed on a quadrangular basis, the symbol of solidity and stability, according to the authorities cited, especially in our introduction. The seat on which the image is placed is supported by pillars and legs, the known symbols of the power which upholds the world, of which the image is the immediate symbol. The numerous appendages of the image are symbols of the divine power and other attributes, some of which, as the naked state of the superior parts, as also of the age, have been noticed by the authors cited, namely, the sceptre surmounted by the eagle, the olive crown, and the figures of exulting Victory. The following will be equally intelligible from the instances already adduced. The rich materials of which the image is composed indicate the excellence which pervades the whole creation, and the riches with which it abounds: the numerous lilies wrought on the robe are symbols of vegetative virescence; the many animals denote the beasts that range over the regions of the earth. The fabled events exhibited, as the Thebans borne away by the Sphinx, and the slaughter of the children of Niobe, are significant of the triumph of the worship or votaries of the god achieved in different ages. The victory of Hercules over the Amazons records the suppression of the idol worship of that people which opposed the predominance of Jupiter.

Such was the image, such the import of the image of Jupiter, which long continued to excite the admiration and receive the worship of the Grecian states. It may justly be pronounced to have been the acme of symbolism, and the noblest object ever set up to gratify the passion for idolatrous acts. It may almost be regretted that such passion and propensities should have been prohibited by the divine command, but that command was dictated by wisdom, for idolatry leads to enormities of the most gross and extravagant character. Our protestant reformers seeing the evils of idolatry, not only cast down idols and images, but, sensible

that symbolism led almost immediately to idolatry, they discountenanced and nearly suppressed the use of symbols also. Doing this, perhaps they were not more judicious than they would have been, had they prohibited the use of food because it might lead to excess and intemperance. The path of right lies between the extremes of wrong; let but the proper track be chosen, and good will ensue. The sin and dangers of idolatry have been already briefly noticed; but let not symbols be rejected because their use may be abused, but let them be so exhibited that the rational symbolist may be made sensible of the danger attending the voyage of symbolism, and escape a wreck upon the rocks and quicksands of idolatry.

It is to be observed, and observed with sorrow, that the commandment which forbids idolatrous worship is obeyed only by the protestants of Europe and the disciples of Mahomet. The worship of the Roman Church, and of the Greek also, is a direct violation of it. They plead indeed that the reverence paid by the members of that Church to the image and of this latter Church to the picture is only done to promote devotion and to give force to prayer, and that such reverence is not worship: but the Romanist bows down at least to the graven image, and the Greek to the likeness, and this bowing God forbids as decidedly as the direct worship. It is obvious from the commandment that the Almighty requires more spirituality in our devotion than man is naturally inclined to give, and that the task is a trial. Thus far the obligation is clear and positive. But the divine commands require not only the avoidance of actual sin, but even the semblance of approach to transgression by even the slightest approval, and consequently the commandment serves not only to forbid idolatry, but it imposes a restraint upon even the sentiments of the antiquary; it bids him, while he zealously endeavours to exhume or to restore the perishing remains and figurative decorations of our ancient sacred structures, it bids him beware lest he

become enamoured of the discoveries he may make, or the ornaments he may restore: he is a transgressor if he regard not with regret the idolatrous observances to which the admired works of our Romanist ancestors did undoubtedly serve and the idolatrous principles which they did most unhappily cherish; it bids him, as he gathers the harvest of his observations, carefully to separate the grain from the chaff; to use the symbol so that it may call the attention to important truths, but not allow even the zeal of enthusiasm so to regard the symbol that it may plunge the mind into the wild waves of mysticism, or tempt it to violate the divine commandment by bowing before, that is, by performing at or towards the symbol any act of reverence.

The provinces of British India seem to be subjected providentially to the inspection of Europeans, to make the Christian world sensible of the grievous mischiefs of idolatry. There it is exhibited in its most monstrous form, such as it was exhibited in all the nations of ancient ages, before it was overthrown by the truths of the Gospel. Bishop Heber, who saw it practised in its most offensive forms in the provinces over which his episcopal jurisdiction extended, observes on the idolatry of the *Hindùs*, that it is impossible to understand all the evils of idolatry unless it be actually seen. He saw it in its worst form possible in the countries through which he made his progresses; and was led to the following conclusion: "The *Hindù* tribes worship the same abominations with the same rites as the ancient Canaanites."[s]

The purport of his remarks forces itself on our notice as we describe idols and their worship. They may be summed up in the following sentences. The use of an image, in whatever light regarded, whether as a real representation of the person, or as an aid to devout worship, degrades the Deity, and robs him to a certain extent of his just claim to love and fear. When represented by an image in the form

[s] Heber, Trav. vol. iii. p. 342.

of man, it suggests the idea that the Deity is subject not only to human infirmities, but even to the passions and the vices of man: a doctrine plainly taught in heathen legends. This renders the god almost an object of contempt. The supposition that he is capable of vicious acts affords encouragement to vicious courses in his worshippers. The supposed liability to human passions renders him, his power considered, an object of fear, but it exhibits him as an object of hate, it converts the worship which ought to be of love into the worship of malignity; the supposed liability to human infirmities deprives him of the reverence of gratitude, for it suggests the idea that good and evil are dispensed often from unworthy motives, and that the god may be influenced by the same motives as prevail commonly among men: that he may be wrought upon by bribes in the form of prayers, and sacrifices, and donations. This doctrine, applied to human affairs, has in some ages and countries produced tables of prices and fines which, if paid, atoned for the commission of even the worst of crimes, and excluded altogether every idea of repentance and amendment of life.

The doctrine that penalties might atone for offences, when offences had been committed, led to the conclusion that similar penalties voluntarily paid when no offence had been committed were acts of virtue. The payment of a penalty is always in some degree a privation of enjoyment, and is an act of mortification: whence it is inferred that the voluntary infliction of pain on the person is actual virtue; and the degree of virtue must bear a due proportion to the degree of suffering endured. Such, it must be presumed, has ever been the train of argumentation adopted on this subject by error and absurdity.

The world of idolaters affords numerous examples of the sad operation of this strange doctrine. The *Hindù Yogi* or Ascetic, improperly called *Penitent*, is a most extraordinary instance of the effect of this most erroneous argumentation.

The pains endured and the patience displayed by some of them are wonderful. They are most numerous in the city and the vicinity of Benares, where, according to Bishop Heber, they almost crowd the streets. They do not subject themselves to much pain. They are in a state of perfect nudity (no great inconvenience in a hot climate) except as far as they are covered by an incrustation of cowdung and ashes. Objects more disgusting can hardly be imagined. So far from attempting any improvement of disposition they become brutalized by choice, and seem to take a pride in cherishing malignity of feeling. They hold all others in scorn; and are ever ready to deal out curses against any one that fails to render them that homage which they claim as their undoubted right. They are proud and insolent in the highest degree, for they hold with Pharisaical arrogance that they are better than other men,—are the special favourites of the gods, with whom they expect to be identified when at death they obtain *mucti*, that is, a perfect union with the spirit of god, and thus become gods. Strange is the error.

Voluntary pain and privation is not peculiar to the professed *yogi*. The choice is equally open to every disciple of the *Sastra*. Whenever pain and privation is adopted, it is always regarded as an atonement for sin, or the certain proof of progress in virtue. The miserable wretch who voluntarily endures the torturing process of the *chacra*[t] is cheered by the applause of all beholders, and encouraged by the assurance of the attainment of religious eminence. The self-devoted wretch who places his head before the wheels of the sacred *ratha*, that it may be crushed flat and mixed with the dust of the earth, or he that piously drowns himself in the waters of the Ganges, entertains the same assur-

[t] In the *chacra* the person is suspended by a hook fixed in the muscles of the back, attached to an horizontal bar fixed in an upright pole, round which the sufferer is whirled about with great velocity by means of a rope drawn by some person present.

ance of heavenly happiness after death; even the wife who becomes the *satì*, and dies in the flame of the funereal pile of her deceased husband, is taught to believe that she shall live with him on the sacred *Merù*, and partake with him the fullest enjoyment of married pleasure. Such are the effects of the miserable idolatry of the *Sastra*.

It were hard to determine whether the anchorite of the pillar, Simeon Stylites,[u] who passed thirty years on the plinths of columns of different heights, or the anchoret of the desert, abhorring social intercourse, idly rambling in nakedness and subsisting on wild products, were in any way different from or better than the *Yogì*. The same question may be asked concerning the Christian fanatic, who lashes his body and inflicts wounds on his limbs as an atonement for transgression, and then dreams that he is rendered pure independently of the atonement of the Redeemer, and without repentance proved to be sincere by amendment of life.

Such are the errors and absurdities into which idolatry leads its votaries whether heathen or christian, whether practised in public temples or churches, in crowded cities, in the cell of the hermit, or the monastery of the monk. Careful to avoid these errors, the true disciple of the Gospel will shun even their confines, and every path that leads toward them. To this end, he will forbear to give to rites and ceremonies any other importance than what may be conducive to decent order and uniformity in religious worship: for whatever observances transgress this rule approximate to the extravagances of the ascetic, and claim a degree of spiritual worth which supersedes and suppresses the production of the fruits of a right spirit. If the use of symbolical objects be adopted, (and such use, if subjected to due regulations, may be very beneficial) the greatest caution must be observed, lest any other importance be conceded to them than as being the material means of exciting proper senti-

[u] Mosheim, Eccles. Hist. chap. v. part 2.

ments,—as the mere instruments useful for the accomplishing such good effects. It may be admitted, that any act of wanton outrage committed on the symbolical object must be regarded as a wrong or even wicked deed, but the divine commandment positively declares that not only any act of worship directed to the material symbol, but any act of reverence done to the same is a breach of the commandment; is consequently a sin in the sight of God; it is idolatrous—is an act from which every sincere Christian will most dutifully abstain.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CHURCHES OF CHRISTIANS.

When the Redeemer had by his ministry and his death brought life and immortality to light through the Gospel, the purposes for which sacred structures had been previously constructed were altogether changed. The altar was no longer raised for sacrifice; the great sacrifice of which all sacrifices had been the symbols having been offered. The Saviour had taken away the first, that he might establish the second.[x] Sacred edifices or temples, all amplifications of the altar, were also changed as to their uses and acquired another character: they were not required, as aforetime, for the reception of images and of idols; for the Gospel taught that God was a Spirit without parts or passions, and that they that worship him must worship him not under any created form, but by mental devotion in spirit and truth. Such being the true character of Christian devotion, it may be asked, what occasion could there be for churches? to what purposes could they serve? why need any be built? The answer is ready and certain.

[x] Heb. x. 9.

The religion of the Gospel is not solitary and recluse. It requires its votaries to practise public and social worship in open assembly as well as by private prayer in the closet. Such religious exercise serves to produce brotherly affection, which is the end and aim and very essence of Christianity; without which no man can be a Christian. St. Paul writes:[y] "Let there be no divisions among you. Be ye perfectly joined in the same mind and in the same judgment. Forsake not the assembling yourselves together." Such are the precepts of the Gospel. The practice of the first converts to the faith, made on the first promulgation of the Gospel on the day of Pentecost, accorded with these precepts: "They continued daily with one accord in the temple:"[z] deeming their faith to be idle and unavailing unless they called the principle into act by a public profession made in a united assembly in the house of God. Such being the obligation to which every Christian is subject, it follows that a house appropriate to religious assemblage is an accommodation indispensably necessary to every body of Christians wherever they may be found. History relates that such houses were ever sought, and, whenever it might be possible, were procured for the purpose of religious assemblage. The demand was dutifully answered whenever the means were found.

The Christian converts at Jerusalem continued to assemble publicly in the temple for a considerable period after the day of Pentecost, although the rite of the Lord's Supper, not being a public sacrifice but a commemoration of the Redeemer, was performed from house to house. When however the rulers of the Jews proceeded to violent persecution, and it had become dangerous and even impossible to attend openly in the temple, then the assemblies for religious worship were held in private houses. These were therefore the first Christian churches. The same practice prevailed in the cities of the Gentiles. St. Paul writes to the Corinthians,

[y] 1 Cor. i. 10. Heb. x. 25. [z] Acts ii. 46.

"The churches of Asia salute you: Aquila and Priscilla salute you much in the Lord, with the church that is in their house."[a] The church, εκκλησια, *ecclesia*, in this text signifies not a building evidently, but the society of Christians or chosen persons usually assembling at the house for the performance of religious duties. The word *church* in its primary signification signifies the *House of the Lord*, οικος κυριακος, *oikos kyriacos*. Our language wants a word to designate properly an *ecclesia*, or Christian society.

Whenever an opportunity occurred, the Christians of the first centuries prepared or built churches, or rather, what may be termed Lord's Houses, for the purpose of religious assemblage; in which, it seems, they shewed great zeal, and were by no means sparing of cost. Such opportunities however were for a long time precarious and rare: till the reign of the emperor Alexander Severus in the former part of the third century, the Christians, according to the historian of the Decline of the Roman Empire,[b] had usually held their assemblies in private houses and sequestered places. "They were now (writes the historian) permitted to erect and consecrate public edifices for the purpose of religious worship; to purchase lands even at Rome itself for the use of the community; and to conduct the elections of their ecclesiastical ministers in so exemplary a manner as to deserve the respectful attention of the Gentiles." During such favourable intervals of persecution or restraint, the Christian churches often acquired a magnitude and grandeur which even shamed the temples of the unbelievers. Such efforts shew that the early Christians were perfectly assured that the honour of God is greatly promoted by the magnificence of his house. The struggle between idolatry and the Gospel was attended by various reverses of fortune, and the churches were often dilapidated and sometimes razed to the ground, but whenever the fury of persecution sank into repose the churches were

[a] 1 Cor. xvi. 19. [b] Gibbon, chap. xvi. p. 448. 8vo.

again restored, and the Christian saw with exultation the glory of the Redeemer upheld by the splendour of the fabric of the church.

Early in the ensuing century the Christian faith which had long been making progress, and had won to itself many of the high officers of state, ascended the throne itself, and Constantine the Great declared himself a Christian, and made the religion of the Gospel the religion of the state. "Immediately the Christian temples of Antioch, Alexandria, Jerusalem, Constantinople, &c. displayed the ostentatious piety of a monarch ambitious in his declining age to equal the perfect labours of antiquity. The form of the religious edifices built under his auspices was usually a simple quadrangular oblong, such as were the Grecian temples, though it might sometimes swell into the shape of a dome, and sometimes branch into the arms of a cross. The timbers were framed, for the most part, of cedars of Libanus; the roof was covered with tiles perhaps of gilt brass; the walls, the columns, the pavement, were encrusted with variegated marbles; the most precious ornaments of gold and silver, of silk and gems, were profusely dedicated to the service of the altar; and this specious magnificence was supported on the solid and perpetual basis of landed property."[c] The historian shews that the annual revenues of some churches exceeded three thousand pounds sterling, and that donations to the amount of eighteen thousand pounds sterling, to be followed by farther requisitions, were directed by the emperor to be paid by the treasurer of the province of Carthage for the relief of the churches of Africa, Numidia, and Mauritania.

The church used by the Christians at Tyre had been destroyed during the persecution in the reign of Diocletian, but was rebuilt under Constantine. The structure is thus described.[d] The entrance was by a large gate facing the

[c] Gibbon, chap. xx. p. 292. 8vo.

[d] Sacred Architecture, by Brown, p. 139.

west, in a tower so lofty that it was seen at a great distance. It opened into a spacious quadrangle, surrounded by four galleries supported by columns. Between the columns was trellis-work, which defended the persons who might be in the galleries from being seen from the court. In the midst of the court were fountains of water for ablution. At the end of the court rose the west front of the church, having three doors, of which the middlemost, much larger than the others, was brass, of folding valves exquisitely sculptured. This middle door led into the nave of the church, the side doors led to galleries within. This structure was spacious and lofty, and was supported on the exterior by columns much higher than those of the court. The interior was well lighted, and shone on every side. The ornaments were of valuable materials and of the best workmanship. The floor was of marble mosaic work, in beautiful compartments; the woodwork of the interior was of cedar. At the eastern end were thrones or elevated seats for the priests. One higher than the rest, and in the centre, was assigned to the Bishop. These were disposed in the form of a semicircle. The chancel or sanctuary at the upper end was separated from the laity in the body of the church by a trellis of woodwork of the most delicate sculpture. The nave was fitted up with benches regularly arranged for the people. Without were great halls, and other places fitted up for catechumens; the baptistery, and the school of instruction. These were connected with the church by passages and doors. The whole was surrounded by an outer wall, a barrier against profanation.

The resemblance borne by this church to the heathen temples is obvious. The division into nave and ailes, the galleries, were exactly the same. The tower over the entrance and the cloistered court within is still seen in most of the pagodas of *Hindosthàn*, and in the high massive structures that rise on each side of the entrances into most of the temples of Egypt. The chancel of the Christian church answers to the Egyptian

secos, the place appropriated to the animal idol. The lofty columns on the exterior of the church must have rendered it a near resemblance of the Parthenon at Athens. Thus does it appear that the Christians did not object to adopt the form of the heathen temples for their churches: it is even possible that they did even prefer those forms to any others, partly because they were familiar to the habits of the converts, partly because the use implied a kind of triumph over idolatry, and partly because the practice seemed to have been sanctioned by the Law of Moses, which, directing the form of the tabernacle in the wilderness, gave it a near resemblance to the temples of Egypt, structures most familiar to the sons of Israel.

At Rome the structures called Basilica were frequently used by the Christians for their religious assemblies during and after the reign of Constantine. These Basilica had previously been used, some for courts of justice and some for exchanges, or assemblies for traffic, and perhaps for other public purposes. They consisted usually of two ailes and a nave with a tribunal at one end: they were spacious, and therefore well adapted to the Christian worship. This well known application of these buildings to that purpose has led to the opinion that the basilica was the model of the Christian churches, an opinion must surely mistaken, as appears from the church of Tyre and the resemblance it bore to the temples of old. The numerous basilicæ of Rome were constructed on a plan nearly the same as the heathen temples, but this resemblance arose from the expediency of the form, for a division into nave and ailes by columns is absolutely necessary where space is required, and occurs in the ancient structures of all countries from India to Rome. This remark will supersede the necessity for the particular description of more churches: but a few notices of the magnificence of one will shew the zeal of the primitive Christians for the honour of God and their Saviour, and may be an example not unworthy imitation in these our present times.

The Basilica Liberiana, or Church of Santa Maria Maggiore at Rome, was erected in or about the year three hundred and fifty-two, and being one of the oldest now extant, is of especial interest. It is inclosed by a spacious square, so that its grandeur is displayed to great advantage. Before the principal front stands a Corinthian fluted pillar of fine marble, forty-six feet high, bearing atop a bronze image of the Virgin Mary. The approach is by a colonnade on either side of two stories; the lower of Ionic, the upper of Corinthian columns. The principal entrance is through a portico of eight columns of granite, with marble pilasters. The interior is divided into a nave and ailes by two rows of twenty marble columns thirty feet high, constituting colonnades of the length of two hundred and fifty. The side walls are ornamented with pilasters, between which alternately are windows. The altar table consists of a large slab of veined marble covering an ancient sarcophagus of porphyry, in which the body of Pope Liberius the founder was deposited. The pavement is of stones of various colour, and the ceiling is divided into coffered panels doubly gilt, and rich in the extreme.[e] Such is this church of the age of Constantine: such was the grandeur of many of the churches of that early age of Christianity.

It is not to be supposed that all the churches of the Christians were of this splendid description. The munificence of even Constantine the Great could not have been able to answer all demands: the Christian assemblies were therefore of necessity left in many instances to their own resources, which, in provinces where the population was few and perhaps not opulent, would be insufficient except for the construction of buildings simple and small, not entitled to any other name than that of *chapel.* Even in Rome itself many of the churches were constructed of materials taken from ruined edifices; whence it came that

[e] Sacred Architecture, by Brown, p. 27.

columns of different orders and different dimensions were arranged together with offensive incongruity in the same fabric. In some instances the materials may have been taken from a pagan temple, overthrown, perhaps, in retaliation of outrages committed in times of persecution. In such cases the anomaly of the structure, however offensive to the eye of taste, might be beheld with triumph, or at least with approbation, because it not only testified the predominance of the true religion of the Gospel over an idolatrous worship, but the destruction of the heathen temples served also to prevent most effectually its restoration.

In the later years of the Roman Empire of the west the frequent barbarian invasions of Italy left no leisure for the arts to flourish, and the desolation with which every inroad was attended extinguished at length every art, and architecture shared with others the common fate. The siege of Rome by Attila the king of the Huns stripped the city of even the remains of opulence, and the dominion first of the Ostrogoths and next of the Lombards, reduced the Romans to a state that must be termed slavery. The conquering barbarians were however so far subdued in their turn by the conquered, that they received from them the religion then professed, and first the Goths and after them the Lombards were called Christians. The ruin that had attended the victories of the Goths under Theodoric rendered necessary the building many churches. Strangers to every art, and destitute of any taste for elegance, their buildings were coarse imitations of the Roman examples which they saw, some in complete ruin, and some in a state of great dilapidation. Destitute of the skill and impatient of the labour necessary for the formation of the noble columns of the temples of better times, the pillars of their churches were built of stones of little size, which could only give stability, when the pile, unworthy of the name of column, was of clumsy bulk. When they did think fit to introduce

a column of a single stone, it was of pigmy dimensions, worthy of no other name than post. Ignorant of the theory of mechanical pressure, their arches were of small span, and they indulged their passion for religious gloom by the narrow dimensions of their windows. Structures such as these differed widely from the architecture of imperial Rome. They were different from every kind of architecture previously known: the style was first produced by the nation of Goths: it was owing to the circumstances above stated peculiar to that nation, and was therefore naturally and even necessarily designated by the name of the nation that first used it: the structures were called Gothic. There can be no occasion to search farther for the origin of this name: there can be no better reason for the application and the use.

The Lombards succeeded the Goths in the occupancy and rule of Italy. Their government lasted somewhat longer than two hundred years. Such continuance gave them opportunity for the improvement of the Gothic architecture, which they adopted, and for nearly the same reason as their predecessors in the rule of Italy. They imitated as far as might be the Roman architecture, which was the only model that presented itself. They had no opportunity of seeing or knowing of any other. Scarcely surpassing the Goths in mechanical science and skill, they were compelled to follow the practice of the Goths their predecessors; and their structures were nearly of the same character, and therefore were very properly known by the name of Gothic. The cathedral of Pavia, built by Queen Theodolinda the Queen Elizabeth of the Lombards, is an example of boldness in design but insufficiency in the execution.

The same may be affirmed of the nations of western Europe. The Roman Christians during the times of their empire had builded churches in the pure Roman style; these the nations saw, and imitated to the best of their

ability. The Franks of France, the Visigoths of Spain, and the Saxons of Great Britain, were all imitators of the Roman style of architecture as far as they might. They used the round arch and the dome in their most eminent buildings; but, the same as the Goths and Lombards in skill and science, they all were subjected to the same restraints, and their structures retained from necessity the same character, and were still justly denominated Gothic.

Such was the architecture of western Europe during six or seven centuries, till the Crusaders, having seen and admired the pointed arch, the tower, and the spire, in western Asia, they introduced for the first time those structures into their own countries on their return home. The architects of Europe, especially the migrating society of Free-masons, improved in science and skill and liberally rewarded by the nobility whether lay or clerical who employed them, varied and improved the simple models of the east, and produced the different species of Gothic architecture called the pointed or lancet Gothic, the triangular or decorated Gothic, and lastly, the florid or highly ornamented Gothic. These different orders of Gothic architecture adorn many of the cities and countries of Europe with cathedrals and churches of the highest order of magnificence. They delight and often astonish the eye of the beholder, and it may be admitted that they are striking symbols well calculated to elevate the thoughts and greatly to promote devotion, agreeably with the intention, or rather the main design of their founders and constructors.

These several forms or orders of the Gothic architecture were followed by another form or order, produced by a combination of the Grecian and Gothic. It is commonly called the Debased Gothic. Perhaps the phrase may be just, for the order has been produced by the union of parts altogether incongruous. The principle which regulates the Grecian architecture is the square; that which leads the

Gothic is the cone: both of these, though different, are symbols of the world and idols of the Deity. The Grecian architecture is plain, solid, and horizontal: the Gothic is abundant in ornament, light, and aspiring. The Gothic boldly demands admiration: the Grecian quietly asks it. It may be said that the interests of each are opposite, and consequently when brought together confusion must ensue; and therefore the judicious architect will not bring them together, and attempt to harmonize. And yet each taken separately has merits that may be pronounced equal. The advocate of the Gothic lauds his favourite by referring to the impressions of sublimity which height, extent, and variety both internal and external seldom fail to produce in the attentive spectator. The advocate of the Grecian architecture dwells with delight on the unassuming simplicity and the undeniable beauty exhibited in the chaste ornaments and apt proportions which pervade these structures. It will not be denied that the pleas of each advocate are well grounded. Both the Grecian and Gothic have merits which, though different in kind, are the same in amount, whether they be regarded with a reference to their sufficiency when adopted in structures either sacred or profane. The Gothic invites the mind to take the soaring flights of enthusiasm: the Grecian invites it to entertain a pure sense of humility, coupled with a firm but unpretending steadiness of purpose. Both these impressions are fruits which a spirit truly religious ought to entertain: it is in consequence contended that both orders of architecture are equally adapted to religious purposes; that, for instance, the pure, the elegant, and classical architecture of such a truly Grecian structure as the Senate House of the University of Cambridge might be as productive of every desirable effect if used as a Christian church, as even that glory of the Gothic, its near neighbour King's College Chapel. The Roman architecture partakes of the merits of both, and unites their uses.

The forms of Christian churches have been the same with

almost no exception, whatever may have been the character of their architecture. The more large and spacious usually contain a nave, two ailes, one on the north the other on the south side of the nave, a chancel at the east, one and sometimes two towers, either with or without spires, at the western end of the fabric, a porch at the south entrance, and occasionally one also on the north. There will be occasion presently to treat of all these several parts of churches, in which their history, as also their symbolical import, will be duly considered; in the meantime it may be observed that such modes of architecture were always adopted by the Christian nations as appeared to them most excellent, and therefore most expressive of their piety, by a due discharge of a duty which all christian people have generally held to be of indispensable obligation, and for the reasons following.

When the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ[f] drove the traders from the temple at Jerusalem, and suffered none to carry even a vessel through its precincts, he bade man to understand, that all places dedicated to religious worship ought to be held in reverence, and never be made available to ordinary, much less to improper and profane purposes. Whatever may be conducive to the reverence thus required should be adopted without hesitation or reserve, and therefore all persons are offenders against the will of their almighty Father who do any act tending to the desecration of structures which may have been dedicated to him, and set apart for his holy worship. Agreeably to this principle it appears from history, both sacred and profane, that there have been found men in all ages and nations who did feel a regret, like that of the pious king David, when it was said by him, "Behold, I dwell in a house of cedar, but the ark of God abideth between curtains."[g] To the honour of the character of man it may be affirmed, that all nations whether heathen or christian, except when they had become de-

[f] Mark xi. 15, 16. [g] 2 Sam. vii. 2.

generate and wickedly base, have ever been earnestly determined to honour the god of their worship by the construction of temples and churches, eminent, as far as their means afforded, for magnitude and splendour. This sentiment has been exhibited in the massive temples of Egypt, in the mountain-like temple of Belus at Babylon, as also in the cloistered courts of pagodas and labour-wrought caves of India. These were the works of idolaters, it is true, but they were all wrought upon the same principle, a principle approved by the true God; for the magnificent temple built by king Solomon was constructed according to directions given to king David through Nathan the prophet.

That the same doctrine is still maintained by all sincere and truly pious Protestants may thus be shewn.

It is argued, says the judicious Hooker, by persons who assume to themselves the character of being more pure in their religious practice and opinions than other men, that it is idle and superstitious to suppose that God can be delighted with sumptuous structures, and that such structures are not suitable to the simplicity of the Gospel of Christ. Again, they argue that true devotion consisteth in the emotions of the heart, and not in prescribed forms and outward appearances. In answer to affirmations such as these, he observes, "Howsoever their heads are disposed, by whom such things are done in the world, shall we think that it baneth the work which they the builders of magnificent houses of prayer leave behind them, or taketh away from others the use and benefit thereof? Touching God himself, hath he anywhere revealed that it is his delight to dwell beggarly, or that he hath no pleasure to be worshipped saving only in poor cottages? Even then was the Lord as acceptably honoured by his people as ever, when the stateliest places and things in the whole world were sought out to adorn his temple. This is most suitable, decent, and fit, for the greatness of Jesus Christ and the sublimity of his Gospel."[h]

[h] Hooker, Eccles. Polit. Book v. s. 15.

Such are the arguments offered by one of the most profound and able divines of the English Church. He pleads that, as circumstances permit, the House of God ought to be so constructed as to be suitable to the dignity of God and the Saviour. Of the early times of the preaching the Gospel, and during the times of persecution, he observes, that it was objected against the Church, that her service done to God was not solemnly performed in temples fit for the honour of divine Majesty, and then that their most convenient answer was, That the best temples we can dedicate to God are our sanctified souls and bodies.[1] This indeed is true. But this answer availed only so long as circumstances prevented the construction and use of churches spacious and handsome. In the times of the emperors Severus, Gordian, Philip, and Gallienus, the state of the Christian affairs being tolerable, the former buildings, which were but of mean and small estate, did not content the Christians of the times, and opportunity then serving, they erected throughout every city churches even splendid. These Diocletian caused by solemn edict to be overthrown. Maximinus with like authority giving leave to re-erect them, the hearts of all men were even rapt with divine joy to see those places which tyrannous impiety had laid waste recovered as it were out of mortal calamity. Churches were reared up to height immeasurable, and adorned with far more beauty in their restoration than their founders before had given them.

The sanctity of churches, and consequently the obligation to make and maintain them in such state as may properly accord with their symbolical import of the Divine presence, is greatly increased by rites of consecration. Such rites, when duly performed, convey a solemn promise that the building thus set apart for the service of God, becomes irrevocably the property of the Deity himself; and therefore any act done in violation of the engagement

[1] Hooker, Eccles. Polit. Book v. s. 15.

is a breach of a promise and engagement made to God; any act of desecration, any neglect of repairs, becomes a wrong done towards God himself; any irreverent act done in or toward the consecrated structure becomes an insult which may justly impose a serious responsibility on the offender. When such acts are done to man the laws of civilized societies entitle the injured person to a legal remedy. The laws of England intend the same towards God: but man too often defies his Almighty Father while he quails before his feeble fellow.

History, both ancient and modern, tells that extraordinary rites, called rites of consecration or dedication, have been performed by people of all ages and nations on the occasion of the first application of altars, or temples, or places, to religious uses. Some of these practised by heathen nations have been mentioned in a former chapter; with Christians those rites usually consist of the most public and solemn recital of the purposes intended, accompanied with religious services performed with greater cost and of greater length than on ordinary occasions. The dedication of the temple at Jerusalem may be regarded as an instance illustrative of all others almost without exception. The universality of the practice shews a conviction of its important usefulness; for every act, when accompanied by solemnity in the performance, acquires an importance which does not attend the very same act when lightly done. Some men will indeed contend that the intent is of itself sufficient, and that forms and ceremonies are frivolous as well as vexatious. Such arguments imply great ignorance of human nature: in many, perhaps in most cases, the outward act is necessary not only to invite energy, but even to produce the inward sentiment: and even when the sentiment is really entertained, the outward act imparts a force more powerful and efficient. On the most ordinary occasions forms and ceremonies are beneficial; on important occasions they become most neces-

sary; and most surely those persons are not wise who regard them with indifference, much more those who regard them with contempt.

That the outward act might produce with more certainty the inward effect may be supposed to have been the reason why the Deity prescribed the numerous and almost frivolous rites and ceremonies for the observance of the Israelite: they were intended to alienate his mind from idolatry. For a like reason the Saviour required the Christian to perform the sacramental rites of Baptism and the Lord's Supper: that was an act by which the person baptized signified his assent to the covenant of obedience; this was an act expressive of a sense of gratitude to the Redeemer, which is the sure ground of Christian obedience, and to keep that grateful sense ever alive and active in the mind. The consecration of a sacred edifice is of the same import: it implies an engagement solemnly and sincerely undertaken by the parties present, and assented to, unless withheld by protests, even by the parties absent, but living within the district to which the edifice belongs. All who assent (and the majority bind all) directly declare by the act of consecration that they will regard it as the sacred House of God; that they will vindicate all legal and customary rights when duly claimed, and defend it from harm both by their own act and also by their heirs or other lawful successors and inheritors of their rights. An engagement thus made is as firmly binding as any legal document duly executed, and is only revocable either by the free and unanimous consent of all parties interested, or by the authority of *the powers that be*, which, in Great Britain, are the King, Lords, and Commons in Parliament assembled.

To give names to churches at the time of their dedication is a very ancient practice. The names given to the greater portion of Christian churches intimate that it became general when the Church of Rome, having adopted the worship of saints and angels, chose some one of them as the

patron and protector of the structure where religious worship was paid to that holy personage more especially than to any other. This was a continuance of the practice of the heathens, when they built and dedicated temples to Jupiter, to Apollo, to Juno, to Venus, and others of their countless divinities. The names given to Christian churches are generally the names of personages recorded as saints in the Roman calendar, but utterly unknown to the Protestant Church. The continued use of these names by Protestants may be justly ascribed to the necessity of the case. It is vindicated by Hooker in the following terms:[1] "Touching the names of angels and saints, whereby most of our churches are called, as the custom of so naming them is very ancient, so neither was the cause of it at first nor is the use and continuance of it at this present hurtful. That churches were consecrated to none but the Lord only, the very general name itself doth sufficiently shew: inasmuch as by plain grammatical construction *Church* doth signify no other thing than the *Lord's house*. And because the multitude of persons, so of things particular, causeth variety of proper names to be devised for distinction's sake, founders of churches did that which best liked their own conceit at the present time, yet each intending that as oft as those buildings came to be mentioned the name should put men in mind of some memorable person or thing. Thus therefore it cometh to pass that all churches have had their names, some as memorials of peace, some of wisdom, some in memory of the Trinity itself; some of Christ under sundry titles; of the blessed Virgin not a few; many of one apostle, saint, or martyr, many of all." The judicious theologian, after thus disclaiming the idea that the churches were dedicated to the worship of the persons whose names they bore, proceeds to observe that the names given were intended to commemorate apostles specially ordained by the Saviour in person, martyrs

[1] Hooker, Book v. s. 13.

who died in vindication of the faith, and persons eminent for their piety and for the services they had rendered to the Church.

These arguments justify most amply the practice by which the churches used by Protestants continue to be designated by names given them before the Reformation; names of persons little known, and of uncertain deserving: but "charity thinketh no evil," and consequently the true Christian will not infer unworthiness where no cause appears, but will kindly presume that the persons whose names are given to our churches were persons of eminent piety, and may therefore without impropriety be retained.

The present increase of our population requires new churches in many districts, and the wealth and religious feeling or piety is very commonly ready to supply the want. The names of saints or personages unknown are in some instances given, although it is evident that there is no necessity for such practice. The names of many persons of our own country who have been distinguished for piety and virtue, and especially our protestant martyrs, might be given to our churches. When a private individual builds a church and consigns it to the public use, the church might bear his name, and thus the public would effectually and properly express the gratitude due for such great benefit conferred on the country, but especially on the vicinity of the church. It cannot be denied that this might be done when a church is built, as is done when a person having founded and in part endowed a college, the learned society is known by his name, which is at certain times solemnly recited at a commemoration of his bequests, with religious thanksgiving for his bounties.

Protestants concede the title of *saint* only to the twelve Apostles, the two Evangelists Mark and Luke, and the personage known in holy writ by the name of Michael the archangel. Of the propriety of this application of the title to those persons there is no doubt. Whether the title may be

allowed to other persons, and to what persons, is a question which invites consideration; it may serve to regulate the names given to churches.

The word *saint*, taken in its most extended sense, signifies a person so eminent for piety and virtue during life, as to justify a reasonable belief that after death he must have been admitted into the assembly of "the spirits of just men made perfect;" or, as our creed speaks, "the communion of saints." The Christian world, sensible of the pre-eminence of their religion both as to principle and moral practice, is apt to believe that the title of saint should only be given to persons of their own faith, and that all other systems of religion ought to be regarded with abhorrence, and to be suppressed whenever opportunity may offer. To persons of such opinion the words of the Saviour may be properly addressed: "Ye know not what spirit ye are of:" a sentence which enjoins forbearance, and prohibits persecution and the idea that salvation cannot be obtained beyond the pale of the Christian Church. If salvation be thus widely obtainable, it becomes a consequence not to be denied that the title of *saint* may be justly assigned to all who steadily adhere to such rules of righteousness or holiness as, upon the best evidences to them available, they conscientiously believed to be just and true. This doctrine is taught both in the Old and New Testament, for in both such texts occur as the following:[k] "God is no respecter of persons, but in every nation he that feareth him and worketh righteousness is accepted with him;" "God loveth the stranger in giving him food and raiment;" and, "There is no iniquity with the Lord our God, nor respect of persons, nor taking of gifts." The Apostles and the historian of the Acts give the title of *saint* generally to all persons who adopted the Christian faith, upon the presumption that all such were true disciples of the Gospel, and were presumed to be in a state

[k] Acts x. 34, 35. Deut. x. 18. 2 Chron. xix. 7. Also Comments of Jortin, Tomline, and Hales, given by Mant on Acts x.

of salvation. In very early ages, even during the life of some of the Apostles, but especially the long life of St. John the Evangelist, many heresies and schisms arose in the Church, for which many calling themselves Christians were denounced as unworthy of the privileges of a disciple of Christ, and therefore not in a state of salvation; and as such heresies and schisms were of frequent occurrence, and all were liable to be tainted with such errors, it became necessary to limit the application of the title *saint* to such persons only as had lived and died in the true faith. It must be almost impossible for man to decide with certainty on this point; for God only knoweth what is in man: the Church of Rome however does decide, after what it deems due enquiry, and often adjudges the title of *saint* to such persons as it approves; but in doing this it assumes the power of an infallible judgment; a power which the Protestant Churches conceive cannot be found in man, and on that account they forbear to give the title of saint to any one.

In this forbearance the Protestant Churches are somewhat too scrupulous. There are cases in which the title may with great propriety be conferred. It is stated in the Book of Revelation that when the Lamb had opened the fifth seal the prophetic Evangelist "saw under the altar the souls of them that were slain for the word of God and for the testimony which they held; and white robes were given unto every one of them."[l] The souls here mentioned were the souls of such persons as had suffered martyrdom for the sake of the Gospel, and of such as had died, not being Christians, in vindication of the opinions or doctrines which they honestly and conscientiously held. They had "endured unto the end," and such the Saviour declares "shall be saved."[m] To all these white robes were given, the symbol of purity and of the forgiveness of sins. Such is the lot of martyrs: of their salvation there can be no doubt.

[l] Rev. vi. 9, 11. [m] Matt. xxiv. 13.

It must be believed that such persons have been admitted into the communion of saints, and therefore they may be confidently thought worthy of that title. If martyrdom be a sufficient qualification for the title of saint, every Protestant, at least every English Protestant, will most assuredly admit that it might very properly be affixed to the names of bishops Cranmer, Latimer, Hooper, and Ridley, and other martyrs, who died at the fiery stake in the reign of the persecuting queen commonly called the bloody queen Mary. If the names of Saint Cranmer, Saint Latimer, and the like, were given to some of our new churches, it would do honour to the present age, for it would express the gratitude justly due to those noble martyrs who "endured unto the end" rather than countenance by the subscription of their names the idolatrous doctrine of transubstantiation.

The text from the Revelation cited above mentions martyrs who died "for the testimony which they held." These words suggest the question, whether men who endure death in vindication of religious opinions conscientiously entertained may not be martyrs as well as the Christian who died for the *word of God*. The text cited does imply two and different motives that might operate on the minds of persons of creeds widely different. Sincerity proved by the severe test of martyrdom cannot but be meritorious, even when it rests upon error. It should seem therefore that the heathen man slain for the testimony which he held, may, or rather must have a portion together with those who were slain for the word of God, and may, like them, receive his white robe. The Athenian philosopher Socrates, condemned to die because he could not worship the idol gods of Greece, may possibly be such. The service rendered to true religion by his contempt of the idol gods of his country was great indeed, it sowed distrust of those gods in the minds of his philosophical disciples, and led to the establishment of the truth. The deaths of Christian martyrs were not perhaps

more meritorious. It were easy to believe that there may have been many such martyrs in different ages, not only among the Jews, as Daniel, Shadrach, Meshech, and Abednego, but men heathen and idolatrous may have been martyrs also. Marsyas flayed by the hand of Apollo may have been a true martyr. So also may the sons of Niobe, slain by the arrows, that is, by the sect of Apollo and Diana. They died in vindication of the testimony that they held. Though erroneous, they may be presumed to have been sincere, and if so, entitled to the white robe and the advantages of martyrdom.

If the death of martyrdom endured by persons for the testimony that they held, even when that testimony is founded on error, may entitle the martyr to the title of saint, it becomes a natural consequence that all persons of any religion are entitled to a certain degree of respect, for they may have been sincere and therefore accepted by a merciful God. These reasons teach that all endeavours to lead men from error to the religion of truth ought always to be regulated by kindness and courtesy. Violence and anger ought ever to be suppressed as being utterly inconsistent with Christian charity. Compulsion and persecution ought never to be used, being forbidden by the Saviour when he said to his disciples angered by the inhospitality of a Samaritan village and desiring vindictive punishment, "Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of."[n] According to this text, even the grossest idolater is entitled to forbearance, to courtesy, and pity. Be his errors what they may, he ought alone to be invited by the voice of wisdom and prudence to give ear to the language of truth. Such is the only restraint that may justly be imposed on the free will of man. Let these principles ever prevail when Christians hold intercourse with idolatrous nations, especially when the British Christian seeks the conversion of his obedient fellow-

[n] Luke ix. 55.

subjects of *Hindosthàn*. Many of them may be regarded as saints by a just and merciful God. Whether the title may be given let discretion decide.

The pious author of the Ecclesiastical Polity[o] found himself obliged to meet the clamour of the Puritans of his age, who, professing abhorrence of Romanist idolatry, cried "Down with all churches, down with them, even to the ground," because they had been the receptacles of images worshipped. They madly desired to destroy things useful, because they had been subject to abuses which were completely suppressed. Many of our sacred structures do to this day exhibit the effects of this insane zeal, which caused the rebel fanatics of the reign of the amiable but unfortunate king Charles to exercise their fury in defacing lamentably the ornaments of many of our churches, although they fortunately had not leisure to destroy. The same cry, Down with them, down with them, has been revived against the churches of our establishment in our present days, and it has been with wanton jocularity affirmed that the stones of churches were better applied if broken into materials for the repair of highways. Such lately was the clamour of persons who unwisely advocate what is called the voluntary system for the maintenance of religious worship, notwithstanding it has brought forth base fruit in the United States of America, and notwithstanding the good fruits which the endowed establishment has borne during several centuries in England. But let it be supposed that the bitter enemies of the Anglican Church should succeed in the full accomplishment of their purposes; that the churches were spread in repairs upon the highways, and the revenues and property of the Church applied to purposes of the state; the public benefit would be as transient as it was when king Henry ordered the dissolution of the monasteries. The churches, whether thrown down by violence or undermined by time,

[o] Hooker, Book v. c. 13.

would cease at least to adorn our country, and some wise moralist might apply to England the observation of the celebrated Johnston on the Puritan destruction of the churches of Scotland, that the madmen had extirpated the only symptoms of civilization in the land. This mischief might be of no great importance, but it would be of importance and incalculably injurious to the interests of true religion when the ministers of God's word, wholly dependant on voluntary contributions, must not dare to offend the sinner by the declaration of the truth, but must either starve in poverty from the denial of contributions, or else listen with slavish attention to contributors crying, "Prophecy not unto us right things, speak unto us smooth things, prophecy deceits."[p] Many of the separatists from the Church of England cannot but be aware of such consequences, but, led by party rather than religious zeal, they seem to disregard them; for in the endeavour to make proselytes, they practise their allurements rather on persons who shew symptoms of a disposition to piety by attending to the worship used by the Establishment, and suffer to pass unheeded the grievous sinner. Thus do they often "build upon another man's foundation,"[q] and, as if reversing the practice of the Saviour, they seek to call not the sinner but the righteous to repentance."[r] Evils such as these are ever rife when party overrules right principles, and such will ever be the case when men disregard the precept, "Set your affections on things above, not on things on the earth."[s]

It appears from the accounts of the structures built by the Christians of the early ages, but especially from the description of the church of Tyre, that they did adopt without hesitation the forms of the heathen temples. The earliest Churches were simple structures consisting of only one room, quadrangular, and in most cases oblong, resembling the simple temples of Greece and Rome. The church at Tyre had a lofty gateway, announcing to distant beholders the practice of the

[p] Is. xxx. 10. [q] Rom. xv. 20. [r] Matt. ix. 13. [s] Coloss. iii. 2.

rites of Christians. Such structure bore resemblance to the lofty propylæa of the Egyptian temples and the pyramidal towers of the Indian pagoda. The name used at first, the *naos* of the Greeks, has been preserved in the word nave, by which the room which constituted the earliest simple church was known. In later times, when the Christian religion was adopted and maintained by the state, and when the heathen *basilica* and other structures of similar form became the places of public worship, the building received the name of *Church*, signifying the *House of the Lord*, for reasons nearly the same as the word *naos* was used by the Greek or *Deo-havelli* by the *Hindù*. In these instances as well as others the name signified the *House of the god*, and was given by all alike upon the same supposition, that the god, if not always, yet that he was often present in the sacred edifice. The Christian entertains and has authority for the same belief in the following text, "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them."[t] Thus spoke the Saviour. May sincerity of purpose and propriety of behaviour actually obtain the presence of the Redeemer, whenever Christians meet for social and public worship, and thereby render the name *church* the proper title of the place of assembly.

The heathen temples, especially those of the later ages, were so constructed that their length was directed towards the east, and the entrance was by a portico at the western front where the altar stood, so that the votaries approaching for the performance of religious rites directed their faces towards the east, the quarter of sunrise. The reason for this practice was founded on the heathen notion that the east was the face of the world, and of the Deity, whom the votary when turned in that direction addressed face to face, and, as was supposed, with the best effect. The same rite has been generally observed by Christians, partly because they were

[t] Matt. xviii. 20.

commonly disposed to comply with established usages even though heathen, whenever there might not be any reasonable objection to such compliance, but especially when there might be good cause for it. That there was good cause for such compliance in this instance the following authorities may shew.

All nations have thought it expedient to fix upon some point of the horizon towards which the suppliant should turn in prayer. The heathen worshipper turned toward the east, held by him to be the face of his god; the Jew, wherever abiding, always turns toward the site of Jerusalem, the place where his temple once stood, to which he confidently but perhaps vainly supposes that he and all of his race shall sometime return. The disciple of Mahomet turns toward the city of Mecca, in reverence of the place where his prophet lies entombed. Uniformity in worship necessary for decency and conducive to pious feeling, may be said to render such observances indispensable. The Christian, fully assured of the expediency of such usages, complies with the ancient practice although it be heathen; he makes the east, the *kebla* as the Arabians speak, the point of his worship: he may justify the observance by the following authorities. The prophet Malachi writes, "The sun of righteousness shall arise with healing on his wings;"[u] a prophecy which, as all agree, designates the Saviour. The Saviour, in accordance with the symbolical words of Malachi, says, "I am the light of the world;"[x] a figurative term which is so frequently used by him, that all true Christians are called "the children of light."

In cases of little certainty a trifling argument will be decisive, as, when the balance is nearly even, a feather may turn the scale. The texts above cited convey no injunction, but they may serve to determine questions to which expediency requires an answer. Let then our churches be arranged easterly, and let Christian congregations worship with faces

[u] Malachi iv. 2. [x] John viii. 12.

turned toward the east, where the sun of righteousness symbolically rises with healing on his wings. In some cases, as in churches where there are galleries in the ailes, it may perhaps be expedient to dispense with the observance, but in the main the principle of orientation, or worshipping toward the east, is a desirable observance: the uniformity, the solemnity, even the efficacy of worship perhaps require it, and those persons are surely not wise who disregard uniformity in all observances. Such may be the general rule in the structure of churches; but wherever the observance may happen to be inconvenient, the rule may and ought to be dispensed with.

Durandus, alias Durand, was bishop of the city of Mende in the department of the Upper Garonne, part of the formerly Languedoc. He wrote, in the later years of the thirteenth century, a treatise under the title of *Rationale*, explanatory of the symbolism of churches and church ornaments; a work held in high estimation by many lovers of the ecclesiastical antiquities of the middle ages. The good bishop prescribes the following rule for the position of churches. "Let the head of the church point to the east, and in that point of the heavens where the sun rises at the equinoxes, that it may signify to the Church militant the obligation to behave itself with moderation both in prosperity and adversity; and not to the solstices, which," says he, "is the practice of some." [y] In some instances the line of the structure was directed to that point at which the sun rises on the day of the commemoration of the saint to whom the church might be dedicated. The observance of this latter rule would certainly be productive of much irregularity in the position of churches; and is objectionable because it implies saint-worship, and that the saint of the church is the sun of righteousness rather than the Redeemer, a suggestion of which no Protestant can approve.

The records of antiquity, and especially the minute survey of Greece by the indefatigable Pausanias, shew that

[y] Durand. chap. i. sect. 8.

the heathen world were abundantly supplied with sacred places for the exercise of piety and practice of devotion. Temples celebrated for magnificence were numerous in the cities. In the country the *temenoi*, buildings with sacred inclosures, were frequent; each with the *hiera*, its idol or image, or the like objects without such inclosures, were numerous everywhere. Rome in the reign of Augustus had about ninety temples in the fourteen regions into which the city was divided, all of which had been consecrated by public rites. There were about as many structures called *ædes*, or chapels, which were not public, but appropriated to the use of private families or persons.[z] In ages and countries less civilized, the sacred barrow or upright stone and the consecrated grove afforded abundant opportunities for the exercise of religious reverence and devotion.

During the first ages of the Christian era the construction of churches was opposed often by furious persecution, but yet the zeal of believers prepared such places for the performance of social worship required by the Gospel as their means and opportunities afforded. The provinces in which the faith had been planted were divided into districts, each superintended by a bishop, who consecrated such churches or chapels as might be required, and ordained and appointed proper ministers for the performance of the proper duties. The expenses necessary for these purposes were supplied from general and voluntary contributions, as may be learned from the fourth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles; but afterwards, when Constantine the Great professed the Christian faith and it became the religion of the state, those expenses were supplied from the public funds, and the voluntary contributions of the first ages were superseded in all countries by regular supplies, taken either from the general payments made to the state, or from particular assessments enjoined by *the powers that be*, or the legislature

[z] Kennet, Rom. Antiq. chap. ii.

of the countries, which required obedience to such ordinances as to other laws of the land.

In Britain the same rule prevailed during the government of the Roman empire, but the churches built were in general destroyed by the fierce and cruel outrages of the heathen Saxon invaders. After their conversion to Christianity it became necessary to recur to the primitive practice of appointing bishops, and to build churches altogether new. Instances are recorded of the zeal shewn by Saxon kings on their conversion. They first constructed churches of logs of wood, or even of wattled osiers, for the purposes of social worship, until they might have time to erect substantial buildings or even magnificent cathedrals. The example of the kings was followed by their nobles, the eorls and thegns, or thanes, who were excited to build churches by the concession of very important privileges. The historian of the Anglo-Saxons writes that the rank of thegn "was attainable by all, even the servile," and that "the requisites which constituted the dignity are stated in the laws to have been the possession of five hides of his own land, a *church*, a kitchen, a bell-house, a judicial seat at the burgh-gate, and a distinct office or state in the king's hall."[a]

Conditions such as these must have been a very strong inducement to the building of churches, and they had operated so powerfully during the Saxon rule that when the Doomsday Book was written after the Conquest almost all the villages of England had been formed, and churches builded for each, with some few exceptions.[b] Such must be the inference drawn from the names of places being nearly the same as the present. The names of the greater number are of British etymology, and may therefore be supposed to have been known when the country was subject to the Romans: some are of Saxon, and some, but few, are of Norman. The inhabitants of the place, the *παροικια*,

[a] Turner, Hist. Book viii. c. 7. [b] Fosbrook. Encyc. Antiq. ch. xv. p. 677.

(*paroikia*) paroichia, paroich, parish, held themselves bound there to attend and worship; there to pay to the officiating minister the customary fees; and there to render in obedience to the law of the land the tithe of their products, and the expences and repairs of the church. Such were the rights and interests of the Church: laws passed in those times rendered them permanent and secure: they were made independent of voluntary contribution, which, the will of man being ever variable, is ever precarious, and sooner or later inefficient. The zeal for building churches and chapels was encouraged in later times; was farther promoted by the belief that such useful and pious acts contributed greatly to the prosperity and continuance of the beneficent family. The influence of this belief was so powerful that persons in humble condition builded churches so numerous as to be productive of many inconveniences, so that it was found necessary in the reign of the first Edward to pass a law to restrain the evils arising from new claims and conflicting interests.

Owing to the causes above stated, and not unfrequently to the Romanist doctrine that contribution to the building of churches secured pardon for sin, the dimensions and ornaments of churches were greatly increased and apartments more or less numerous were added to the single nave. A church containing a nave, two ailes, a chancel, with a tower either with or without a spire, and one or more porches, all surrounded by an inclosed area called the church-yard, was held to be perfect, and to have all the apartments commonly required. Cathedrals or churches of high importance and distinction included other apartments besides those above named, called chapels. These were the structures of Romish times, when private or separate worship was preferred to worship public, social, and brotherly. These chapels were generally dedicated to some favourite saint, the patron of the constructor; a personage different from the patron saint of the greater

fabric: they consisted of one room only, which however contained an altar and other appendages necessary to the rites of the time. All these apartments were reverenced as being in the highest degree sacred; the rites performed in them were held efficient of benefits peculiar to each, so as to be obtainable there only: the place where the rite was performed was of far more importance than the rite itself. It cannot be denied that our Romanist ancestors gave a reverence to places, forms, and observances, that far exceeded all reasonable bounds, that was indeed absurd; but now we are become protestant we have passed into the opposite extreme, and the idea of sanctity is seldom attached to places or things connected with the exercise of religious duties. Although churches bear a name which signifies *the house of the Lord*, they are regarded merely as places where such persons as think fit to worship God may do it rather in compliance with ancient custom than from any sense of peculiar fitness or propriety. That such should be the case affords some cause for regret: a brief recital of some of the reasons why different degrees of reverence were in former times given to different parts of the structure, and also of the uses to which the several apartments were applied, may tend to correct the error.

The chancel at the east end of the nave was always regarded by the Christians of all ages as an apartment far more sacred than any other part of the church. This idea prevailed, partly perhaps because its situation corresponded with that of the most holy place in the temple of Jerusalem, partly because it was most distant from the entrance at the west end, and therefore more remote from the scenes of common life. To these the following reasons may be added. In the early ages of idolatry the temple was little else than a shrine, or a room of small dimensions, to which additions were made in after times; but these additions being new, were not held in the same degree of reverence as the more

ancient apartment, which in the Egyptian temples became the *secos*, the abode of the idol god. Hence the superior sanctity of the chancel. The Romanist priesthood claimed seats in the chancel for themselves to the exclusion of all the laity, over whom they arrogated a preeminence as beings of a superior order and unequalled sanctity. Whether the Romanizing clergy of the Church of England hanker after the like Rabbinical honour is a question that may be asked.

Before the Reformation the chancel was separated from the nave by lattice-work (cancellus), over which was the rood loft, a gallery where stood the rood, a representation of the Saviour on the cross; an exhibition which Protestants regard as indecorous and do not allow to remain in their churches. In the walls on the south side of the chancel are shallow recesses called *sedilia*, generally three. These were seats occupied by the Romanist ministers officiating in the ceremonies of the mass. In a deeper niche, near the altar, was a channel called the *piscina*, which served to convey into the earth such water as had been used for the washing the hands of the priests, and the vessels used in the sacramental rites. These objects, though now happily useless and their purpose little known, are most unaccountably highly venerated by certain antiquarian enthusiasts, but are unworthy of attention, except it serve to excite regret at the idle observances which during the establishment of Romanism were mistaken for religion. In the present times the chancel is chiefly used for the performance of the most solemn rite of the Reformed Church, the celebration of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper; a use which of itself may justly entitle it to be regarded as the most holy place in the church. During the times of Romanism this sacramental rite was here performed at a structure of solid stone called the altar. One of these altars, used in the reign of king Edward the First, was three cubits, or four and a half feet high. It had four corners, symbolical, as Durandus says, of the fact that

the Gospel was preached in the four quarters of the earth. The authentic mark of an altar was its five crosses, made in times of Romanism by anointing it in five places with holy chrism; but it could not be consecrated unless it were of stone, and contained (as the disciples of *Buddha* also maintain) some relic of some holy saint deposited in a cavity firmly closed by cement tempered with holy water. In some instances the altar was a table of wood, but even in such case, in the plank a small stone called the *sigillum* was imbedded for the safe reception of the relic. This mighty structure usually stood on a raised platform approached by steps. On one side of the altar the Romanists placed a small table called the Credence Table,[c] a term signifying a sideboard, on which was the plate belonging to the altar, and the bread and wine. From this table the elements about to be consecrated were taken to the altar. This process was intended to manifest a high degree of reverence for the elements about to be made by consecration the real body of the Redeemer, and to be worshipped as God; an act which could only be justified on the presumption that the elements did by consecration actually become a God. The portion thus deified but not used in the celebration of the sacrament, was kept behind a curtain either standing upon or hung over the altar, in a vessel called the Pix, in which the consecrated elements known by the title of the Host were occasionally borne in procession and taken in visitation of the sick. On such occasions all persons passing near this host were compelled to reverence it by acts of worship: a plain proof that the act of consecration was held to have produced the same effect upon the elements as when the image of Jupiter at Olympia had been deified by heathen consecration. Near the altar a lamp or candle was kept constantly burning. The bishop of Mende says, "At the

[c] Oxford Glossary. Durand. Ration. chap. vii. Fosbrooke on British Monachism, chap. xxxiii. p. 279.

horns of the altar two candlesticks are placed, to signify the joy of Jews and Gentiles at the nativity of Christ;"[d] and he adds, "the snuffers or scissors for trimming the lamps are the divine words by which men amputate the legal titles of the law and reveal the shining spirit!" Such is the symbolism which the Cambridge Camden Society thinks worth publication, and entitled to the pious regard of all true Christians.

Protestants of all sects condemn the application of the term *altar* to the fabric at which the sacramental rite is performed. An altar is a fabric on which sacrifice is offered; but Protestants cannot admit that the sacrament is a sacrifice. They maintain that it is a rite altogether figurative and symbolical, commemorative of the death of the Redeemer, accompanied by an engagement on the part of the communicant that he will live the true disciple of the Saviour whom he commemorates, and lead a righteous and holy life. In vindication of this tenet the following reasons are offered.

In the rites of ancient sacrifice part of the victim was consumed by fire on the altar; in the Christian rite no portion of the consecrated elements is consumed by fire, neither is any fire used in the ceremony, and therefore there is no sacrifice. Again, in sacrifice part of the victim was always eaten by all the votaries: in the Romanist celebration the priests alone taste the wine, giving the bread only to the people. The Romanists contend that part of the victim is eaten when the bread transubstantiated is taken, a change which the Protestant denies, for it can only be vindicated by the same arguments as those by which it was maintained that the image of the Olympian temple became after consecration the very person of Jupiter himself. The Protestant farther maintains that all sacrifices offered in the ages anterior to the death of the Redeemer were merely symbols of that one great sacrifice, which, having been offered, has superseded

[d] Durand. chap. iii. s. 27, 28.

and even condemns all others; for to that effect writes St. Paul: "He taketh away the first that he may establish the second."[e] The idea of the continuance of the rite of sacrifice after the sacrifice offered on the cross being thus utterly inconsistent with Christian principles, to apply the name of altar to the fabric used for the celebration of the Lord's Supper is an act utterly inconsistent with Scripture history and gospel truth. If the use of the term altar be liable to such objections, the error becomes an outrage when the structures made of solid stone and called altars are introduced into Protestant churches for no other reason than that such was the usage in times of our ancestors. Objects may excite the curiosity when seen through the obscure mist of antiquity, but they ought not to be allowed to paralyze the brain of the antiquary. A Christian generation "wise as serpents and harmless as doves"[f] will give honour to their ancestors and may be pleased with their works, but it will shun their errors and avoid their faults. May it be hoped that no worldly longings, no proud desire for sacerdotal dignity, may obstruct the performance of this Christian duty in the Protestant ecclesiastic, and may the beauties of medieval architecture never induce the fascinated antiquary to delight in error and cherish absurdity.

Such are the reasons which forbid the true Christian to regard the sacrament of the Lord's Supper as a sacrifice, or to call the fabric at which the rite is performed an altar. The doubts entertained by some persons on this subject have been removed by a late judicial decision,[g] which has determined that the term Communion-table is, according to the law of England, the proper designation of the fabric used for the celebration of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. The importance of the doctrine that the rite is not a sacrifice but a symbol may justly excuse a few remarks which will shew that the Holy Word approves of and adopts the use of sym-

[e] Heb. x. 9. [f] Luke xxii. 19, 20.

[g] On the altar of St. Sepulchre, Cambridge.

bols, and makes them significant of the most important truths.

When the Saviour at the Last Supper brake and gave the bread to the Apostles, saying, "This is my body," and took the wine, saying, "This is my blood,"[h] it is impossible to understand the words otherwise than as figurative, and the act as altogether symbolical; for the body had not then been broken or torn on the cross, nor the blood shed by the wanton spear of the Roman soldier. The Saviour added, "This do in remembrance of me." This injunction sets forth the reason for the continual performance of the holy rite: it has kept up the uninterrupted remembrance of the Saviour, and afforded the fullest assurance of the truth of the Gospel history. This rite, which has been observed without interruption in all ages and by all Christian societies, could not have originated in falsehood and imposture. The Saviour must have died and risen again, and the Gospel must be true. While thus this sacrament gives the fullest assurance to the faith of the Christian, the use of the symbolical elements is calculated to give activity to the best feelings of the human heart, by calling into recollection the sufferings of the Saviour, endured in obedience to the will of the Father, endured also for the most important and benevolent purposes, the delivery of man from the bondage of sin; for this great efficient and final sacrifice having been once offered, the great God has decreed that on the observance of certain conditions, the acts of man, an imperfect creature, shall escape the meed of imperfection; it mysteriously enables the Almighty to temper justice with mercy; to do away the wrong and reward the right. That man must be dead to all feeling, who, when informed of the sufferings of the Saviour, can hear without the most compunctious compassion, and grossly stupid who can hear of the benefits secured to man through those sufferings without gratitude, without affectionate

[h] Matt. x. 16.

gratitude, without love. Whenever this feeling is produced in any one, the man must be a Christian. "If a man love me, he will keep my words,"[i] says the Saviour; that is, he will do his duty to God and his duty to his neighbour. Then, says the Saviour, "my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him." We will afford him a constant participation of the divine graces or favours, and dispose and enable him to bring forth "the fruits of the Spirit,"[j] which constitute the end and aim of Christian improvement and perfection. It has pleased the great God that these effects should be wrought by a symbol, by the symbol of the sacrament. The Christian religion may be said to be a fabric founded on a rock, when taught by the symbols used in the Supper of the Lord. Such may be the efficacy of a symbol. In the symbolism of the Lord's Supper it is of the utmost importance that the rite be regarded as altogether commemorative, and still greater is the importance that it be not regarded as a sacrifice of the Saviour, said on principles false and idolatrous to be transubstantiated, and really present in the consecrated elements.

The nave, or central apartment of the church, is the principal space within the structure. Other parts are often omitted in churches of lesser dimensions, but the nave is always found. In this the congregation assemble; and with faces turned to the east, and therefore, according to the heathen doctrine, turned towards the face of the Deity, they address their God in prayer. In churches where the seats in the nave are open seats, the women commonly have their seat in the western part, behind the men. Durandus writes that this practice was established and approved by the venerable Bede and the Saxon Church, and that it was received from the early Christians.[k] It is known that at the sacrifices and other rites performed at the Temple at

[i] John xiv. 23. [j] Galatians v. 22.
[k] Durand. chap. i. s. 46.

Jerusalem the women were placed apart from the men. Hence it came that Joseph and Mary, when attending at the Temple, missed the child Jesus, each supposing that he had been in the company of the other on their return. This application of the nave to the performance of social worship confers on it a sanctity which gives it a claim to high reverence. The ailes were occupied in the early Christian ages by neophytes, such new converts as had not completed their course of instruction, and therefore were not entitled to participation of all the spiritual benefits attendant on the holy sacrament. This use of the ailes entitled them also to a certain portion of religious reverence.

At the west front of several cathedrals, before the entrance into the nave, are porches which may be called chapels. There is such a one at Ely Cathedral, which, built about the middle of the twelfth century, gives to these rooms a high antiquity, illustrative of ancient manners. This room is in several instances called the Galilee, because persons under ecclesiastical censure used to stay there, while they sought for readmission into the Church.[1] This name was given, because, as Galilee, bordering on the Gentiles, was a part of the Holy Land the most remote from the holy city Jerusalem, so this part of the sacred structure, being most distant from the sanctuary, was of a low degree of sanctity, and therefore most fit for the persons there attending, who were during their exclusion from the sacred rites performed within the church cathedral reputed to be scarcely if at all better than heathens. It appears from several authorities that sermons were occasionally preached in these galilees. The purport of the discourses may be presumed to have been not only admonitory, but, the manners of the times considered, severe and coarse.

In churches where there is no galilee, the area of the tower at the west end of the choir, called the belfry, which was

[1] Miller on Ely Cathedral. Oxford Glossary. Art. Galil.

in former times always open to the church, appears to have served for the galilee, being the part of the church most remote from the chancel, the most holy place; it was kept destitute of ornament, and even in a state rude and foul, and therefore well suited to the degraded state of penitents. This application of the belfry was analogous to the Court of the Gentiles in the Temple at Jerusalem, beyond which no Gentile might pass. Being the lower part of the tower, which was a symbol of the world according to the doctrines of the heathen nations, the belfry held that place in the symbolical system which corresponded with the *Hades* of the Greeks and the *Cumerù* of the *Brahmens*. These may have suggested this application of the belfry; for the Christians, when their religion became predominant, adopted freely heathen symbols and heathen usages when not inconsistent with the doctrines of the gospel.

It is said that the porches were formerly used as schools, and that the seats on each side were occupied by the scholars.[m] Perhaps the porch served occasionally for a galilee, or that the penitents waiting in them were offenders in a degree less grievous than those consigned to the belfry. After the Reformation, and when the belfry had been separated from the church, as it now commonly is, by a wall closing up the arch in the side of the tower next the nave, the porch was perhaps the only galilee.

These uses of the belfry and the porch are now unknown; for penances, though continued for some time after the Reformation, are discontinued. That they should be so is perhaps a matter of regret; for they tended to restrain the commission of offences, and, by affording to transgressors the means of reconciliation with the Church and restoration to respectability, as commanded by the Holy Word, they were certainly productive of very salutary effects. Perhaps however the present age is not sufficiently pious to endure

[m] Fosbrooke's Encycl. Antiq. p. 33.

such modes of atonement; perhaps also it might be difficult to constitute a court that should award proper penances. This difficulty, it is feared, will not be overcome till that period shall arrive, when after the first resurrection "the twelve Apostles shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel."[n] These persons, together with many others of like character, having been raised from the dead and endowed with bodies immortal and superior to human infirmities, will most assuredly govern righteously and award to their mortal subjects due penances and praises with the strictest justice, impartiality, and authority, and thus promote true religion till "the will of God be done on earth as it is in heaven."

These remarks on the several rooms of churches may well suffice to suggest such reverential sentiments as ought to be entertained by the rational and pious Christian. Of the doors of entrance, and the windows admitting light, it may be proper to speak, with some brief reference to their uses. Each door, though not a symbol of the Saviour, may remind us on entering that the Saviour says, "I am the door; if any man enter in he shall be saved."[o] Mindful of this truth, the door of the sacred edifice may well excite in the mind those sentiments of affectionate gratitude towards the Redeemer which are the true, perhaps the only grounds of sincere religion. The windows admitting light into the edifice may well suggest the truth declared by the Redeemer, saying, "I am the light of the world,"[p] and lead, like the door, to the most grateful feeling. When images of the Apostles, the Evangelists, and Saints of holy history happen to be exhibited by coloured windows, the objects seen may well invite us to be thankful for the instruction they have given or information they may afford. This, it may be presumed, was the intention of the contributors of these splendid adorn-

[n] Rev. xx. 4, 5, 6. Matt. xix. 28. Dan. xii. 13.
[o] John x. 9. [p] John viii. 12.

ments of our sacred structures. It were needless almost to observe, that the subjects exhibited in these windows ought to be exclusively scriptural; it may therefore be questioned whether the beautiful modern figures representing the four heathen virtues in the magnificent window of New College Chapel, Oxford, be consistent with either true taste or proper principle.

In the first ages of the Christian era the rite of baptism was performed in any place where proper water might be found; and since to pass into the water was an act pleasant in the warm countries where the Gospel was first preached, the baptist and the baptized both walked into the water when the rite was performed.[q] In after times the sacramental rite was performed in a building without, but near the church, where perhaps the means may have been supplied for standing in the water; but a fabric called the *font* was provided in very early times, at which the rite must have been performed, at least on adults, by sprinkling only. That it was so performed when the font was placed in the porch is nearly certain, and still more certain when the font was admitted into the church. When it was placed in a situation accordant with the symbolical import of the rite it was near the entrance into the church, which was commonly at the west end, at the bottom of the nave. It may be supposed that baptism by immersion may have been practised on infants long after it had been relinquished on adults, for the forms of many fonts shew that actual immersion might be done even there on infants. In many countries however the climate rendered this practice inexpedient even in the baptism of infants, and it is now generally abolished in all parts of the world, for judicious Christians are agreed that the rite being symbolical, it must be a matter utterly indifferent how it may be performed, provided such acts were practised as rendered the symbol complete.

[q] Fosbrooke's Encycl. Antiq. p. 103. Oxford Glossary, Art. Font.

During the times when Romanism was the established and predominant religion of the State, it was held to be necessary that the water consecrated for baptism should be treated with great reverence, and not be cast away as an ordinary element: to this end an orifice was made and is still seen in the bottom of the cistern of many fonts, by which the water might pass into the earth after the baptism had been performed. The Reformers, holding that no important change is made in the element by the prayer of sanctification, have thought such practice not only unnecessary but even superstitious, and wisely treat the symbol with indifference. Perhaps any curious deference paid to the material element would be idolatrous; such observances therefore Protestants very properly omit.

The water of baptism is "the outward visible sign of an inward spiritual grace;" in other terms, it is a visible object indicative of an object not the subject of sense: it is a symbol which, like the symbolical bread and wine of the Lord's Supper, has been ordained by the Saviour himself to teach important and fundamental truths. The water used in all ages and by all nations for the purposes of ablution was regarded before the promulgation of the Gospel as the symbol of purity: since that time it has been the symbol, according to the interpretation of the English Church at least, *of death unto sin*, that is, of pardon obtained on sincere repentance made available by the merits of the sacrificed Redeemer. The rite being regarded in this sense, the water is a symbol of purity. This doctrine of the Church of England is widely different from that taught by the heathen priesthood and by the Church of Rome. The heathens maintained that forgiveness of sin or offences committed might be obtained by sacrifices offered to propitiate the offended gods. The Church of Rome affirms that forgiveness may be judicially dispensed by the priest whenever he decides that the sinner has done acts sufficient to atone for

the transgression. Which of these parties are most wide of the truth it may perhaps be difficult to determine.

The water also signifies, according to our Church, *a new birth unto righteousness.* The reason of this import of the symbol is not very obvious, and is, as it may seem, very remote, for it may be said with confidence that it is founded on the analogy of a person rising from the water of a bath clean, and as it were a new person. Why such person should be a new person is a question which may be thus answered. The world in the process of creation was raised from the circumfluent humor of the primal ocean, it was a new world. In like manner the person baptized, the new Christian, after having undergone the process of ablution, whether arising from the water in which he had been absolutely immersed or with which he had been figuratively sprinkled, (for in either case the import of the symbolical process must be the same,) after this process he is born again, he becomes spiritually a new person, born, as the Saviour requires, of water, of symbolical water, he has entered into a covenant of faith and obedience with his God, he has engaged to act upon principles different from those suggested by the propensities and passions of the natural man, he engages in gratitude to the Redeemer to serve God in spirit and in truth, and thus becomes a disciple of Christ, careful to shun evil in every form, careful ever to cultivate all Christian virtues. This is what is intended by the Saviour when he said, "Except a man be born of water and of the spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God."[r] The words spoken were altogether symbolical. The Rabbi Nicodemus did not understand them, neither was the symbol intelligible until the sacrament of baptism had been instituted and the obligation understood by which the person baptized engages to serve God according to the principles taught in the Gospel of the Redeemer. Should it be said that the

[r] John iii. 5.

symbolical import of baptism thus derived from the earth at the creation, is widely remote from probability and altogether fanciful, and that there can be no reason for any other reference than to the bodily cleanness wrought by ablution, let it be pleaded, the new birth of baptism will be more aptly signified by allusion to a new-born world than to purification by the bathing of the body.

The idea that baptism is a new birth or an entrance into a new world has long been signified by the form of the font at which the symbolical rite is performed. Fonts are generally octangular: the lower part, standing on a wide and solid basis, bears the character of a pillar on a firm base, and sustaining a basin of wider dimensions. According to evidences adduced in the Introduction, some theories taught that the earth was of eight sides: a font therefore of that form is a symbol of the world. The basin or bath contains the water of baptism, from which the person baptized is figuratively supposed to rise, leaving the old world, and entering into a new world; forsaking things natural and seeking things spiritual. Thus does the form of the font accord with the symbolical purport of the sacramental rite.

The towers of churches first attract the eye of the beholder viewing the exterior of those sacred fabrics. They are works comparatively of little use, evidently of great cost and labour, but held to be indispensably necessary; for it rarely happens that churches of the established religion in any of the countries of Europe are not dignified by such a structure. It ill becomes an intelligent people to incur considerable cost in such works merely in compliance with a custom originating they know not how, and continued they know not why. That the towers of churches are highly ornamental will be readily allowed, but the cost of such ornaments might well be spared, or applied to some more useful purpose, for certainly the utility of towers is almost nothing: they are indeed well calculated for the reception

of bells, yet such musical instruments are by no means necessary in any instance, and many towers are not furnished with them. Thus does it appear that the costly construction of towers cannot be justified on the plea of evident utility; and that, though they be ornamental, yet even that advantage will not be an adequate compensation for their cost. In answer to these remarks it may be stated, that, regarded as objects of symbolical import, the annexation of towers to churches is so far desirable as to justify the assertion that towers ought to be annexed to every church when the cost of their construction can be supplied.

The tower has been from old time a symbol signifying by its strength and massiveness the power of Almighty God, and the stability of his purposes. It publishes to all persons within the view those awful and admonitory truths. That such is the import of the symbolical towers appears from the theories entertained by all the heathen nations of all ages. The addition of a tower to almost every church proves that their symbolical import was universally approved of in times past, and it might be again given to public attention with great benefit. The evil consequence, idolatry, need not be apprehended in an age like the present, an age of knowledge to understand, and too honest to disregard the word or deny the true meaning of the second commandment. This admitted, the annexation of a tower to every church becomes an act of duty wherever the means may be afforded for the useful purpose.

The towers of churches are in many instances surmounted by a spire, a conical structure of base small in proportion to the height. Such addition greatly increases the grandeur of the tower, and becomes a symbol of farther import. Although the form in all is nearly the same, yet this difference may be observed. Some spires spring or rise immediately from the fronts or walls of the tower, but not

overhanging it with eaves; spires thus constructed are usually distinguished by the name of *broach*. The proper spire rises from the top of the tower as from a platform bounded by a parapet. The ornaments with which spires are decorated are various, and depend upon the taste or means of the builder: they were generally increased, as the orders of the Gothic increased in the variety of their ornaments: in some instances the ornaments were multiplied exceedingly. The spire of St. Michael's church at Coventry is perhaps the most beautiful spire in England. It issues about mid-height above the parapet of the tower, from a round cylinder, and rises to a lofty apex in the most delightful proportions. Spires are generally octangular, in reference to certain theories concerning the form of the earth, in which they accord with that form which has been adopted in fonts of baptism for the same reason.

The fabric of the spire was utterly unknown in the western world till after the time of the Crusades. Indeed it can hardly be said to have been known till that age to any portion of what is usually termed the civilized world, either ancient or modern. The conical barrows of the early rude nations never approached to the elegance of the spire, neither does the pyramid of Egypt, though lofty as the spire and conical in form, yet widely differing in the square breadth of its base and bulkiness of its dimensions. This observation equally applies to the pagoda of distant India. The Greeks and the Romans had no conception of such a structure. The proper spire was first seen in Europe when the early English style of the Gothic was used, that is, in the middle of the twelfth century.

It has been imagined that the spire owed its origin to the conical terminations seen in round and square turrets of some of the later Saxon and earlier Norman structures, and that these simple and useful roofs were raised by continual accessions of height till they acquired the lofty dimensions of

the proper spire. This conjecture is however by no means probable. The caps of the Saxon and Norman turrets were evidently intended for roofs: their dimensions bear that character and that only. Their bases also are so extended as to form proper eaves, which leaves no room for doubt about their intended use. Had the spire proceeded from these roofs, the progress must in all human probability have been gradual, and spires of all heights would have been seen, indicative of improved skill and increased boldness in the construction: but there are none such; the spire when first seen in Europe was perfect in its lofty form; and the spire of Salisbury, one of the earliest age, was seen piercing the clouds, at once the sudden wonder of England, of height and elegance hardly to be surpassed. It now stands, the product of an architectural science most profound, proving by demonstrative evidence that it was not the result of the tentative efforts of invention, but that it was built by a skill guided and made confident by example and experience.

The time of the structure of the first spires in Europe shews that they were of introduction contemporaneous with the earliest orders of Gothic architecture, and that they were introduced by the Crusaders, who, it is presumed, had seen them in the provinces of western Asia in which they fought and conquered. It may be objected to this statement, that modern travellers give no reports of a spire or even the ruins of a spire now extant in those provinces. This circumstance excites surprize, and it presents an objection to the opinion submitted above not easy to be overcome, except it be admitted that the spires extant in the times of the Crusades have all perished by decay or have been overthrown by violence, and that their remains, if there be any remains, have been overlooked by travellers because of little note and not objects of their enquiry or search.

The arguments shewing that the spire was not an extension of the conical roofs of Saxon and Norman turrets

prove that it cannot have been the invention of western Europe. If there be no spires now extant in the countries of western Asia which might have been models, the enquirer is compelled to ask, where can the spire be now found, or where can it have been found at any period, and have afforded the model to the European Crusader. This question the European visiting eastern Asia is perfectly competent to answer. He reports that structures, perfect models of the Gothic spire, are now extant in the countries eastward of *Hindosthàn;* in the Birman dominions, and in the extensive empire of China. The structures called Chinese pagodas, whatever be their decorations, bear the form of the spire; but the temple of *Shu-maha-deo-prà* at Ava exhibits the exact model of a spire placed upon a tower. It must be admitted that all these structures may be works posterior to the times of the Crusades; but they are built upon principles of remote antiquity, and therefore similar structures must have been raised long before the Crusades which may have been objects of imitation to the Asiatic Christians and to the Christian Crusader. The temple at Ava and the Chinese pagodas are structures of the disciples of *Buddha.* The sect of *Buddha* was an emanation of the *Sastra,* and adopted without material alteration the most important of the theories taught in the volumes of that code. In that code the origin and import of the spire standing upon the tower is clearly seen.

There has been repeatedly occasion to speak of the mount *Merù,* which renders it unnecessary to give a particular description of that fabled place. Suffice it to observe that that mount was the symbol of the mount of the Garden of Eden, and has been from the earliest ages and still is regarded as the abode of gods and of blessed spirits, which are supposed to occupy different regions at different heights of the holy eminence, according to the different degree of merit to which each spirit may have attained. The summit

of the mount is a platform surrounded by a raised barrier called *Ilavratì*. This platform thus bounded affords an abode to beings possessing the attributes of gods. In the middle of this platform, which is fabled to be an extensive elysium or paradise, rises one, or, according to other theories, two or three, other lofty mounts, whose summits the disciples of *Vishnù* and of *Sivà* say are the high abodes of those gods supreme. When the disciples of the *Sastra* entertained the doctrine of one God supreme, as when the Institutes of *Merù* were composed the fables of the *Sastra* would teach that there was one only of these eminences rising on the top of *Merù* within the parapet inclosure *Ilavratì*. In that case the mount would be aptly represented by a tower, of which several instances have been given, and the higher eminence standing upon it would be aptly represented by a spire, whose summit would be the symbolical abode of the high God. Such, it is submitted, was the true origin of the spire. The spire of the temple at Ava is an exemplification of the fabulous theory. In Ava temple there are many spires on the platform, of different heights. It is presumed that each of these are the fabled abodes of different gods of the numerous pantheon of *Buddha*. These lesser spires are the models of pinnacles on the tops of the towers of churches, whether there be or not a spire in the centre of the platform rising high above them. Such was the origin, such the antiquity, such the import of the symbolical spire and pinnacle.

The doctrine that *Buddha*, like *Vishnù* or *Sivà*, occupied the high summit on the top of *Merù*, was adopted by the Buddhists, and symbolically signified by fixing a *tì* or umbrella on the top of the spire at Ava. After the temple had been desecrated at the conquest of the kingdom by the Birmese, the victorious dynasty was pleased after some time to gratify the wishes of the subjects of the former king of Ava by consecrating anew their favourite temple. To this end it became necessary to fix a *tì* on the summit

of the spire, to be the abode of the god. The *ti*, made of iron bars and gilded plates, having been consecrated by many ceremonious rites, was fixed on the top of the spire, the king and his officers attending with high pomp, while the crowds around were regaled with abundant dainties and entertained by costly festivities. From thenceforth the god was supposed to be abiding under the sacred *ti*, and to be ever ready to hear the prayers of the suppliants, who came to sound the bell below, and invite the attention of the god abiding beneath the shadow of the sacred *ti* on the top of the spire.

The statements given in former chapters have shewn that the belief that the Deity worshipped in temples made his abode on the higher part of the structure or on the summit was the general belief of all the heathen nations, especially those of eastern Asia. That the same was entertained by the Christian constructors of spires will be rendered very evident from the following practice.

There are authorities which shew that on some, perhaps many occasions, the Greeks affixed a plate of metal called a vane,[s] turning on a vertical spindle, on the tops of buildings, to shew the direction of the wind. The Temple of the Winds at Athens had such an instrument in the form of a Triton on its summit. It may be observed that the Tritons were divine personages in the Grecian pantheon, presiding over the winds and elements, on which account they were usually represented as attending upon Neptune, the god presiding over the elementary powers. The conveniences attending this practice are so evident and various that it may be presumed to have been universal, and on that very account to have been unrecorded and unknown to modern times. That such instruments have been of common use in all modern ages may be inferred as well from their general

[s] Oxford Gloss. Art. Vane.

utility as from direct notices: that they must have very commonly been fixed on churches may be shewn to be certain.

A form of the male bird of the common barn-door fowl is often seen affixed as a vane on the spires and pinnacles of our churches. There are decisive proofs that this practice was frequent in the early years of the rule of the Saxon kings. A weathercock is exhibited in the Bayeux tapestry, which was wrought soon after the Conquest, where it is shewn as a proper ornament for the summit of Westminster Abbey: and one called expressly the weathercock was in the year 1515 set upon the spindle on the top of Holyrood House in Edinburgh, when it was hallowed by the priests, the bells were rung, and the people partook of a plentiful feast on the occasion. The figure thus placed was an idol of the God supreme. In the English phrascology of some past centuries the word *cock*[t] signified the Deity. The female gallinaceous fowl was a form occasionally borne by *Ked*, the chiefest female divinity of the Celtic pantheon.[u] This might favour the opinion that a figure of the hen rather than the cock may have been affixed during the prevalence of the Celtic religion on the tops of barrows and other sacred structures. Perhaps the male bird may have been used as the symbol of the masculine generative power which was personified under the name of *Prydain*, a god once held in such high reverence as to have given the name to our island. The Romans, finding this symbol thus used, would not object to the continued use of it even when their subjects of Britain had been converted from the religion of the Druids and had become Christians: for the Romans themselves regarded the cock as a bird sacred to Minerva, Mars, and Hercules, and numbers were maintained in several

[t] "By cock and pye," is an oath used in Shakspeare's Comedy of Henry IV. part i. Act v. Scene 1; and Hamlet, Act iv. Scene 5.

[u] Davies' Rites of Druids.

temples as sacred symbols,[x] whence it is probable that they also may have exhibited the form of the bird occasionally as a vane on the tops of their temples before their conversion to the Christian faith, and on their churches afterward. Such was the antiquity of the use of vanes fixed on the tops of temples in ancient ages; such also are the proofs of their continued use down to modern times. They had always a symbolical import, generally of a religious character, whenever used, and when fixed on sacred structures were symbols of the Deity.

That the fixture on the summit of the spire at Ava was of such intent is most undeniably evident; that the same was the import of the weathercock on Christian spires is, from close analogy, most certain. The battlement of the spire of the Christian church corresponds with the platform on which stands the trumpet-shaped spire of the Birman temple; the mound of the platform answers to the tower of the church: it is raised by stages; the tower of the church contains several stories. The pinnacles of the church battlement correspond with the numerous small spires that surround the principal spire of *Shu-maha-deo-prà*. The weathercock of the church spire and the *tì* of the temple are symbols of the same import exactly. These accordances are so close that they must have been the result of one common principle. The records of ancient history afford the assurance that spires such as that of the temple of Ava must have been used long before the introduction into Europe, and consequently that they may have been, or rather are, though somewhat unaccountably, the models of the European spire. Be this as it may, the summits of both are the symbols of the abode and of the presence of the God held to be supreme.

Bells, says the bishop of Mende, are brazen vessels, and were first invented in Nola, a city of Campania; wherefore the larger bells are called *campanæ*, from Campania the

[x] Ælian. de Animal. lib. xvii. c. 46.

district, and the smaller *nolæ*, from Nola the town.[y] The episcopal author assigns to bells such a great variety of symbolical meanings as must produce confusion and render their import useless, on which account all remarks on them might be spared; but since bells are commonly held to be the requisite furniture for church towers, they invite notice, notwithstanding they are held, at least by Protestants, to be of no other use than to announce the time of public worship, and give a musical celebrity to festive occurrences.

Bells are said to have been first used in Europe about the end of the third century, and soon afterwards in England.[z] By this must be understood the practice of sounding a bell at certain times during divine service. The *nola* or small bell was borne in the hand, the *campana* or large bell must have been suspended in a strong frame of wood, in the tower, and was sounded by a rope, to the lower end of which a ring was usually fixed, to be held in the hand of the person employed to sound the bell, whence the act was called ringing.[a] The practice of ringing by ropes a number of bells forming a peal was used in England about the middle of the eighth century.

The first mention of bells occurs in the Law of Moses, in which they were directed to be appended, together with pomegranates, to the hem of the sacerdotal robe of Aaron. "And it shall be upon Aaron to minister, and his sound shall be heard when he goeth in unto the holy place before the Lord, and when he cometh out, that he die not."[b] This law was given evidently in compliance, as in many other instances, with heathen prejudices, by which it was taught that no person could see God and live.

It appears that bells of the common shape, and of small size that might be borne in hand, were of common use among

[y] Durand. chap. iv. sect. 1.
[z] Fosbrook. Encycl. of Antiq. p. 230. Pen. Cyclop. Art. Bell.
[a] Oxford Gloss. Art. Bell. [b] Exod. xxviii. 33—35.

the Greeks and Romans; who, however, do not appear to have used them in religious rites. In India the hand-bell is used constantly by the *Yogì* worshippers of *Sivà*, who sound them when they are about to commence their devotions. Bishop Heber writes,[c] "While I was in one of the temples of the Jains, a good many worshippers entered, chiefly women; each of whom, touching one of the bells which hung from the roof, bent to the ground before one or other of the idols, depositing in some instances flowers or sugarcandy before it." Bells, sometimes of large size, are suspended, as already noticed, near the temples of *Buddha* in Ceylon, and sounded before the votary prays and makes his offerings. European Russia affords instances of the same usage; for the monstrous bells seen at Moscow and other cities can only have been intended to be suspended at a low height, that they might be conveniently sounded by the coming worshippers.[d]

Durandus writes,[e] "The reason for consecrating and ringing bells is this, that by their sound the faithful may be mutually cheered on towards their reward; that the devotion of faith may be increased in them; that their fruits of the field, their minds, and their bodies may be defended; that the hostile legions and all the snares of the enemy may be repulsed; that the rattling hail, the whirlwinds, and the violence of tempests and lightning may be restrained; the deadly thunder and blasts of wind may be held off; the spirits of the storm and powers of the air overthrown; and that such as hear them may flee to the bosom of Mother Church, bending every knee before the standard of the Sacred Rood." These are the several reasons given in the Office for the Blessing of Bells. Some other important uses of bells are noticed by the good bishop.[f] "The bells ought to be rung when any one is dying, that the people hearing may

[c] Heber, Trav. chap. xxv.
[d] Clarke, Trav. chap. vii.
[e] Durand. chap. iv. sect. 2.
[f] Durand. chap. iv. sect. 13.

pray for him. For a woman they ring twice, but for a man three times. The bells ought also to be chimed when the corpse is brought to the church."

These rules, but especially those given for tolling the bell at the death of a man or a woman, guide the practice in many places at this present day. The symbolical imports assigned by the bishop are too fanciful and groundless to deserve notice. They all depend on the doctrine that all the affairs of this world are regulated and dispensed by superhuman but material spirits, and that these may be influenced by the material action excited by the bell. This is the doctrine on which idolatry is founded. It impugns the omnipotence of Almighty God, who, whether he act by the mediate agency of ministering spirits or by the immediate exercise of his own power, ordereth all things both in heaven and earth. It is he that clotheth the grass which is to-day in the field and to-morrow is cast into the oven: without him not even a sparrow falls, and by him even the hairs of our head are numbered.[g]

From this statement of plain truths it must be inferred that no importance can be attached to church bells: that any symbolical import given to them must be altogether arbitrary, fanciful, and precarious: but they may however be of convenient use by summoning the people to attend the duties of public worship, and on occasion they may be usefully expressive of a general sentiment.

Every church of the English establishment is usually surrounded by an area called the churchyard: it is appropriated to the burial of the dead, and is set apart for that purpose by rites of consecration intended to secure the inclosure from encroachment and the remains of the interred from violation. During the prevalence of Romanism the churchyard was supposed to be under the special protection of the saint or holy personage to whom the church was dedicated. That

[g] Luke xii. 28. Matt. x. 29, 30.

this protection might be the more effectual, the interments were made as near the walls of the church as might be convenient. In the reign of king Ethelred the areas around churches were generally bounded by walls or other fences, after which the whole was held to be equally under the protection of the church, but still a preference was given to the localities near the walls. The apprehensions which invited these precautions were excited by the belief that evil spirits had the power in certain cases of annoying the spirits of the departed, which were supposed to linger, at least till complete decay, near the remains in the grave. Such evil and malignant spirits, as it was imagined, were numerously abiding at cross ways; and the bodies of self-murderers were there buried, that they might be punished after death. These notions are rejected by Protestants as idle and fallacious, and the security of the dead is complete from the laudable reverence and affectionate remembrance of friends and ancestors deceased. Whatever be the cause of the reverence given to churchyards, the same has been continued from the time when the sacred platform was formed around the barrow and the *deasuil* was performed on it in honour of the dead interred beneath the mound.

The barrow was an edifice raised in imitation of the altar, and as such was sacred. In the greater number of instances it was a place of religious worship, and in reality a church: it was also almost in all instances sacred for the purpose of interment. This fact teaches that interment within the sacred structure, so far from being unlawful or improper, has ever been held to be the very reverse. Various statements given in preceding chapters might be alleged in proof. That any noxious effects are likely to ensue from the practice is not probable when the coffin is duly covered with soil.

The monuments and inscribed tablets, especially those set up within the walls, ought to be regulated by certain principles and rules, which might have prevented the introduction

of objects, some improper, some even idolatrous, with forms and sentiments by which ignorance, folly, and want of taste have disgraced the walls or the consecrated inclosure of the House of God. Sepulchral monuments, either within the fabric or the surrounding inclosure, ought to be properly symbolical in form and Christian in inscription. Lest they should be otherwise, they ought to be submitted to the inspection and obtain the approval of the authorities having the right of granting permission for their erection, subject, in cases of dispute or difficulty, to an appeal to the Ordinary. It may not be easy to frame any rule in the case: let it suffice here to observe, that the urn and the sarcophagus are unmeaning, or rather, that they are idolatrous. The inscriptions ought not to contain any sentiment that may be in any respect inconsistent with the doctrines of the Gospel. The epithet *sacred*, so commonly introduced into epitaphs, is objectionable; no rite of consecration having been performed when set up either within or outside of the church.

One of the persons in Shakspeare's tragedy of Cymbeline, speaking of an interment, says, "Nay, Cadwal, we must lay his head to the east; my father hath a reason for it."[h] The commentators offer no remark on this passage, and yet it is important, since it refers to the general practice as to the position of the corpse, observed in all burials. Conjecture will perhaps satisfy any doubt by suggesting the opinion that this position is given for the same reason as churches are built with direction to the east: so that as the worshippers in churches turn towards the rising Sun of light and righteousness in prayer, so may the dead at the resurrection turn their faces with reverence toward the great Judge when he comes in majesty and power. It seems that any other position implies a humble admission of unworthiness to meet his face. In the beginning of the eighteenth century an interment was made in which the head was placed on the.

[h] Cymbeline, Act. iv. Scene ii.

north, the feet turned to the south, as a testimony of penitence and humiliation.[1]

The preceding pages of this chapter contain the recital of the fact, that Christians, even those of the primitive ages, adopted symbols which had been used by all ages and nations, when they regarded the temple or the church as the symbol of the divine presence; the tower of his stability of purpose, and power; and the spire of his majesty and pre-eminence above man and all creatures. Such are the examples which shew the antiquity and the general assent to the use of symbols. Beside these, the institution of the holy sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, performed in rites absolutely symbolical, affords authority altogether unanswerable for the continuance of the like practice; and it may be further pleaded, that the use of symbols is absolutely necessary to enable the mind of man to comprehend, or rather form, some imperfect idea of heavenly things. These, and other arguments which might be stated, shew the necessity of the use of symbols, and at the same time call for a more accurate definition of the term than may have been given in the preceding pages.

A symbol is a visible object that exhibits to the mind of the observer things either not seen, or, being abstract ideas, are not the objects of sense. According to this definition, a portrait may be the symbol of the person, or a landscape the symbol of a country. The term is not, perhaps, usually applied to such objects when the resemblance is supposed to be exact, although the effect be exactly the same by the excitement of sentiment as in cases where the symbol is not a resemblance and yet excites the sentiment. This observation is equally applicable to the representation of persons or things, when the resemblance is rather imaginary than real. As in a portrait or a scene, the sentiment is excited with more or less certainty according to the closeness of the re-

[1] Brand, Popul. Cust. vol. ii. p. 199.

semblance, so those symbols are most efficient that bear a near or close resemblance to the object they are intended to offer to the mind of the observer.

When the symbol is taken to represent an abstract idea, or an object not the subject of sense, no resemblance of the object becomes possible, but yet the sentiment may be as effectually excited as if there were a resemblance. This is effected by the ideas habitually associated with the symbolical object. An idol may be an efficient symbol of the god; a lion may be the symbol of fierceness, or some other quality; a flourishing plant may be adopted as the symbol of vegetable fertility; a rock of firmness and stability. It is easy to perceive that in some instances a great number of different ideas may be represented by the very same symbol: the lion may be regarded as the symbol of courage and other qualities; the plant may be the symbol of the medicinal properties it may possess, or of fragrance afforded by its flowers; the rock may be the symbol of obdurate cruelty. Thus does it appear that the imports of any object taken for a symbol may be various, as poets and other writers both ancient and modern clearly shew. In fine, any symbolical import may be affixed to any object however incongruous, according as the fancy and feeling of the agent may be disposed. A staff or a stone may be the symbol of a man. This licence attendant on the use of symbols has often led into all the absurdities of mysticism and extravagances of insanity. When wildly exercised on subjects connected with religion, it renders symbols utterly useless, sometimes mischievous, as the following out of numberless similar examples that might be adduced clearly shew.

The artist expositor of the ancient and interesting church of Kilpeck in the county of Hereford, may be justly said to have awakened the attention of the public to the subject of ecclesiological symbols, which had been laid asleep by the anti-idolatrous caution of Protestantism. His lively imagina-

tion led him into error. It persuaded him into the belief that the three rooms of the church, the nave, chancel, and aile, were a symbol of the Trinity; the several parts of the structure exhibited to him a complete system of divinity, and every decorated block abounded with intelligence. Such, says he, were "the ancient principles of ecclesiastical design." He adds, "I take up this subject with a view to its being established as the Lord commanded; that our churches may become vehicles of communication upon God's word, for which they were intended." What may be the authority for his assertion that the Lord commanded the symbolization of the church, it may be difficult to say; but that every part had a symbolical meaning is very certain. The different degree of sanctity of the several portions of the fabric has been already shewn; that the corbels, the finials, the gurgoyles, bore each an import, cannot be doubted. Sometimes the figures were very instructive: they were often, however, the vehicles of prejudice and passion, were significant of the animosities and rivalries between different monastic institutions, and especially of the hatred that for several centuries subsisted between the monk and the married priest.

The abuse of good affords no argument against its use, especially when the use may be highly beneficial. This is true in the use of symbols; they are not only useful, but may be said to be almost necessary. The far greater part of mankind are either averse from the labour of thought, or incapable of the effort: it is therefore necessary that they should be aided by the minds of others, and thus led into the perception of the import of such symbols as may be illustrative of truth and afford instruction. To this end it will be often necessary that the import of the useful symbol should be explained and illustrated by frequent and proper expositions; and such expositions will be more effectual when made of symbols of whose import men have been long and very generally agreed, and of which agree-

ment they have given proof by various and long repeated acts. Truths taught by these means will often be made known and deeply impressed upon the mind when the efforts of the most consummate eloquence and zeal may altogether fail. The effect of verbal instruction, powerful as it may be, is confined to the mind and lives only in remembrance, often a frail and imperfect recorder: but the symbol makes a continued appeal to the senses, aids the memory, and even gives delight, when the beholder on sight of it takes delight in the conviction that he understands the import and is thereby far removed from ignorance. Such was the settled conviction of the critic poet of the Augustan age of Rome. His decision on this subject is expressed in words which may be thus rendered:—

> Things given the ear more slow the mind arouse
> Than things submitted to the faithful eyes,
> When the beholder gathers for himself. [k]

Reasons such as these may be supposed to have wrought upon the mind of the expounder of the symbols of Kilpeck, and of many other persons who approved his theory, however they may disapprove his application of it. The zeal with which he appears to have been animated in the illustration of his theory seems to have deluded his understanding and outraged his judgment: his expositions have become ridiculous and even absurd, and thus incline the world to reject his theory with abhorrence, or at least contempt, and to excite a suspicion that he himself is either not of sane judgment, or that he is not sincere. The following examples are of sufficient proof.

In his fourth plate of the drawings of Kilpeck Church, a Norman structure with a plain gable at the west end, he thus writes: "The west view of Kilpeck Church embodies great skill in the design, and a perfect mastery of the first part of the subject. The three buttresses below and

[k] Hor. De Art. Poet. v. 180.

the three sides of the triangle above give the six days of creation, and the light in the centre is the seventh. The buttresses in Trinity support the light which is the law. The triangle or upper part in Trinity holds up the law. From the apex of the triangle the cross is made to appear an emanation of the Trinity."

Such is the extravagance of many of his expositions of the objects which he calls symbols, that they become intolerable even to the editors of Durandus, who write:[1] "It is with pain that we have spoken of Mr. Lewis at all, because every ecclesiologist owes him a debt for his great boldness in turning the public attention to symbolism. Yet we believe that a prejudice has been excited by him against that subject which it will be hard to get over, for we are constrained to say that greater absurdities were never printed than some which have appeared in his book." Much praise is due to the Camden advocates for this their candour; they will join in the wish, or rather the hope, that the good sense of the friends of true religion will overcome the prejudice which the mistaken zeal of the Kilpeck expositor may have produced, and that the proper use of proper symbols may contribute to the advancement of true religion to the degree to which it is most competent.

The Camden advocates of Durandus observe on the expositor, that "he appears to believe that from the very first all church architecture was intentionally symbolical. Now this," they say, "is an unlikely supposition, inasmuch as till church architecture was fully developed, we do not think that its real significancy was understood to its proper extent by those who used it. That it was in its imperfect state symbolical, we should be the last to deny; but it seems more in accordance with probability, and more in analogy with the progress of other arts, to believe that at first certain given wants had induced and compelled certain adaptations

[1] Introd. Essay on Durand. p. 32. n.

to those wants, which *then* did symbolize the wants themselves, and which afterwards became intentionally symbolical."

It is difficult to understand the intent and meaning of the learned Camdenians in this passage of their artful introduction to the symbolism of their admired Durandus. They state, in opposition to the Kilpeck expositor, that "church architecture was not originally symbolical; that church architecture did not become symbolical until it was fully developed; but that then *certain given wants* induced and compelled certain adaptations to those wants, which then did symbolize the wants themselves." What were the *given wants* here intended, the learned advocates do not say; nor yet do they mark the time when those *given wants* induced and compelled certain adaptations; but it seems that the necessary inducements and compulsions did not take place till church architecture *was fully developed*, that is, had arrived at perfection. If this be true, it follows that church architecture was never symbolical, that is, the several parts of sacred structures were utterly destitute of any figurative import, until at length they became symbolical by a kind of chance. Till the learned writers may become more explicit, every reader must wander lost in the wilderness of their statements. If he be wise, he will not venture to enter upon the consideration of the symbolisms of either the editor or the artist expositor of Kilpeck; but, separating truth from error, he will adopt the principle vindicated by the latter, that all church architecture has been from the beginning designed to convey symbolical imports. To awaken the attention to this truth is professedly the object of the present treatise, and it is with due submission affirmed that the doctrine is true. The symbolical principle has been shewn in the preceding pages to have been adopted by Adam, not only in the victim sacrificed, but in the altar built by him after his expulsion from the Garden of Eden,

the symbolical representative of the altar at which he offered sacramental sacrifice and was blessed by the frequent intercourse with his Creator, his God. The symbolism of sacred structures has been traced in the altar, in the grove, in the consecrated ark whether sacred or profane, in the tabernacle of Israel in the wilderness, the temple of Solomon or the temples of Egypt, India, Greece, or Rome. The doctrine of symbols has been received and cherished by Christians of all ages, and is now extant in churches of all Europe, in the cathedrals of St. Paul in London and St. Peter at Rome.

The Camden Society which thus censures the expositor of Kilpeck, shews the utmost reverence for Durandus the bishop of Mende; perhaps because he is a Romanist. They patronize his symbols, notwithstanding they are equally wild and extravagant as those drawn from the structure and the stones of the Herefordshire Chapel. The bishop appears to have been a man of talent and ability. He may be said to have been a scholar also, in his days of ignorance, for he had seen Greek, which was little known in Europe till after the entire subversion of the Greek empire by the Turks. He was also a man of great piety, if a judgment may be formed from the attention given to sacred subjects and exhibited in the endless multiplicity of his sacred symbols; but the errors of Romanism tinctured all his virtues with folly, and the countless rites and ceremonies of his sect filled his mind with ideas as extragavant as their causes, which, if not assigned to insanity, must be given to folly, as the following examples will clearly shew.

Having stated, in his first chapter on the symbolism of churches and church ornaments, that "the walls are symbols of the Jews and Gentiles who come from the four parts of the world unto Christ," he symbolizes the cement of the walls in manner following.[m] "The cement, without

[m] Durand. chap. i. sect. 10.

which there can be no stability, is made of lime, sand, and water. The lime is fervent charity, which joineth itself to the sand, that is, undertakings for the temporal welfare of our brethren. The lime and sand are joined together in the wall by an admixture of water. But water is an emblem of the Spirit; and as without cement the stones cannot cohere, so neither can men be built up in the heavenly Jerusalem without charity, which the Holy Ghost worketh in them." After some strangely ingenious yet very comical remarks on the form given to the stones holy and pure, and of Christ the corner-stone, and union by one spirit of charity, he concludes the section by the remark, "Christ was our wall in his conversation and our outer wall in his passion." These are the abuses of symbolism.

It is justly observed by the exiled Duke in Shakspeare's Comedy of *As you like it*, that

> A life exempt from public haunt
> Finds tongues in trees, books in the running brooks,
> Sermons in stones, and good in every thing. [n]

Such an exercise of contemplation may afford amusement to idle leisure, but cannot be of much benefit to any one, except possibly to the man himself who indulges a fanciful imagination. This may be said of good Durandus; his fancies, strange and wild as they are, may possibly have been of benefit to himself, but are surely utterly incapable of being of use to others. Admitting that the symbols cited in his work strangely called *Rationale* be just and true, yet their numbers form such a wilderness of sentiment as can hardly fail to perplex and even mislead. Let it be supposed (and the supposition is most probable) that a cloistered monk had been enjoined by the superior of his monastery to learn and recite the symbols of Durandus, and that he performed the task effectually, what would be the benefit?

[n] Act ii. Scene 1.

Unless he meditated upon them with a mind sincerely pious, they would not improve the heart, neither would they give a tithe of the information that might be gained from a single text of the Gospel. Let any one read the *Rationale*, and he will see the labour and study necessary to learn the whole; it would exceed all that might be required for the attainment of perfect knowledge of any science, even the most profound and difficult. Such remarks might be continued to a great extent, but those already offered are sufficient to shew that the *Rationale* is a work altogether useless, except that it exhibits notices of manners and of opinions which, however curious, being tinctured with Romanism, are yet rather to be regarded with regret, seldom with approbation. The work, by attempting to do everything, has done nothing, so that its reprint has only added another volume to the almost numberless tomes that load the shelves of our libraries, where they will be left only to exhibit their backs, never to be read or intended to be read and made available to any good purpose. These observations render it desirable that some means should be devised to secure the good which may be obtained by a proper use of symbols, and prevent the evils that must arise from an improper use. Proper regulations will, it is presumed, effect this desirable purpose. Symbols not of a sacred character, as coats of arms, or designations of professions and trades, may be left to the determinations of individual choice; but symbols intended for religious instruction and improvement ought to bear a character suitable to the purpose, and ought to be subjected to conditions and limitations such as follow.

In the first place, let the import of the symbol be obviously clear, strongly impressive, so as to win assent upon the slightest suggestion, and be calculated to invite the mind to pleasing and improving contemplation.

Secondly, let the symbol be subjected before adoption

to the approval of competent and proper authorities, so that when exhibited to public notice, it may be received with a confidence which dissipates doubts and condemns rejection.

Thirdly, let all symbols used in sacred structures be those only that are sanctioned by holy writ.

Unless the symbol accord with the conditions prescribed in the first rule, it becomes perplexing, affords no instruction, and even leads to error. If it be of doubtful import, it will suggest vague, obscure, and often inconsistent sentiments: it will for the most part be productive of perplexity, be unpleasant in the use, and, if it receive attention, it will afford but little benefit.

Symbols accordant with the preceding rules are such figures of sacred objects as may be ornaments attached to the fabric, and may be either imbedded in the structure or merely appendages affixed to it. Figures of a different character are often imbedded in the structure, and constitute an important portion of its ornaments both external and internal. These, so far from being objects of reverence, are the reverse; they represent folly, vice in all its forms, and evil spirits or mischievous and malignant devils. Instances of these are seen in the gurgoyles, alias the gathercoles, the quondam names of the spouts conveying the rainwater from the roofs. Many of those, though now greatly decayed, are of forms indecent, almost always ridiculous, and intended to excite hatred or contempt. In many churches the stringcourse of the parapet is decorated with heads and other figures of almost every description. Among them are seen the heads of kings, of monks, of beasts, and devils, expressing by the angry countenance or distorted features some malignant passion, or by their stupid features absurdity or folly. Figures of the same character constitute the corbels supporting the dripstones of doors and windows. Whatever they may be, they are exhibited as objects of hatred or contempt. They are always found in situations apparently

of duresse, and indicative of subjection and slavery. This practice is in principle the same as that adopted by the ancient Greeks, when they introduced into their sacred structures the figures called Caryatides. Many of the idols of the *Hindù* pantheon are exhibited treading on their enemies.[o] In the introductory essay to the Rationale it is stated, that "victory over the Devil is symbolized in St. Peter's Church, Oxford, by the piers which rest on and crush a monster."[p] Thus general is the use of symbols of this import.

The Camden editors of Durandus state facts, which fully confirm these opinions concerning the import of the figures above mentioned. Speaking of the abuses of symbolism, they mention with regret the application of symbolical figures to signify and record the feuds between, as they say, the secular and regular clergy of Romanism.[q] They make mention of ornaments which they call stall-work, exhibiting a fox preaching to geese; an ass's head under a cowl; a gurgoyle with a cowled double face. In stalls in the church of East Brent, Somersetshire, a fox is exhibited hanged by a goose, with two cubs yelping at the foot of the gallows: a monkey at prayers with an owl perched over his head: another monkey holding a halbert: a fox with mitre and staff: a young fox in chains, a bag of money in his right paw and geese and cranes on each side. The history of the centuries immediately preceding the age of the Reformation affords a general interpretation of these satirical symbols; the particular persons and facts intended by them were doubtless well known at the time when they were wrought. The same may be affirmed of the ornaments used in the corbels and other parts of the structures, whether externally or internally. These facts, which may justly be called the abuse of symbols, subservient as they may be made to passions utterly incompatible with Christian charity

[o] Moor, Hind. Panth. plates. [p] Introd. Durand. p. 120. [q] Ibid. p. 111.

or benevolence, shew the justness of the position that the use of symbols ought to be subject to some salutary and efficient control.

The strange grotesque figures seen in gurgoyles and corbels may have been intended to serve another purpose formerly held to be of the utmost importance,—to counteract and prevent the mischiefs that it was imagined might befall the sacred fabric from fascination by an evil or malignant eye, which, it was believed, might grievously affect the welfare and fortune of things either animate or inanimate. Prejudices of this kind seem to have prevailed from ages of the earliest antiquity. The Trojan Hector, when in pursuit of the Grecian Diomedes and eager for the combat, deprecates, ere he makes the attack, all evil influence or fascination by exclaiming, "Avaunt the evil eye."[r] The shepherd Menalcas, in the third Eclogue of Virgil, complains,

Some eye I know not fascinates my lambs.[s]

Horace, reciting the advantages of retirement at his rural villa, observes,

There none with eye oblique my fortune mars.[t]

Pliny writes a long chapter, shewing by what means ill luck may be averted. The author of Observations on Popular Antiquities shews by a variety of cases that the very same notions were not long ago very generally received in England, and that though the faith in them be now on the decline, yet that it is by no means extinct.[u] At the time when most of our churches were built, the belief in the power of fascination was entertained in all its force, and among the means adopted to avert the mischiefs of an evil, that is, a malignant, eye from churches, figures likely to excite laughter and good humour may be presumed to have been introduced into the fabric of our churches.

[r] Iliad. Θ. v. 164. [s] Eclog. iii. v. 103.
[t] Epis. lib. i. Ep. xiv. v. 37. [u] Brand. vol. ii. p. 399.

CHAPTER IX.

THE ORNAMENTS OF CHURCHES.

On reference made to the statements given in the preceding pages, it will be found that symbolical exhibitions of the doctrines of religion have been constantly used by all people of all ages, whether they may have been the true worshippers of the Deity, or whether they may have been idolaters. The use of symbols has not only been general, but the symbols used have been, with some few exceptions, the same, with this difference, that by the faithful the symbols were regarded with intelligent respect only, by the idolaters they were made the objects of religious worship. The reason for this similarity will be found in the identity of the principles which led to the choice of the symbols. The forms of all sacred structures originated in the altar and the grove in the middle of the Garden of Eden. An altar in a grove, the imitation of the temple in the Garden, became the temple of Adam after the expulsion. Until an extended knowledge of the different regions of the earth had been acquired, the hill of the Garden was supposed to be the world man was destined to inhabit,

and the remembrance of past events suggested the idea that it was the abode of the Deity and the symbol of the Divine presence. Impressed with this belief, the families migrating in various directions from the abode of the parent stock gave to the sacred structures erected in their several localities the same form, the imagined resemblance of the sacred mount and the world. Different ideas of the form of the world acquired by extended migrations made in different ages, gave occasion to new opinions of the form of the world, and produced altered forms in sacred structures. These changes have been traced, and it has been shewn that all sacred structures were supposed to be symbols of the created world, the proper and true temple of the great Creator.

Such was the principle by which the patriarchs of all nations were influenced, when they constructed their places for religious worship. This identity of principle was identified in the effect also, and temples, whether sacred or profane, whether constructed by the true worshipper or the idolatrous, were nearly the same in form, though different in use. The tabernacle in the wilderness and the temple at Jerusalem were of the same form as were most of the temples of Egypt. The instructions given to Moses for the form of the tabernacle afford the fullest assurance that the principle on which sacred structures might be built, and the general resemblance between them all, was approved by the Almighty God.

Whether the disciples of the Gospel were, in the structure of churches, influenced by the principle on which the patriarchal altars or later temples had been constructed, or whether they merely acted in compliance with ancient usages, it may not be easy to determine; but that they did follow ancient usages is plainly evident. The church at Tyre was an exact resemblance of many heathen temples, and the churches of our own times are, in their naves, ailes, chancels, towers, and spires, exact resemblances of heathen

structures, and that their several parts were of the same symbolical import has been plainly proved. Another reason may be supposed to have induced the Christians to have studiously adopted the form of the ancient temple: they may have sought the pleasure of a triumph, when not only the idolaters were made converts to the gospel, but that the temples of the gods of idolatry, their ancient abodes, had become churches and houses of the Redeemer. Whatever may have been the reason, it is certain that the Christians, so far from abhorring the forms of the heathen temples, did adopt them by choice. Even the symbolical import of the several parts of the fabrics was retained in substance, though turned to subjects of Gospel authority. Thus the original principle which gave the form to the sacred patriarchal fabric was transmitted to the Christian, and the progressive series was continued unbroken and may be clearly traced through successive ages, till the altar in the grove beneath the trees of knowledge and of life has become the handsome church or the magnificent cathedral of western Europe.

St. Paul, making reference to the establishment of the Gospel and the former laws of rites and observances, writes, "When that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part shall be done away."[x] The establishment of the Gospel supersedes old principles, and offers new. The attention of the Christian is turned from earth to heaven. The import of the symbols chosen by him as a disciple of Christ, must be turned from things earthly to things heavenly, and to that end the symbols of the instructive ornaments of churches ought to be such as the Gospel offers, with such import as the Gospel suggests and approves. Earth having given the form and substance of our sacred structures, heaven and objects closely connected with heaven may well supply the

[x] 1 Cor. xiii. 10.

ornaments, which may with great propriety be termed the life, the spirit, the soul of the material edifice.

The symbols which will chiefly engage attention are such as belong almost exclusively to the interior of the sacred fabric. The cross, which is made an ornament to churches, both within and without, has been used in the earliest ages of the world, for it is seen in the *crux ansata* borne in hand by several of the gods of Egypt; it is the *linga* of the *Brahmens* of *Hindosthàn;* it was the *bulla* worn by the youth of ancient Rome and present India; and is found inscribed on many of the sacred stones set up by the Celtic priests and Druids. There are reasons for the belief that it was a sacred though idolatrous symbol used even by the antediluvian world. These facts have been already noticed in a former chapter, where it has been shewn that the cross was a symbol of generation and life, and that such deep and mysterious meaning was possibly intended when, by the divine dispensation, the Saviour, the Creator of the world, died on the cross, and gave spiritual life and immortality to all mankind.

Christians, ignorant of the heathen import of the cross, usually regard it as the symbol of the sufferings of the Saviour, who dying the death of a slave, his disciples were taunted with a reference to the cross. This induced St. Paul to write, "I glory in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ."[y] Hence Christians came to regard the act of reverencing the cross as a bounden duty; the idea of disgrace gradually was done away, and the cross was openly reverenced, except in times of severe persecution.

When Constantine the Great professed his adoption of the Christian faith, the cross became the ensign of his armies; from that time it was exhibited by the Christians as a symbol of the triumph of *the faith* over conquered heathenism. It was thenceforth fixed on their churches both within and

[y] Gal. vi. 14.

without. This use of the cross may be said to have been then carried to excess, especially by the Romanists: it is exhibited with them on the vestments of their priests, and in many instances, of the laity also, by whom it is worn, like the *bulla* of old, as an amulet: not only every devotional, but almost every the most ordinary act, is imagined to be sanctified by motions and gestures exhibiting the form of the cross.

Whatever may be the intention of such honour, the act of bowing before the cross is clearly a sin expressly forbidden by the divine commandment. Protestants, justly regarding this excessive use of the cross not only as idly superstitious but even idolatrous, very commonly destroyed all crosses, as an act necessary to the prevention of that worship which the multitude paid by bowing before them. Puritan dissenters from the church of England reject altogether the use of the cross, as a symbol wholly useless, if not absurd. Fond of the proud doctrine that all spiritual emotions are altogether the result of the Divine agency miraculously, arbitrarily, and irresistibly exercised upon the passive spirit of the man favoured of God, they bring themselves to believe that personal efforts and ordinary means, and especially observances, rites, and symbols, are utterly inefficient and useless. The well-informed and judicious Christian, rejecting the strange doctrine of Calvin, knows that true and sound religion is not produced in man by the zeal of passion and the madness of enthusiasm, but by a gradual, steady, perhaps a slow process. Isaiah taught that it was the result of precept upon precept, line upon line, here a little and there a little.[z] The Saviour figuratively compares the true Christian to "a wise man which built his house upon a rock."[a] St. Paul, illustrating the symbol used by the Saviour, speaks of true Christians as "edifices built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone."[b] These authorities teach that true

[z] Is. xxviii. 10. [a] Matt. vii. 24. [b] Ephes. ii. 20.

religion, being the product of gradual growth, is also the effect of ordinary means. These are very various: among them symbols may be justly classed, and together with other symbols, the symbol of the cross.

The bishop of Mende regards the cross as a symbol of the person of the Saviour.[c] A better authority shews that the cross is a general symbol of the Gospel of Christ; of its doctrines, precepts, and promises. This sense may be gathered from the following words of the Saviour, "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me."[d] It is evident that the person of the Saviour cannot be intended in this text. Neither does it intend the voluntary endurance of suffering. Such acts are inconsistent with the benevolent spirit of the Gospel, which, unwilling to expose its disciples unnecessarily to pain, teaches that persecutions are to be shunned, as far as may be properly done: "When they persecute you in this city, flee ye into another."[e] This precept regulated the conduct of the Apostles, as may be seen by the history of the Acts. The words, "Let him take up the cross, and follow me," convey the following, "Let the Christian who may receive my doctrines of salvation subject himself to my precepts, and make my habits of life the object of his imitation." Such is the true import of the symbolical cross. This interpretation will be confirmed by the following text, "Many walk, of whom I have told you often, and now tell you even weeping, that they are the enemies of the cross of Christ: whose end is destruction, and whose god is their belly; whose glory is in their shame; who mind earthly things. For our conversation is in heaven."[f] Useful must be the symbol which can call the attention to such important truths. It were well were every Christian to feel the force of such admonitions whenever the cross is offered to his

[c] Durand. chap. iii. s. 31.
[d] Matt. xvi. 24. Gal. vi. 14.
[e] Matt. x. 23.
[f] Phil. iii. 18—20.

sight: it would not invite idolatrous reverence of the object, but repentance proved to be sincere by amendment of life.

Attempts have been made at divers times and in places to exhibit the person of God the Father, the God supreme, by some symbol, but without success. Sacred structures and churches have been shewn to be proper symbols of the Divine Presence, but they are not symbols of the person of the living God. Attempts to represent the Person by any object of sense cannot but be inefficient. "God is a spirit."[g] Thus speaks the Saviour. Spirit, mind, or soul, are one and the same thing in man. These are not corporeal beings when incorporated in the body of man; neither can the great God, the spirit, mind, or soul of the world, be corporeal. The soul of the world can never be the object of sense. "Ye have neither heard his voice at any time, nor seen his shape,"[h] is the declaration of the Saviour. This text the Apostle Paul thus illustrates. The Saviour who only hath immortality is the only Potentate, King of kings and Lord of lords, dwelling in the light which no man can approach unto, whom no man hath seen nor can see, to whom be honour and power everlasting. Amen. In those passages of holy writ in which God is said to have appeared to Adam, to Abraham, and other persons, at different times and under different circumstances, it is agreed by commentators that the Divine Personage so appearing and communicating with man was God the Son and not God the Father. God the Son propounded the Law of Moses. In the Book of Revelation, where God is described sitting on his throne, it is clearly evident from the context that the person on the throne is none other than the Saviour.[i] The words of St. Paul afford the only approximation to any exhibition of the God supreme, when in the text above cited he writes, "He is the light which no man can approach unto." Under such circumstances it will be wise to forbear

[g] John iv. 24. [h] John v. 37. 1 Tim. vi. 15, 16. [i] Rev. iv.

to attempt to exhibit the Divine Person by any material form, or in any other way than by the Hebrew letters of the name of Jehovah written in the centre of a light of glory, accompanied by such farther appendages as may contribute to the dignity and splendour of the exhibition.

God the Son, the Word, "was made flesh;"[k] that is, his divine nature entered into and informed a human body. This fact authorizes the representation of the Saviour in a human form. What that form may have been, what the features, is utterly uncertain, for no one can give the least credit to the miraculous story that Veronica,[l] a holy virgin, supplied the Saviour with a kerchief to wipe his face as he bore his cross, and it was returned with an impress of the countenance. It has perhaps been happily ordained that the form of the person should have been unknown: an authentic form might have led to idolatrous practices.

St. Luke writes, "Jesus increased in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and man:"[m] whence it may be inferred that his person was good, as doubtless his manners were amiable. The prophet Isaiah however writes, "He hath no form or comeliness, and when we shall see him he hath no beauty that we should desire him—he was despised, and we esteemed him not."[n] The commentators agree that the text of the prophet intends the humble rank of life in which the Saviour was born, and the humble appearance maintained by him in his dress and habits during his stay on earth. The treatment which he received from the Jews accords with the prophecy of the prophet: that he always maintained the habits and dress of a servant may be seen in the following record of his dress at his crucifixion. "The soldiers, when they had crucified Jesus, took his garments, and made four parts, to every soldier a part, and also his coat. Now the coat was without seam, woven from the top throughout. They said therefore, Let us not rend it, but cast

[k] John i. 14. [l] Gibbon, chap. xlix. [m] Luke iii. 52. [n] Isaiah liii. 2, 3.

lots for it whose it shall be."[o] According to this text, the dress of the Saviour consisted of a bonnet or turban of little value, and two garments only.[p] One was a coat, properly a tunic, or shirt with sleeves, wove by knitting and without seam. This was commonly bound close to the person by a girdle. The other garment was a kind of loose jacket, or cloak, put on and worn over the shirt.[q] The former being the most important and valuable, would have been spoiled if torn: it was consigned to the soldier who won it by casting lots. The outer garment was torn, it should seem, into parts. This dress was nearly the same as that of the modern Arabs, and appears to have been not only very simple, but even mean, yet in perfect accordance with the character of the Saviour, who took upon him the form of a servant or labourer.[r] The common practice of painters represents the Saviour clothed in comely robes of drapery; but this is contrary to recorded facts, is altogether arbitrary, and a symbol very imperfect. The appearance of the Saviour described in the first chapter of the Revelation is in all respects worthy of the eminence he now holds in heaven. It may be a just cause of marvel that such a form, which of all others appears most apt, is never exhibited in our churches, but it would not represent him while staying on earth.

All personal representations of the Saviour being thus uncertain, and the exhibition of his person in the form of the servant being somewhat inconsistent with the reverential feeling due to the Redeemer now sitting at the right hand of God, his person may be represented by any imagined form consistent with his character, and decorated with such drapery and ornaments as may be approved by judicious authorities.

[o] John xix. 33, 34. [p] Exod. xxxvii. 28. Ezek. xxxii. 27.

[q] The usual dress of the Israelites of old and the Jews of later times will be seen from Exod. ii. 9; Levit. viii. and Matt. v. 40. A plate attached to the Travels of Belzoni in Egypt, exhibiting the modern Arab dress, may be taken as a just exhibition of the dress of the Redeemer.

[r] Phil. ii. 7.

A nimbus or cloud of radiant light around his head may be allowed. Let it however be still remembered that such figures are not sanctioned by Scripture, that they are altogether imaginary, and that they are deviations from those rules which it has been thought advisable to recommend for the use of symbols. Whatever may be the figure or form adopted, let the command, "Thou shalt not bow down thyself to it," be strictly obeyed. The Saviour, being God, is justly entitled to worship. "At the name of Jesus every knee should bow," but not at the image. The bow made before the image of the person may shew that it honours the object, but it dishonours the God; it reduces a Being which is an infinite spirit, to sordid matter, to a limited form, and that the form of the animal man, the worm of earth.

These things being duly considered, it may perhaps be most judicious to represent him by the symbol of the Lamb. Under that name he is frequently designated in Scripture. The creature accords much in character with the Redeemer; and being the common victim in sacrifice, most aptly signifies the great purpose for which the Saviour was born into the world.

This figurative form of the Redeemer was first given by the prophet Isaiah, who writes, "He is brought as a *lamb* to the slaughter."[s] When John the Baptist directed the attention of his followers to the person of the Saviour standing among his hearers, he said, "Behold the Lamb of God."[t] In the Book of the Revelations, in which he is described as enthroned in heaven, he is rarely known by any other name than "the Lamb," and "the Lamb that was slain from the foundation of the world;"[u] that is, the atoning sacrifice of the Redeemer was not without efficiency from the very first formation of what is called the material world. Such are the truths which the symbolical Lamb might offer to the mind of every beholder, and would not fail to offer, were

[s] Isaiah liii. 7. [t] John i. 29. [u] Rev. xiii. 8.

the Lamb made the frequent subject of discourses from the pulpit.

The Holy Ghost, the third Person of the Trinity, being a Spirit, could not be properly exhibited by any material form, were it not that the Holy Scriptures exhibit the presence of the Holy Ghost by animal symbols, which however are evidently inadequate, for they exhibit not the person, but the character only, of the Divine Spirit.

The Evangelists St. Matthew and St. Luke, describing the baptism of the Saviour,[v] the former writes, that after the rite the Baptist saw "the Spirit of God descending upon him (the Saviour), and lighting like a dove upon him;" the latter writes, "the Holy Ghost descended in a *bodily shape* upon him." The dove thus appearing was a miraculous symbol, signifying, not that the Holy Spirit bears such a bodily form, but that the Holy Spirit bears a resemblance in mildness and affectionateness of temper to the dove, and in activity and energy of action to the rapid flight of that bird.

The word spirit, whether signified in the Greek by πνευμα, or by the Latin *spiritus*, whence our English word *spirit*, refers to a current of air, or to a wind, or to the act of breathing. The Saviour after his resurrection breathed on his disciples, saying unto them, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost."[w] The act was most assuredly figurative; and the stream of the breath was a symbol indicative of the spiritual or intellectual faculties with which the Apostles were intended to be endowed. They were told that it should "teach them,"[x] (that is, enable them to understand) all things, and bring all things to their remembrance which had been said to them.

The same symbol, a current of air or wind, signified the agency of the Holy Spirit on the Apostles on the day of Pentecost; "When the disciples were all with one accord

[v] Matt. iii. 16. Luke iii. 22. [w] John xx. 22. [x] Ibid. xiv. 26.

in one place, there came from heaven a sound of a rushing mighty wind, and it filled all the house where they were sitting."[y] This sound, if it were not accompanied by a current of air, was a symbol or figurative demonstration of the presence of the Holy Spirit. It may not be easy to represent this symbol; but the cloven tongues like as of fire which sat upon each of them might be represented very readily either by sculpture or painting. A judicious exhibition of this symbol might be very instructive to both the learned and the unlearned eye.

The difficulty of exhibiting either the Son or the Holy Spirit separately by symbols being almost insuperable, becomes altogether impossible when attempts are made to represent the three Divine personages of the Trinity. And yet many treat the subject as though the act were easy; and it has been held that almost any material object may suffice for the purpose. It were an idle undertaking to exhibit the insufficiency of the dreams of Durandus, or the delirium of the expositor of Kilpeck; but it may be proper to notice two symbols, which have been supposed to be aptly symbolical of the Holy Trinity.

Some persons have delighted themselves with the idea that the *Hindù* idol called the *Trimurti*, composed of the faces of the three *Hindù* gods *Brahmà*, *Vishnù*, and *Sivà*, is a symbol of the Trinity; whence they have inferred that the doctrine of the Trinity was received by the *Brahmens* of remote antiquity, and therefore well known to the ancient world. Till the Saviour distinguished the Godhead into the three Persons, the doctrine of the Trinity was utterly unknown both to the Hebrews and the Gentiles, neither do any evidences either sacred or profane afford any passage which, properly interpreted, in any way suggests the idea. It were therefore strange were the *Sastra* to notice the Trinity. There has often been occasion to observe in former pages,

[y] Acts ii. 2, 3.

that the *Trimurti* signifies nothing else than the creative, preservative, and the destructive powers of Nature. In the form of this idol the disciples of the *Sastra* are by no means consistent; they have been accustomed to represent the powers and qualities of nature, sometimes with four faces, as in the elder *Brahmà*, a symbol of the four material elements: sometimes with five, as in *Siva, Pancha, Mucha,* significant of five elements. Other nations, equally ignorant of the Trinity, have had similar idols and symbols. Jupiter, Neptune, and Pluto, the sons of Saturn, were the material symbols of the later Greeks: the earlier had their Jupiter *Triphylius*, or god of the trefoil plant, a symbol of the same powers. St. Patric found this symbol among the heathen Irish, and he permitted the Christian converts to retain it. The plant is even at this day an object held by them in high estimation; they do not regard it as a symbol of the Trinity, but only as a plant beloved by their ancestors, but why, they seem not able to say. It is possible that the trefoil and quatrefoil forms used in Gothic architecture may have owed their origin to the shamrock of Ireland. Thus idle are the dreams about the heathen trinities.

An equilateral triangle placed in a nimbus or glory of light is commonly used as an apt and satisfactory symbol of the Trinity. The editors of Durandus observe, that this is a symbol more apt than the three parallel and equal lines sometimes, as they affirm, taken for this purpose. They admit, however, that even the triangle is liable to objections. If, as the Romanists exhibit the symbol, the triangle be placed in a position having one of the angles pointing downward, and the two upper angles be taken to represent the Father and the Son, the lower angle must be the symbol of the Holy Spirit, but, being below the others, does not duly represent the equality of the Persons and therefore ought not to be admitted. The difficulty of representing the Trinity by a material symbol may be regarded as insuperable, for no

material substance can be imagined that can designate the three Persons in one Person and the one in three, by any combination of matter or any mode of location of any number of substances. This conclusion will be confirmed by the following arguments.

God is a spirit, and consequently the Trinity must be spirit also. But spirit is mind, and therefore God is mind, and the Trinity is mind. Mind possessing certain powers is extant in every human being, and to a certain degree in all animated beings: it is an immaterial being, a spirit, a soul, and thus far it resembles the Divine mind; a position that may be made without incurring the guilt of presumption, for "God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him." This image is the more perfect, in that the spirit of man is, like the Spirit of God, immortal, it never dies; it never loses the consciousness of existence, as is the case with the spirits or minds of brute animals, these do at death lose the consciousness of existence, they perish.

The philosopher Locke has shewn that mind does not always think: nothing is more certain that when it does think it does not always decide, or proceed to volition. When the mind thinks or produces thought, yet this state of the mind does always produce purpose, which, when produced, may be termed a third state of the mind. Purpose does not always produce an act. Thus these three faculties or powers are coexistent in the mind and in the mind only; they are one and the same with the mind, and yet are three distinct faculties in the mind. Thus does the human mind bear some clear similitude to the Divine mind, as far as things finite can bear resemblance to things infinite.

The history of the creation of the world, given in the first chapter of Genesis, exhibits the agency of the Deity in such manner as may vindicate the similitude stated as above. "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth,"[z] but it was by the Son, the divine Word, that he made the

[z] Gen. i. 1.

world,[a] and the first act done on the first day was done by the Spirit, the Divine purpose, moving or acting upon the face of the waters.[b] Till the divine purpose had been formed, nothing was done; but when it had been formed, the creative process immediately commenced, and proceeded agreeably to the Divine will signified by the Divine word expressive of thought, and creation was the result. The religion of the Gospel was introduced into the world by a similar agency. The Son, the Saviour, having signified the Divine will by his ministry upon earth, gave power from on high to his agents, his Apostles upon earth, upon whom the Holy Spirit, the Divine purpose, having moved or acted on the day of Pentecost, the law or principles of the Gospel was promulgated and planted on earth, and, as the revealed Word speaks, shall in due time prevail on it universally and wholly; and thus the sentiment born in the Divine mind shall ripen into purpose, and the effect of that purpose become universal.

These resemblances, however remote from the original, may well justify the presumption of the proposition that the human mind is an apt symbol of the Divine mind and of the Trinity. It may be alleged with perfect truth that the Trinity is infinite: but infinity consists of finite parts; and were the powers and acts of the mind of man improved to infinity, they would be the same as the Divine mind. The Divine mind and thought and will are incomprehensible. Who can comprehend the human mind, how it thinks, how it wills, and how the will produces purpose sometimes but not always followed by action? The Trinity is eternal; so is the mind or spirit of man as to futurity, which constitutes his great resemblance of the Creator. The human spirit may have been eternal from time past; if it be an emanation from the Divine Spirit it must have been so. Such being the analogy between the Spirit of

[a] John i. 3, &c. [b] Gen. i. 2.

God and the spirit of man, the latter may be said to be a proper symbol of the former, and, like other symbols, it may afford some idea, however inadequate, of what may be called the nature of the Godhead.

The truth of this position would appear, on a careful consideration of the many texts of Scripture that bear upon the subject. Such an undertaking would lead to a disquisition most probably voluminous. Suffice it to observe, that the Divine mind may with obvious propriety be termed the Father of thought, and thought may with equal truth be termed the only-begotten Son of mind. It is impossible to suppose that the Divine mind can ever slumber or sleep, and be inactive, like the mind of man, and therefore it cannot be said that there was a time when thought was not, or that the Son is not coeval with the Father. The Arians denied this truth, and the denial was heresy. Mind without thought, and mind thinking, are two states altogether different. When mind and thought have formed purpose, a third state occurs, which may be not improperly termed spirit. This is mind in a third state, and may be termed the Holy Spirit, and be personified under that name. These three states of the Divine mind constitute the Trinity; or, lest it should be presumptuous to decide positively on this mysterious subject, it may be a bounden duty to confine the position to the opinion, that the mysterious Trinity bears some resemblance to the three states of mind as above stated.

How mind, thought, and purpose, being altogether spiritual, could produce matter, is a knotty question. We presumptuously cut the knot we cannot untie, and without the slightest authority ascribe the work to miracle. The disciples of Socinus do not admit of such miraculous operation: they treat the idea with proud scorn, and envelope themselves in a mist of vain philosophy. Folly will ever result when men will not submit to be *lowly wise*, and error will ever take the lead when men will rebelliously deny

belief to the Word of God. If they would admit the possibility of personification independently of matter, as the human soul lives after death though altogether immaterial, they might become Trinitarians. Leaving these suggestions to the proud scorn with which they will most probably be received, we return to the sober subject, and to the remark, that as the mind of man, being spirit, cannot be signified by any material object, so neither can the personage of the Trinity be represented by any material object. The character of the human mind may be estimated by the affections and passions; but these are effects, not the causing agent. The same may be said of the Divine attributes; but these are effects, not the cause; farther than these man cannot proceed. Here man must stop: here he discovers that, as nothing can be found indicative of the Divine mind in all respects infinite, neither can a symbol be found of the Trinity of the Persons equally infinite and alike immaterial.

The earliest representation of the evil spirit by symbol occurs in the history of the Fall of our first parents, given in the Book of Genesis. The great agent in that transaction is designated by the name of the serpent. It were utterly unworthy of intelligent minds to suppose that a real serpent actually held a conference with Eve: the Deity cannot be supposed to have allowed a serpent to assume miraculously the power of speech for the purpose of deluding innocence into deadly ruin. The Saviour by the power of God wrought miracles for a good purpose; it were incongruous to suppose that the Deity can be so inconsistent as to counteract his own purposes, and work miracles for evil. He might allow false prophets to try Israel,[c] but he never allowed them to support their delusions by acts evidently and undeniably miraculous. These reasons shew that the conversation between Eve and the serpent can have been none other than the vacillations of a mind strongly impelled by a longing desire entertained by the first parents, but more

[c] Deut. xiii.

especially by Eve, then perhaps about to become a mother, to know what might be the fate or fortune of themselves and their posterity in the succeeding ages of the then newly-created world.

There can be little doubt that this desire had long occupied the thoughts of both Adam and Eve, for they had evidently been informed by the Creator that the fruit of the tree, if eaten, would be the means of affording the desired knowledge, probably by a miraculous and prophetic vision, but they were commanded to forbear the act, and thereby to prove that they duteously relied on the Divine goodness. Such was their trial; but female curiosity became predominant. Eve first dared the consequences of the transgression, and Adam at her persuasion joined in the great offence. Desires such as above stated were the tempting serpent. The tempting serpent of the first book of holy writ was no more a real serpent than was the serpent named in the last book, the book of Revelation.

The recital of the history of this their fall became a religious duty incumbent upon Adam in the discharge of his office of priest at the religious assemblies of his family on the sabbaths. He would have occasion to designate the tempting spirit so as to render it intelligible to his hearers. No figure could be a representation of that wicked spirit more apt than a serpent, a creature of whose deadly poison the first man in the then rude uncultivated state of the earth would have often sad experience. The serpent therefore was taken to designate, in accordance with the habits of the animal, whatever might be mischievous, cunning, and deadly. Every hearer would understand by the use of the name that spirit which had been and was still too often found to be the deadly enemy unto man. Thus was the serpent first used as a type of the evil spirit. It is used for the same purpose throughout the books of holy writ, but merely as a symbol. It is never supposed to take a real bodily form: and the

notion that at the time of the Fall it was permitted to take such form is altogether arbitrary, and irreconcileable with the use of the same symbol in all the books of sacred Scripture, as the following authorities will shew.

In the book of Revelation the evil spirit is called the great dragon, that old serpent the devil and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world.[d] This same spirit, in other places, is called the prince of the power of the air.[e] In accordance with this latter text, the serpent or dragon is often represented with wings to bear him in air, and to signify the ubiquity of his presence; but a winged serpent is unknown. The prophet Isaiah writes, "The Lord shall punish Leviathan, the piercing serpent, that crooked serpent, and he shall slay the dragon that is in the sea."[f] The dragon and the leviathan are, it appears, the same creature. His abidance in the sea implies the great extent of his influence over man: the sea signifies the multitude, as in the following text: "The waters where the whore sitteth, are peoples, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues."[g] Such is the import of this figure when it occurs in several other passages in the sacred Scriptures. The serpent is often represented with a sting in the tail, like a scorpion. Such sting is not found in any serpent, but is intended to signify figuratively remorse, and vexatious disappointment, the ordinary result of bad actions. The evil spirit is occasionally exhibited by a form compounded of the limbs of a man and a goat; a figure known in the heathen pantheon under the name of Pan, one of the oldest of the heathen gods, a personage of licentious character. Such use of the form of Pan is well calculated to cast odium on the rites and images of idolatry. The heathen always used the serpent as the symbol of good, as has been stated in preceding pages; but it is never used by sacred writers to signify good, but always evil.

[d] Rev. xii. 9. xx. 8. [e] Eph. ii. 2. [f] Is. xxvii. 1. [g] Rev. xvii. 15.

The practice of ornamenting sacred structures both within and without with paintings both historical and figurative, was universal in the ages of early antiquity. It especially prevailed in the temples of India and of Egypt, and was common in the temples of Greece and Rome. In the fourth century of the Christian era the like practice was resumed by the Christians; and images and pictures were introduced into the churches, partly, it is presumed, out of respect for the persons represented, partly for the instruction which their figures might afford, and partly in compliance with the prejudices of heathen converts, who had been accustomed to such exhibitions of the gods of the temples. It is well known that the abuse of this practice led ere long to the grossest idolatry. The abuse of what is good affords no argument against the beneficial use, except when the abuse becomes a consequence of the use almost inevitable: in that case the symbol ought to be withdrawn. This was done in churches at the Reformation; but in the present state of the public mind, the use of symbols not being likely to lead to idolatry, it may be, and being beneficial it ought to be admitted, and our churches ought to be supplied with symbolical forms.

The second commandment of the Decalogue gives the rule which distinguishes the use from the abuse of figured forms. "Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image, nor the likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth. Thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them."[h] These are the words of the commandment. Moses, in seeming breach of it, was ordered to make the cherubims, graven images whose wings overspread the ark of the covenant, the sacred symbol of the divine presence. These figures were undeniably a direct violation of the commandment, and committed in the immediate presence

[h] Exod. xx. 4, 5. The use of the phrase of *bow down* will be vindicated in a subsequent page.

of the Deity, if the commandment be understood to forbid the formation of any figure; but that such is not the intention is made plain, not only by the use of the cherubims, but by the words of the following text, which, occurring in a subsequent portion of the Mosaic Law, explains the true intent of the commandment, "Ye shall make you no idols, nor graven image, neither rear you up a standing image, neither shall ye set up any image of stone *to bow down unto it:* for I am the Lord your God."[i] This text, which enumerates all the various objects used for idolatrous worship, prohibits the construction of such fabrics only when intended and used for idolatrous reverence by bowing unto them. This interpretation of the law is fully confirmed by the image of a fiery serpent set up by Moses for the means of recovery from the bite of such serpents.[k] The people were directed to look at the image, and the desired effect immediately followed. The act was all but idolatrous; but the enjoined inspection of the object was not idolatrous, and the use of the image was not a breach of the commandment. The persons about to be benefitted by the use were directed to look at it; they did not bow. How far it may have been symbolical of the crucifixion, as some suppose, need not here be asked. It appears that the image remained for several centuries, till at length it became perverted to idolatrous uses; the people offered sacrifices to it: then king Hezekiah called it *Nehushtan*, and treating it, as the name signifies, as a *brazen bauble*, destroyed it,[l] because when worshipped it became an idol; but until it was worshipped its use was not idolatrous, was not forbidden, was even enjoined. These facts clearly prove that the utter abhorrence with which images and such forms were regarded by the Jews after their return from captivity, was unjustifiable by any authorized principle.

[i] Levit. xxvi. 1. [k] Numb. xxi. 8, 9. [l] 2 Kings xviii. 4.

It will be seen from these premises, that images and other forms, when addressed or honoured by bowing and other like acts of reverence, are then idols prohibited by the divine commandment; when not so used they are merely symbols, and are so far from being wicked, that they become objects of approved usefulness. The Protestant reformers, abjuring the errors of the Church of Rome, accused that Church with the direct worship of images, and with having thereby become an heretic Church. Acting in accordance with this accusation, all images and other symbols which had been perverted to the purposes of Romanist idolatry were destroyed, with a degree of zeal which might perhaps be justly termed indignant, and even outrageous, and the interior of churches were stript of all ornaments which could by any possibility have been available to idolatrous uses, even when they were merely expressive of moral and scriptural truths. In this it may be said that the Reformers transgressed all reasonable bounds. What may have been the rule by which the Reformers ought to have been guided, it may be proper to enquire.

The bishop of Mende advocates the Romanist use of images. He thus writes: "Pictures and ornaments in churches are the lessons and scripture of the laity. Whence Gregory: It is one thing to adore a picture, and another by means of a picture historically to learn what should be adored; for what writing supplieth to him that can read, that doth a picture supply to him which is unlearned and can only look. Because they who are instructed thus see what they ought to follow, and things are read though letters be unknown."[m] The bishop, after observing that the Chaldeans and other nations were idolaters in every sense of the word, thus proceeds: "But we worship not images, nor account them to be gods, nor put any hope of salvation in them, for that were idolatry. Yet we adore them for the

[m] Durand. chap. iii. sect. 1.

memory and remembrance of things done long agone, whence the verse,

> What time thou passest by the rood,
> Bow humbly evermore;
> Yet not the rood, but him which there
> Was crucified, adore."

The bishop, after citing several texts condemnatory of idolatry, but not the important words of the second commandment, which forbid the act of bowing, proceeds to observe, "From these forementioned and other authorities the excessive use of images is forbidden. The Apostle saith also to the Corinthians, We know that an idol is nothing in this world, and there is no God but one. For they that are simple and infirm may easily by an excessive and indiscreet use of images be perverted to idolatry. Whence he saith in Wisdom, There shall be no respect to the idols of the nations which have made the creatures of God hateful, and temptations for the souls of men, and snares for the feet of the unwise. But blame there is none in a moderate use of pictures, to teach how ill is to be avoided and good followed." [n]

On this doctrine the Camden authors of the laudatory introduction to the *Rationale* thus observe: "A more solemn protest against the sin of idolatry can hardly be found than the above; and they who brand every return to and every wish for the restoration of the Catholic practices by so hateful a name would do well to bear it in mind."

Nothing can be more just and true than the opinion given by the bishop of the salutary use of symbols. The evidences adduced in the pages of this treatise shew that such are the benefits to be derived from them. Previously to the promulgation of the Gospel, every act, whether of the true worship of God or of the false and idolatrous, was figurative or symbolical of some important truth; and further, that the Saviour in the institution of the Sacraments made

[n] Durand. chap. iii. sect. 4. 1 Cor. viii. 4. Wisdom xiv. 11.

them altogether symbolical. These facts not only justify but indirectly enjoin the use of symbolical ornaments in churches.

Thus far every Protestant may concur with the episcopal author; but when he speaks of images and pictures, as of the Rood in the lines above cited, assent to his statements must be withheld by every one who obeys the import of the commandment. He says, We worship not images. Can this be true when the suppliant kneels before the image, it may be of the Virgin Mary, and requests from her the grant of the object of his prayer? When he bows humbly before the Rood, even though he may adore him there crucified, is he not guilty of a breach of the commandment, Thou shalt not bow down to any form or likeness? When it is said, "Blame there is none in a moderate use of pictures," can that be a moderate use, which the commandment clearly prohibits? Christians worship the Saviour, but they must not worship or bow down to a picture or image of the Saviour, even though it be a likeness. Such reverence may honour the object, but it dishonours the God. It cannot but be a cause of regret, that pious persons, such as it is hoped that the bishop and his advocates are, should so mistake as seemingly to hold themselves bound to observe such portion only of the Divine command as may not interfere with their own prejudices and practice.

To garble texts of Scripture, and to cite as holy writ from the pen of an Apostle a text from an apocryphal book, the Book of Wisdom, and not of divine authority, may accord with the principles of Romanism, and might pass uncensured in the dark years of the thirteenth century; but that such practices should be regarded without disapprobation, or even with approving silence, in the present times, cannot but excite regret. The Camden editors are clearly amenable to such charge; may they not be denounced as wilful accomplices of error, or rather misstatement? When

the bishop writes of *pictures and ornaments* of churches, ought not the word *image* to have been used instead of *pictures?* for with the Romanists images are frequent, pictures few. Has not the word picture been substituted in the translation, instead of the word image, the more offensive to the Protestant ear? Be this as it may, when the editors decide that the declaration of the bishop is a solemn protest against the sin of idolatry, do they not advocate error, and wink with their eyes when they read the commandment which forbids not only the worship but with equal decisiveness the act of bowing to any likeness whatsoever? Is this honourable, is it honest? Can it be possible that a delirious admiration of Gothic architecture should thus pervert the understanding and render it blind to truth, or is it that because the rites of Protestant worship are too few, and the churches generally devoid of ornament, they resolve to love a church whose rites lead on to the opposite extreme, and consist of countless forms and superstitious observances, which atone for sin and supersede repentance, which carnalize the spirit, and render sin secure? These questions the Camden editors of Durandus may best answer. The Apostle writes, "of such the condemnation is just." What can have been the sin of the Church of England which has inclined the Great Disposer of all things to permit such darkness and error to overwhelm the minds of any of its members? May "the plague soon be stayed;" may there be an early removal of that "blindness in part which has happened to Israel."[o]

Let errors such as these be shunned, and then pictures and images may with great benefit be admitted into Protestant Churches. It may be difficult to prescribe any general rule for the choice of the figurative subjects, whether images or pictures: being exhibitions of scriptural characters or scenes taken from scripture, they cannot be portraits or real

[o] Romans xi. 25.

representations, they must be to a certain extent imaginary, and consequently may possibly be the productions of misconception and error, and likely to suggest wrong notions, so as even to be injurious to truth. To prevent such mischiefs, and even to render them impossible, it is submitted that such intended exhibitions, especially whenever they bear any traits of a novel kind, ought, before they be set up, to be subjected to the inspection of proper authorities, whose decisions may perhaps be guided by rules such as those propounded in a former page for regulating the choice of symbols. A few notices of some of the personages and subjects which may claim admission may be usefully illustrative of this opinion.

Images of the Virgin Mary, especially if bearing the infant Saviour in her arms, are preeminently approved by the Church of Rome. She is commonly called the Mother of God, the Queen of Heaven; and as such her image wears a crown, often of gold. The rosary of beads and cross is almost exclusively appropriated to her worship, which consists of fifteen repetitions of the Lord's Prayer, and one hundred *aves*, or salutations of the adored image.[p] This worship was first practised in the fourth century, by a party of Christians in Arabia, which obtained the name of *Collyridians*, from the cakes called *collyridiæ*, offered at certain times to this adored personage. The worship soon became generally adopted by the Churches of the West, particularly in Gaul in the fifth century.

This worship of the Virgin may justly be considered as one of the grossest errors of the Church of Rome, and cannot be vindicated by any scriptural authority. The Mother of the Lord is not distinguished in the gospel history from other women the disciples of the Saviour. At the marriage-feast at Cana the Saviour checked her interference, when about there to perform the beginning of his miracles. On

[p] Mosheim, Eccles. Hist.

one occasion he declared that a faithful disciple was to him the same as "brother, sister, and mother."[q] It is evident from this text that the Virgin mother was not intended to be the object of high and especially of divine honour. She was, notwithstanding, the object of affectionate regard; for the Saviour while suffering the torturous pains of the cross, recommended her with affectionate care to the protection of her near relative St. John the Evangelist, who took her to his own home, where she is supposed to have made her abode, and to have died before John left Judea to reside at Ephesus, a short time before the destruction of Jerusalem. These facts afford the assurance that the mother of the Lord was not regarded by the Christians of her time as being entitled to any extraordinary distinction,—that she lived a companion and equal with the rest of the believers, ever ready to offer her plain honest testimony of the miraculous incarnation of the Son of God.

Nothing can have been more improbable than that a person leading a life of privacy and dying in utter obscurity should ever become the object of the highest reverence, worship, and power; for such is the estimation in which the Virgin Mary is held by the Church of Rome. The well-known fact that this worship originated with the sect called Collyridians, several hundred years after the death of the Virgin, will shew how it happened that the unpretending and amiable mother came to be worshipped as the Queen of Heaven, and to be distinguished by the almost blasphemous title of the Mother of God.

After the establishment of the Christian faith on the conversion of Constantine the Great, it was unhappily thought expedient by many of the most influential persons of the Church, to accelerate the conversion of the pagans by every possible compliance with their ancient prejudices, and to render saints and other persons of eminent fame in the

[q] Matt. xii. 50.

Christian Church the objects of religious reverence, instead of the gods of the heathen pantheons. The Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul were occasionally chosen for this purpose, with many others of inferior celebrity, and some of little note. The Collyridians of Arabia, acting in accordance with the fashion of the age, thought fit to elevate the Virgin humble and obscure to a participation of these divine honours, and to offer her to the worship of their idolatrous neighbours in the stead of the goddess Mylitta, the Syrian Venus, famed in those countries, and commonly distinguished by the title of the Queen of Heaven. This title was familiar with the heathen world of western Asia, which worshipped the female or productive principle in Nature. The rites with which that Queen was worshipped are described with great accuracy by the witty Lucian, in his Treatise on the Syrian Goddess; from which it appears that they were cruel, licentious, and abominable.

Among other rites, cakes were made by women and offered to the goddess, bearing an import lewd and licentious. This practice the prophet Jeremiah thus censures: for it seems that it had been admitted among the idolatrous vices of Jerusalem. "The children gather wood, and the fathers kindle the fire, and the women knead their dough, to make cakes for the Queen of Heaven."[r] These cakes were called *μυλλοι, mylloi;* they were made of the meal of sesame and honey, and of a form of which decorum forbears to speak.[s] From these *mylloi* the Goddess obtained the name of Myllitta, a proof that these cakes were the principal offerings which suited her character and the habits of her worshippers. The Collyridian Christians substituted the Virgin Mary for this goddess; from her they borrowed the title of the Queen of Heaven; and as the offering of cakes was the favourite rite

[r] Jer. vii. 18.

[s] Athenæi Deipnosoph. lib. xiv. The *mylloi* bare the form of *εφηβεια γυναικεια.*

of the idolatrous worshippers of Mylitta, they indulged the pagan associates in the faith with their beloved rites, notwithstanding the scandalous import of the symbol, its tendency to countenance vice, and its utter inconsistency with every Christian precept.

After these premises it may be properly asked, ought the image of the Virgin Mary to be admitted among the ornaments of Protestant churches? The Romanists of Italy and of western Europe do not appear to have used the collyridæ, the cakes of the Arabians, but they adopted the worship, and borrowed from them the title of Queen of Heaven, and called her the Mother of God. Thus did they advance the humble unpretending Virgin to an eminence and rank such as had been given to the goddess the wife of Jupiter, the god supreme of the pantheons of idolatry. Little did the mother of the infant Jesus expect, and, her character considered, little did she seem to desire such distinction. She had been the passive means of the accomplishment of the primal promise, "the seed of the woman shall break the head of the seed of the serpent." She was highly favoured; but this favour does not more entitle her to religious worship than would like favour shewn to the patriarch Abraham, to the lawgiver Moses, to king David, or to any other eminent agent employed by the Almighty to give effect to his divine purposes. That Mary the second wife of the carpenter Joseph should reign in heaven in majesty and power—should in heaven be the spouse of the Father, the God supreme, is impious to imagine, is blasphemous to say. It revives the worship of the Grecian Jupiter and Juno. The regard due to Mary is altogether founded on the fact that she gave birth to, rather than was the mother of Jesus. This is her great, her only merit; for this she justly claims our high regard. The stable, the place where she first began to nurse the miraculous infant, is the scene that best redounds to her fame. There and then she was in a state of greater

eminence than she ever after held. Seen in that state, she invites the mind to revive the most pious thought, and the heart to warm with the most affectionate gratitude towards Almighty God.

A rule that might serve to govern the admission of the figures of holy persons for the adornment of Christian churches may be found in the statement given above of adequate and inadequate symbols. Ecclesiastical history offers the names of many persons who deserve respect as sufferers in the cause of the Gospel, and the Romanist calendar recites the names of a host of saints, the objects not only of reverence but of adoration. Without entering into an enquiry of the merits of such personages, it may be proper to observe that none ought to be taken to ornament Christian churches unless the principles advocated by each be such as strictly accord with scriptural authorities, and the history of their lives be authenticated by plain statements of the truth. Subjected to such restriction, the numbers available to ornamental purposes become extremely limited.

St. Laurence, a deacon of the Church of Rome, suffered martyrdom in the third century during a persecution in the reign of the emperor Valerian, long before the Church assumed its present form.[t] Deaths like his, on iron bars over a fire beneath, were not unfrequently inflicted on the faithful Christians. The faithful firmness of these martyrs justly claims admiration and praise. The circumstances attending the death of St. Laurence, though accurately described by the Christian Fathers, and his personal merits, being in the present times little known, the representation of his person would not be likely to excite any particular sentiment or afford much instruction. For reasons such as these, the exhibition of this martyr, though he justly merits the title of Saint, cannot claim admission among the proper ornaments of at least Protestant churches.

[t] General Biography.

Bishop Blase suffered martyrdom in Cappadocia in the furious persecution in the reign of Diocletian. Tradition recites that the flesh of this martyr was torn previously to decapitation, by instruments used in carding and dressing wool, a cruelty unhappily not unknown at the present day in Ireland. This abuse of the instrument induced the operatives of the woolcomber's craft to adopt the carded bishop as the patron saint of their interests by intercession, agreeably to principles acknowledged by Romanists. Protestants adopt the true doctrine that the Saviour alone is the Mediator, and maintain that such reference to the martyred bishop is unscriptural and erroneous. For this reason, independently of the trivial use of the name of the episcopal martyr, his personal exhibition is not to be desired in our churches. The same may be said of St. Christopher, a favourite exhibition in the ancient painted windows of some churches. Whether he ever lived may be doubted; the necessity for his service in bearing the person of the Saviour above the waters may be confidently denied, and the exhibition may be truly said to be absurd.

Protestants, influenced by a sense of these objections, and well aware that the history of most of the persons called saints is marred in the Romanist calendar by legendary statements, commonly insufficient evidences of the truth, and too often the vehicle of doctrinal errors, have withdrawn their respect from nearly all the Saints who crowd the Romanist calendar, and confined it almost exclusively to the Apostles the companions, and the four Evangelists the recorders of the life and doctrines of the Saviour. To these latter the Christian world owes thanks and honour; for although they only write an account of those things which they saw or learned from the Apostles, yet their respective recitals may be presumed to have been the most perfect of those of "many writers which," as St. Luke speaks, "took in hand to set forth in order the things which are believed

among us." The four gospels, being the most perfect of the various compositions, were sanctioned doubtless by apostolical approval, and were received as the most authentic and genuine histories by the Christian church. It is well ascertained, by testimonies both external and internal, that the Evangelists did not write in concert, and yet they recite events and state truths numerous in performance and profound in purport, without discrepancy and without error. Accuracy such as this can only be attributed to that superhuman influence which the Holy Spirit is believed to have exercised over them unceasingly for the benefit of all ages and nations, not only of this present world, but of those also of future eternity: for the Redeemer himself declares, "Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away;"[u] that is, they shall continue to be the law of doctrine and of obedience when the former things shall have passed away, and he that sitteth upon the throne shall have made all things new, and shall reign for ever and for ever.[x] Such are the sentiments which the figurative or symbolical figures of the Evangelists properly suggest.

The gospel of St. Matthew stands first, the gospel of St. John the last, in the order in which the books of the four Evangelists are arranged. They are so placed, in accordance with the order in which they were written.[y] The gospel of St. John, the latest, is said to have been intended to supply any doctrine or event which had not been previously or only imperfectly recorded by his predecessors. These two Evangelists were the personal associates of the Saviour, and were witnesses of the things they record. The other two, St. Mark and St. Luke, were not associates, but having had, as the latter writes, a perfect understanding of all things, they compounded the notes taken at different times and occasions into a regular record, which having been revised, the former, as is commonly admitted, by St. Peter,

[u] Matt. xxiv. 35. [x] Rev. xxi. 5. [y] Lardner, vol. v. 8vo.

the latter by St. Paul, are held to be of equal authority with the gospels written by the two apostolical Evangelists. The multiplicity of facts recorded in the four gospels, the numerous precepts detailed, and the deep and sometimes mysterious doctrines recited, being considered, it is marvellous that some incongruities or contradictions should not be found in books written without concert and under different circumstances both of time and place. There are none such. The conclusion to be drawn from these facts is this: the contents of the four gospels cannot but be true. The exhibition of all the four Evangelists, wherever made, would be an apt symbol of this important truth. Let the exhibition be made in our churches, and the import duly announced from the pulpits, and the doctrine thus rendered familiar to the hearers cannot fail to be highly conducive to firm belief and steady practice.

Each of the Evangelists is usually exhibited by an attending symbolical figure. St. Matthew, according to St. Jerom, has a figure commonly an angel; St. Mark a lion; St. Luke an ox; St. John an eagle; each said to be characteristic of the style and spirit of the Evangelist to whom he is attached. The reasons given by the holy father for the use of these several symbols are somewhat fanciful, and do not appear to be decisive, for other fathers of the Christian Church assign these symbols differently. Andrew, bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, gives the lion to St. John, the ox or calf to St. Luke, the eagle to St. Mark, the man to St. Matthew. This discrepancy does not however invalidate the use of the four symbols, all evidently taken from the figures of the cherubim of the ark of the covenant. This may justify the use and explain the import of the symbols. The variety in the application is a proof of the universality of their supposed importance, and affords the assurance, that when the import of each symbol may be ably illustrated with learning and judicious ingenuity, it may establish the faith, and give occasion for pious sentiment and practical improvement.

St. Paul was the Apostle of the Gentiles, on which account he claims attention from the Christians of Europe, the descendants of those nations, in preference to any other Apostle. The exhibition of his person in a symbol might well suggest the gospel doctrine, not only that the salvation wrought by the Redeemer has been offered to all nations of the world, but farther, that religion no longer consists, as with the Mosaic Law, in rites and ordinances, in sacrifices and observances, but in a life influenced at all times by faith in the Saviour, and proved to be sincere by keeping his word from a grateful sense of benefits obtainable through his death and sacrifice.

The symbolical figure by which the Apostle has been usually exhibited is that of a man clothed in handsome drapery, bearing a sword in one hand, and an open book in which he is reading in the other. The Bishop of Mende affirms that the book refers to his conversion, the sword to his profession of a soldier.[z] This import of the figure cannot be admitted. The Apostle never was a soldier, neither was he converted by book, that is, by reading and study, but by a miracle, which certainly stayed a most dangerous persecution, and must have greatly promoted the progress of the Gospel. The book is significant of the learning of the Apostle, brought up at Jerusalem at the feet of Gamaliel, and "taught according to the perfect manner of the law of the fathers."[a] The miracle wrought on Paul was necessary for conversion. A Jew, the child of prejudice, learned in the traditions, conversant with subtleties which enabled him to give an interpretation to scripture according to opinions adopted at will without authority, and contradictory often to the plain and literal meaning of the genuine text, St. Paul would always have been able, like others of his nation, to evade any scriptural authority whose obvious meaning did not accord with the opinions he might have thought fit to entertain.

[z] Durand. chap. iii. s. 16. [a] Acts xxii. 3.

The Rabbi Nicodemus was never a convert to the faith, notwithstanding his admission that Jesus was "a teacher come from God." The miracles wrought openly by the Saviour were ascribed to magic. Had the disciples been learned men, their faith would have been retarded by endless subtleties, quibbles, and the expectations of worldly greatness. This was the reason why the Saviour thanked the Father for the wise dispensation which hid the doctrines, that is, did not first offer the doctrines of the Gospel to the attention of persons wise and prudent, learned and subtle, but revealed or offered them to persons babes in learning, but simple and ready without trick or evasion, to give an honest and obedient assent to the word of truth.[b] The symbolical figure of St. Paul, if exhibited in any church, might afford the preacher an opportunity of annexing such remarks as these to the exhibition of the figure, which remarks, if made familiar by frequent discourses, would recur to the sincere and sensible Christian whenever he turned his eye towards the image or picture of the Apostle, and the doctrine would thus become familiar to his mind, and often serve to influence his practice.

These observations on the symbolical representation of St. Paul render any others on the rest of the Apostles almost unnecessary, except it be to say that the representation of every one of them is altogether symbolical, for that real likenesses of persons teaching doctrines new and adverse to old institutions, their persons ever exposed to furious and deadly persecution, were by no means likely under any state of the arts in any country to have been taken or preserved. The figure of the Apostle St. Andrew is evidently symbolical. He is usually represented holding a cross of a singular form, on which he suffered martyrdom, and which is distinguished by his name. He bears in his hand fishes, symbols of his original vocation, and indicative of his humble rank of life. The cross intimates his honest courage in vindicat-

[b] Matt. xi. 25.

ing the truths of the Gospel, in doing which he sacrificed repose and safety regardless of worldly interests and worldly fame, and finally his life. Like observations are equally applicable to the symbol of the Apostles St. Thomas and St. James; the former holding in his hand a knife, signifying the death by which he glorified God, being flayed alive; the latter bearing a club, the rude instrument which terminated his faithful ministry during the fury of popular excitement. The Apostle thus exhibited would still teach. It may be said of his figure, "though dead, it yet speaketh."

The truth of these and such like observations may with great propriety excite a wish that the present bare and unmeaning walls of our churches were decorated with such useful objects. Paintings, if too costly, might find a substitute perhaps efficient in printed figures devised for the purpose. Should however these be withheld, texts of scripture written on tablets, or even painted on the bare walls, might not be without effect, especially if frequently used as texts to the sermons. The efficacy of figurative exhibitions of remarkable events is well understood from the use of bibles with printed pictures. The practice of decorating books of the Common Prayer with prints of scenes and saints cannot but be approved. The eye will often learn when the ear is dull and inattentive.

The notices submitted as above might be a sufficient illustration of the uses of the symbolical figures of the Apostles and other holy persons, were it not that the like representation of St. Peter has given rise to the most extraordinary doctrines and dissensions in the Christian Church, productive of events which constitute the most prominent features in the history of the western world. The Acts of the Apostles recite the most interesting events of his life till near the close, and the writings of the Christian fathers tell that he suffered martyrdom in the reign of Nero. The figures of his person exhibit him scant of hair on the head, and clad in drapery

reaching to the feet like the rest of the Apostles, but he is distinguished from them all by a pair of symbolical keys borne in hand by him and him only. It is not ascertained when his figure was first thus decorated. Much importance is attached to these keys, which, exemplifying the high consideration sometimes attached to symbols, demand some notice; therefore, notwithstanding the subject of the symbolical keys has been repeatedly handled by divines of the most profound learning, integrity, and ingenuity, it must in a treatise on symbolism be considered, but with such brevity as may be consistent with the importance of a question on which the bishop of Rome founds his claim to a monopoly of apostolical power, giving authority to the office of priest, which it is suspected some of the members of the Church of England long to share, notwithstanding the claim be not only inconsistent with Christian humility, but founded also on great perversion of the true interpretation of the word of God.

The Saviour, a short time before his crucifixion, asked his disciples of the opinion generally entertained by the people concerning himself. The question was put to the disciples generally, and answers were made by several of them. The Saviour then said, "Whom say ye that I am?"[c] Any one of them might have answered, for they were all agreed on the subject. But Simon Peter, more forward than the rest, expressing a sentiment which he knew was entertained by all, answered, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God." The Saviour turned to the speaker, as he naturally would, and approving the truth so spoken, pronounced a blessing on him, and signifying that the answer was of divine revelation, added, "I say unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven;

[c] Matt. xvi.

and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." This transaction gives rise to the following questions. What was the rock on which the Saviour would build his Church? Whether the promise was to Peter only? and lastly, What was the power of the keys, and to whom committed?

It has been repeatedly observed in preceding pages, that a mountain, a hill, a rock, and a stone, have been adopted in all ages and countries as symbols of the Deity: they are symbols of the same import in the following texts. Moses writes, "Ascribe ye greatness to our God. He is the Rock: his work is perfect."[d] Speaking of the Gentiles, he says, "Their rock is not our Rock." The same symbol is continually used in all the books of the Old Testament. In the New Testament, the symbol, somewhat differently applied, signifies the Saviour regarded as the Son of God and therefore God. Thus St. Paul, speaking of the agency of the Son in conducting the Israelites in the wilderness, writes, "They drank of that spiritual rock which followed them, and that rock was Christ."[e] Again: "Behold, I lay in Sion a stumbling-stone, a rock of offence; and whosoever believeth on him shall not be ashamed."[f] The Apostle here refers to the following text of Isaiah, "Therefore thus saith the Lord God, Behold, I lay in Zion for a foundation, a stone, a tried stone, a precious corner-stone, a sure foundation: he that believeth shall not make haste." Here the stone is the Saviour. St. Peter adopts the same symbol, which appears to have been familiar with the Apostles, and with much reason, for it had been repeatedly used by the Saviour himself. This symbolical foundation-stone signifies that the Saviour was the first person of the society called the Christian Church,—was the material first used in the construction of the sacred fabric. The same is intimated by other figures

[d] Deut. xxxii. 3, 4, 31. [e] 1 Cor. x. 4. [f] Rom. ix. 33. 1 Pet. ii. 6.

of like import. In the Ephesians, the Apostle after stating that God had put all things under the feet of Christ, proceeds to observe that "He gave him to be the head over all things to the Church, which is the body, the fulness of him that filleth all in all."[g] To the same purpose the Saviour says, "I am the vine, ye are the branches."[h] These authorities leave no room for doubt that the rock or stone on which the Saviour declared he would build his Church was the eternal truth that he was God the Son of God. Such a foundation is worthy the mighty fabric; any other is utterly unworthy a structure which is bounded only by the extent of creation, and whose eternal permanence is signified by the figurative phrase, "the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." It shall resist and effectually repel all the attacks with which folly, malignity, and the rage of evil spirits born in hell shall assail it.

The Saviour still addressing Peter, whose answer had accidentally gained his whole attention, adds, "I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven." The symbol of the *keys* had been of distinguished use in the Old Testament, and its import is clearly ascertained by the following text of Isaiah, "I will call my servant Eliakim the son of Hilkiah: and I will clothe him with thy robe and strengthen him with thy girdle, and I will commit thy government into his hand: and he shall be a father to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and to the house of Judah. And the key of the house of David will I lay upon his shoulder; so he shall open, and none shall shut; and he shall shut, and none shall open."[i] This symbol the Saviour adopted. Promising to Peter the power of the keys, he declared his intention of vesting him with great authority in the church, an authority which St. Paul considers to be vested equally without distinction in all the Apostles. He writes, "Let a man so account of us as of the ministers of Christ and stewards of the mysteries

[g] Eph. i. 22, 23. [h] John xv. 3. [i] Isaiah xxii. 20—22.

of God."[k] The word *ministers* plainly signifies all the Apostles, employed as they laboriously were in planting and promoting the growth of the Church of Christ. As stewards, all of them must have had the power of the keys, for all of them must have needed it. The mysteries they had to dispense were the gospel truth of the remission of sin through the mysterious agency of the atonement. Such were the powers promised to Peter by the words above cited, but not given at the time of speaking. The Saviour says, "I will give," and not "I do give." The promise was made, the performance was deferred. The account of the performance will prove that the promise was not made to Peter only, but equally and alike to all the Apostles, as the following transaction will clearly shew.

The Saviour on the day of his resurrection entered miraculously the room where the Apostles were assembled, the doors being shut. Among other acts, "he breathed on them, and said, Receive ye the Holy Ghost. Whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted to them, and whosesoever sins ye retain, they are retained."[l] Commentators are of opinion that the act of breathing was only an earnest of the promise of the Holy Ghost to be afterwards sent by the Son from the Father, and consequently that the endowment could not take place till after the Ascension. But it is submitted that the words imply an immediate performance of the previous promise, and the accompanying act of breathing was an act of entire ratification, and completed the transaction. However this may be, it is evident, since the Saviour breathed on all, that the same power was given to all the Apostles without exception.

The words recorded by St. John conferring the gift of the power of the keys, and the circumstances under which they were spoken, most decidedly imply the perfect equality of all the Apostles as to powers and privileges. This equality the

[k] 1 Cor. iv. 1. [l] John xx. 22, 23.

Romanists positively deny. They maintain that St. Peter was the head of the Church, the archbishop, as to power and authority, and that the other Apostles were but as his suffragans. Asserting this, they affirm that St. Peter was the bishop of Rome, and that the Pope is the lineal successor of St. Peter by vicarious ordination, and consequently that he is vested with all his powers, which render him the vicegerent of God himself on earth. Holding the powers of the keys, all the Churches of the world ought to bow to his authority, and that such as do not accede to his pretensions are heretics, and that unless he use the key to open to them the gate of heaven they must be eternally shut up within the gate of hell, and endure the pains of eternal damnation. The right to make such claim is positively denied by the Protestant Churches. This renders the question of the dispensation of the powers of the keys a matter of great interest.

The transactions recorded in the Acts will shew that no pre-eminence belonged to St. Peter. In the election of a substitute in the place of the traitor Judas,[m] Peter may be said to have *moved* the question: but he did no more. The manner of his address does not indicate any pre-eminence of authority. All the assembly, in number about one hundred and twenty, gave their votes and made the election, in which his suffrage availed as that of a single individual and an equal. The address made by him on the day of Pentecost has been held to indicate pre-eminence, and having been what may be called the first discourse for the propagation of the Gospel, has been supposed to prove that the Christian Church was builded upon the energetic zeal of Peter. This is a mistake. The Church already existed in the one hundred and twenty believers who had acted in the election of Matthias. Nor was the address of St. Peter the first act done on the Pentecost: the wonderful works of God ex-

[m] Acts i.

hibited in the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead and his ascension into heaven had previously been declared to the whole assembly by all the Apostles. The vast variety of the languages in which the works had been declared must have rendered all the Apostles speakers. The first public announcement of gospel truth was not made by Peter alone, but by all the Apostles, and therefore all may be said to have wrought alike in this early work of building the Church of Christ. Even while Peter spoke, the eleven stood with him, and thus gave their concurring testimony to the truth of his statements, and assisted in the work. Peter and John were equal actors in the case of the lame man healed at the gate of the Temple. Peter indeed spoke, but it was to bid the cripple look on both as equal agents in the miraculous cure. St. Peter was employed alone in the business of the first promulgation of the gospel to the Gentiles, in the visit to the centurion Cornelius. The Lord thought fit to appoint him to this office, but circumstances shew that it was not because he was in any respect of higher rank or authority than the rest of the Apostles. On his return he was called to account by his fellows, who said, "Thou wentest in to men uncircumcised, and didst eat with them."[n] Thus charged, he felt himself under the necessity of justifying his conduct, in a manner certainly not that of a superior, but of an accountable equal. He rested his defence not on any authority of his own, but on the will of God. On one occasion St. Paul "withstood him face to face, because he was to be blamed:"[o] and on others also, although Paul spake of himself with all humility, he still vindicated his equality with Peter and all the rest. To this assumption of Paul the Apostles in silence acceded; and Peter, like a Christian of true humility, submitted to rebuke, and all was peace.

The Power of the Keys given to the Apostles bears a resemblance to the authority given by a rich master to the

[n] Acts xi. 3. [o] Galatians ii. 11.

steward of his household to maintain good order and apply his wealth to such purposes as the lord or master may approve and prescribe. This resemblance is signified in the following texts: "The Father loveth the Son, and hath given all things into his hands. He that loveth the Son hath everlasting life, and he that believeth not the Son shall not see life, but the wrath of God abideth on him. He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved." Such was the spiritual power, the wealth conferred by the Father on the Son. Authority to dispense this wealth, to teach this truth, was the power conferred by the Saviour on the Apostles: this was the Power of the Keys. The nature of this power will best be understood by a reference to the acts of the Saviour done by him before his ascension into heaven.

The conditions on which salvation may be dispensed are comprised in the words *believe and be baptized. To believe* implies the assured opinion that repentance is made available by the merits of the Redeemer: *to be baptized* implies the performance of a certain ritual act, which gives an outward practical proof of the inward sincerity of the mind or spirit. Such was the doctrine taught by the Saviour when he sent forth his Apostles as the Father had sent him. These were the mysteries of which the Apostles were, as St. Paul speaks, *the stewards:* this the wealth or riches of the master which they were bound to dispense. They may be distinguished into matters of opinion or faith and matters of practice, or in other terms, of doctrines and rites. The Apostles had power judicially to determine and decide on both. The exercise of this Power must accord with the principles above stated, repentance and baptism; otherwise the dispensation of the steward is not the dispensation of the master's goods, it is travelling beyond the powers given, it is an abuse of trust, and must be a sin presumptuous and deadly, and altogether ineffectual of any purpose. That such is the restriction of the exercise of the Powers of the Keys is most obvious, and

that the acts of the Apostles were always confined within these limits may be clearly shewn.

"Men and brethren, what shall we do?" was the question asked by many of the multitude who had heard the address of St. Peter on the day of Pentecost. "Repent and be baptized,"[p] was the reply of the Apostle; dealing out the sacred mysteries like a faithful steward. Repentance entertained in the mind, and baptism performed on the body, were the sole conditions of salvation. Adhering to these, they decided that the observance of the rites of the law of Moses was not required of the Christian, whether Jew or Gentile.[q] This important decision was made at what may be termed a Council of the Church, at Jerusalem, acting under the direction of the Apostles exercising the Power of the Keys; it has ever since that time been obeyed on earth, and there cannot be a doubt that it is binding in heaven. Upon this authority of the keys all the precepts and observances taught and enjoined by the Apostles, whether recorded in the Book of the Acts or in the Epistles which form the code of the New Testament, all become laws which all Christians of every age and every nation are bound to observe and obey with obedience as exact as if they had been issued by the Saviour himself. The Apostles being vested with the Power of the Keys, it follows that every dictate of the Apostles is in reality merely an exposition or explanation of the doctrine taught by the Saviour during his ministry. This office they were enabled to perform without the possibility of error, through the promised agency of the Holy Ghost. Due attention being given to this position, it will plainly appear that the Apostles teach not their own precepts, not their own doctrines, but those of the Redeemer, and being such, will demand obedience not only of the faithful in this life, but of the blessed spirits in all the ages of future eternity.

[p] Acts ii. [q] Ibid. xv.

It is positively declared in the gospel of St. John, that the Power of the Keys was conferred on the Apostles at the time when the Saviour after his resurrection breathed on them, saying, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost:" when he also gave them to understand the scriptures concerning himself, and the general principles of his doctrine, and the duties of their office. The words used by the Saviour, according to this Evangelist, were, "Whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted to them; and whosesoever sins ye retain, they are retained to them." These words are in perfect accordance with the Power of the Keys, but seem to relate to the exercise of that power in one department only; the remission of sin: and yet the power extends to matters of both doctrine and discipline. The following reason may be given for the peculiar import of the above-cited text. It is agreed by commentators that St. John wrote his gospel toward the conclusion of the first century, and after he had seen the three authorized gospels of the other three Evangelists. His object was to supply any deficiency observed in those gospels, which was found chiefly to consist of doctrinal matters rather than matters of fact. Agreeably to this rule, he regarded the Power of the Keys with reference to the doctrine of pardon for sin rather than to the other powers given to set forth the duties of moral obligation and of rites and observances. The necessary decisions had been already made when he wrote, and therefore he set forth the doctrine of the remission of sins, which required particular attention because of the heresies and schisms which even in those early times began to disturb the Church. It is to be observed, that the Evangelist does not make any allusion to St. Peter as though the Power of the Keys were vested in him alone, but shews that as the words spoken by the Saviour were addressed to all, so the power was conferred on all without exception.

The pretensions of the Church of Rome, founded on the

promise made to St. Peter, amount to the assertion that the Pope may grant pardon at will to the worst of sinners, even without assurances of repentance and amendment of life. Although Protestants deny this power claimed by the Romanists, yet some do believe that such power was given to the Apostles, and that they could decide judicially whenever they saw occasion:[r] others, that the Apostles might decide judicially after due instruction and exhortation given, accompanied by the prayer of intercession.[s] It may be confidently affirmed that the Apostles never exercised an absolute power of forgiving sins on any occasion or under any circumstance whatsoever. They never made any declaration more positive than "Repent and be baptized for the remission of sin." In this they acted with due discretion. The act of baptism was a practical compliance with the conditions required, and clearly seen. Not so repentance: repentance is an inward act of the mind; and the sincerity of repentance cannot be ascertained with certainty by any outward act. Repentance being in all cases somewhat uncertain, the words of St. Peter cited above must be understood to imply forgiveness only on condition of sincere repentance, of which sincerity the Apostles, being men only, were of necessity incompetent judges. St. John writes to the same effect: "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us: but if we confess our sins, he (God) is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness."[t] It is plain from this text, that the Apostle admitted the necessity of the continued confession of sin, and to endure to the end, or that pardon granted to confession would be withdrawn. It is wisely required that the profession of repentance should be continued throughout this life of trial. The performance of this duty improves the man; but assurance of salvation does not improve him, but excites pride and presumption, which

[r] Tillotson, Serm. 176. [s] Barrow, De Potest. Clav. [t] 1 John i. 8.

cannot but be injurious and may be fatal to salvation. Were then the Apostles endowed when they received the Power of the Keys, to open the gates of heaven, and either declare or confer salvation, freeing the mind from a reliance on hope, the effect would be as injurious to the individual as it appears to be inconsistent with the general purposes of the divine dispensations. These observations are equally applicable to the Apostles themselves, and may be applied with confidence. They made no claim to superiority above other men; they were, as St. Paul declares, of the like passions, and they wrought out their salvation by the same means. St. John, in a text above cited, declares that he is bound to confess his sins so that even he might obtain remission of sin. This admitted, still it must be observed, that were the Power of the Keys given to the Apostles nothing more than the declaration of forgiveness conditionally, it would be no power at all, at least no more than what every person might be said to possess, and therefore the grant of the keys would have been useless. Something more must therefore be implied when the gift was conferred.

St. John writes, "All unrighteousness is sin, and there is a sin not unto death." Again, "If any man see his brother sin a sin which is not unto death, he shall ask, and he (the Saviour) shall give him life for them that sin not unto death. There is a sin unto death: I do not say that he shall pray for it."[u] According to this text, all unrighteousness, that is, whatever act, whether of deed, word, or thought, not perfectly right, is a sin: whence it follows that every act done by man, an imperfect being, must be in some degree imperfect or sinful. It is needless to observe that according to this doctrine there must be an infinite difference of the degree of sinfulness in the scale of sins, some being sins unto death, some sins not unto death: they are sometimes distinguished by the name of sins deadly and sins venial. An

[u] 1 John v. 16, 17.

instance or two of each may sufficiently illustrate this doctrine.

"Brethren, if a man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are spiritual, restore such a one in the spirit of meekness; considering thyself, lest thou also be tempted."[x] Such is the duty enjoined by St. Paul in the exercise of the Power of the Keys. It appears that sins more accidental than wilfully intended are venial sins. The Apostle writes on another occasion, "Brethren, my heart's desire and prayer to God for Israel is, that they might be saved. For I bear them record, that they have a zeal of God, but not according to knowledge."[y] It appears from this text that ignorance, under excusable circumstances, is a venial sin; and therefore the Apostle, acting in accordance with the text of St. John, prays for such wanderers from the truth. So also the Church of England prays that God will have mercy on all Jews, Turks, infidels, and heretics, and take from them all ignorance, hardness of heart, and contempt of the word, and so fetch them home to the flock of the Lord and Saviour.[z] The Apostle in the cited text directs that the censures of the Church ought to be withdrawn when the transgressor returned to his duty, and he ought to be restored to society and respectability. The continuance of censure when the cause is removed becomes sinful. This power was transferred to the successors of the Apostles through succeeding ages, and still properly belongs to the Church. The precept remains a rule to guide the conduct even in matters not ecclesiastical.

Sins held to be deadly, or decided obstacles to salvation, were ascertained by the Apostles with great precision, as may be seen on reference to many texts.[a] These texts, if duly considered, shew that all the sins called deadly are offences

[x] Gal. vi. 1. [y] Rom. x. 1, 2. [z] Collect for Good Friday.

[a] 1 Cor. iii. 3. vi. 9. Gal. v. 19—21. Ephes. v. 3, 5. Coloss. iii. 5. James iii. 14. Rev. xxii. 15. John xiv. 12.

in breach of the ten commandments recited in the Book of Exodus, and of the new or eleventh commandment given by the Saviour, enjoining love or affectionate benevolence as a Christian duty. These authorities shew that the Apostles in the exercise of the Powers of the Keys acted with proper caution, and confined themselves within proper limits. Their precepts gave validity to the law delivered by the Saviour, the God that appeared on Mount Sinai; and also to the new law added by him to the ancient code during his ministry upon earth. In this they promoted the purpose of the Saviour, who came not to destroy the law but to fulfil.[b] This statement will be found to be evidently true on all points, except perhaps the application of the second of the ten commandments to such societies of Christians as are separatists from what is termed in our creed the Holy Catholic Church, but are not worshippers of idols.

The Saviour hath said, "He that hath my commandments and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me;"[c] and St. Paul, "If any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be *anathema maranatha*;"[d] that is, let him be accursed, and the object of divine wrath. Again, St. Paul writes, "Now I beseech you, brethren, by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye all speak the same thing, and there be no divisions among you, but that ye be perfectly joined together in the same mind and in the same judgment.[e] In a subsequent verse he reproves them for their expressed preference of different teachers of the gospel, even though the doctrines taught were the same. A breach of Christian unity is a breach of the law of love, and accordingly St. Jude writes of "mockers in the last time who should walk after their own ungodly lusts. These be they that separate themselves; sensual, not having the Spirit,"[f] that is, the Holy Spirit. St. Paul says, "A man that is an heretic, after the first and

[b] Matt. v. 17. [c] John xvi. 21. [d] 1 Cor. xvi. 22. Whitby, Comment.
[e] 1 Cor. i. 10. [f] Jude xviii. 19.

second admonition, reject."[g] The Apostle did so on some occasions. Exhorting Timothy "to hold the faith, and a good conscience; which some having put away concerning faith have made shipwreck: of whom is Hymeneus and Alexander; whom I have delivered unto Satan, that they may learn not to blaspheme,"[h] that is, not to speak evil of the true faith.

Acts such as these are held to be in breach of the first of the ten commandments, "Thou shalt have no other gods before me."[i] These words enjoin unity of worship; and, as commentators explain, not only those persons sin who neglect to serve the true God, but those also who neglect to serve him aright. This was the error of the Samaritans, who feared the Lord and served their own gods after the manner of the nations. To avoid this error and preserve unity in religious worship has been the end and aim of all the divine ordinances from the beginning of the world. This was the reason why sacrifices in the *high places* of Israel were forbidden, and offerings were only to be made at the Temple at Jerusalem. The same uniformity is required by the gospel, under which religion shall be then pure and perfect, when, according to the words of the Saviour, "there shall be one fold and one shepherd."[k]

It were easy to shew by the citation of a few texts, that what is called religious liberty is not allowed by the law of God, although it may be permitted by the law of man. The mischiefs arising from such liberty are manifold. For these reasons our Church prays in the Litany against "all false doctrine, heresy, and schism," requiring every man to accede to the faith and submit to the ordinances of the constituted authorities, or *powers that be;* advising every one who may have particular opinions on points of doctrine not of vital importance, to adopt the advice of St. Paul, who writes, "Hast thou faith? have it to thyself before God."[l] If thou

[g] Tit. iii. 10. [h] 1 Tim. i. 19, 20. Whitby, Comment.
[i] Exod. xx. 3. 2 Kings xvii. 33. [k] John x. 16. [l] Rom. xiv. 22.

hast any peculiar opinion as to any matter of practice, and, it may be added, of opinion also, on which, if the written word be not sufficiently intelligible to prevent doubt or dissent, adopt the advice or rather the command of the Apostle, keep the opinion to yourself, and do not disturb Christian harmony and general uniformity. Of this and other similar subjects the present age seems to be ignorant, or at least, regardless of the truth. The prevailing belief acted upon is this, that it is a matter of the utmost indifference what form or how many forms of religion may be used in any country. This is an utter denial of the truth of the article in the creed which claims belief of one Holy Catholic Church, it is an act of direct violation of the duty prescribed by St. Paul, it is an act which received his strongest censure, the censure of excommunication, and he possessed the Power of the Keys. The sin of heresy and schism our highest authorities are seemingly afraid to denounce. One only of the bench of bishops has of late dared to state the truth,[m] which was immediately opposed by the utmost insolence of error, whose bold assertions were heard with indifference, if not the approval of silence.

The duties of the Apostles comprised not only the stewardship of the mysteries, but the institution of rites and ceremonies necessary to secure decency and order in the assemblies and services of the Church. The discharge of these duties was enjoined when the Saviour said, "as the Father hath sent me, even so send I you." Before his crucifixion he had himself instituted the figurative rites of the two sacraments: the Apostles were therefore required to continue the work thus begun, and to ordain such observances as circumstances might render expedient or necessary. The first epistle to the Corinthians affords instances of the exercise of the Power of the Keys by St. Paul. He res-

[m] The Bishop of Llandaff, in the debates in the House of Lords during the Session of 1845.

trained irregularities and disorders which had crept into the assemblies of the Church at Corinth, and he censured immoralities with the authority of a ruler. Other matters, says he, "I will set in order when I come."[n] The discharge of this appears to have been very burdensome.[o] The transfer of the religious duties of the sabbath, or seventh day of the week, to Sunday the first, was another of the apostolical institutions authorized by the power of the keys. On the first day of the week the disciples at Troas came together to break bread, or celebrate the Lord's Supper, and Paul preached to the assembly.[p] Reading the scriptures in the assemblies on that day, as are the lessons in our churches, was a rite sanctioned by the same power. The Apostle enjoins the reading of his Epistle to the Colossians in the Church of Laodicea, and of that to Laodicea in the Church at Colosse.[q] A practice highly salutary, for it has contributed to preserve in purity the sacred text more effectually than any other observance whatsoever. It ought never to be neglected.

The Saviour during his ministry on earth sent forth his twelve disciples, and afterwards seventy other disciples, to preach the doctrine of the Kingdom of Heaven. These ministers were endowed with an authority which was conferred on them alone by the special word or command of the Son of God.[r] They were ordained to that ministry. The Apostles, when the power had been invested in them, did the same. They ordained Paul and Barnabas by the laying on of hands to the office of preaching to the Gentiles.[s] Timothy was ordained to the same office by the laying on of the hands of the presbytery and of Paul,[t] that is, by Paul together with others having the like powers, namely, the Apostles. This office Timothy was authorized to confer on others, as occasion might require; but this was to be done

[n] 1 Cor. xi. 34. [o] 2 Cor. xi. 28. [p] Acts xx. 7. [q] Colos. iv. 16.
[r] Luke ix. 1, 2. x. 1. [s] Acts xiii. 3. [t] 1 Tim. iv. 14. 2 Tim. i. 6.

with caution, for St. Paul writes to him, "Lay hands suddenly on no man, neither be partaker of other men's sins;"[u] shewing that great responsibility is attached to the exercise of this power. Such ordinations were performed in all places, whenever occasion required. St. Paul addresses Titus in these words, "For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting, and ordain elders in every city, as I had appointed thee."[x] Titus has been commonly and very properly called the bishop of Crete: he ordained elders or priests to officiate wherever such ministers were needed, and he set things in order, that is, he prescribed rites and ceremonies, and passed ecclesiastical censures and admonitions, agreeably to the known practice of the Apostle himself.

Such are the functions of the episcopacy at the present time; the powers conferred on the elders or priests are also the same as those conferred by episcopal ordination. The authority for the exercise of these powers is founded on the Power of the Keys; it is consequently of divine origin, and having been transmitted by vicarious ordination through successive generations of the priesthood continued uninterrupted to the present times, it still claims the same character. The terms used by the Saviour in the promise made to Peter and to the rest of the Apostles place this position beyond the possibility of doubt. "Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." When an Apostle, St. Paul for instance, ordained a bishop, he conferred on the person powers the same as those possessed by himself,—the power of teaching and preserving order in the Church, the power of binding and of loosing. If the power thus conferred were valid in the first instance, it must be equally valid in all, and consequently every ordained minister of God's word, whether bishop or elder, must be vested with power or authority the

[u] 1 Tim. v. 22. [x] Tit. i. 5.

same as that communicated either by the Apostle immediately or by his ordained agents, whatever be the time, whatever the country in which they may live and act.

Such is the holy origin of the institution of the Holy Catholic Church, that is, of the Church whose rites and doctrines accord truly and strictly with the word of Holy Writ, for such only can be catholic. Being thus catholic, the act done, whether by an Apostle or by one ordained by the Apostle in person, is of equal validity; the acts of the Apostle and the minister ordained by the Apostle are of equal validity; each act is done by the authority of the Keys, each has the like power to bind, each to loose. The same must be affirmed of the acts of all true and legitimate holders of the power. The power was conferred by the Son of God; it is a power existing in his Church: neither time nor place can abate its authority; death and hell shall not prevail against it. Whatever may be the ordinances, the rites, the ceremonies prescribed by such authority, they ought to be regarded with religious reverence, and obeyed with dutiful obedience, under the penalty denounced against resistance. The reverence thus required for the rite is due to the rite itself, because divine honour is due to the primal ordaining authority. Let not the minister exalt himself: he is but the instrument. The work wrought by the instrument is of worth, rather than the instrument used. The Apostle enjoins that "the ministers of God's word be esteemed very highly in love for their work's sake;"[y] intimating that the validity of the work or rite performed is altogether independent of and not affected by the character of the minister. Such is the doctrine of the Church of England, which decides that "the unworthiness of ministers hinders not the effects of the sacraments."[z]

Authorities stated above have led to the conclusion that the Apostles never decided judicially, but conditionally only,

[y] 1 Thess. v. 13. [z] Art. XXVI.

on the salvation of any person. The authorities and elders of the Church can have no powers greater than those which the Apostles held, for the Apostles could not give more than they had received. The well-known accounts of the sale of pardons and indulgences, which brought on the Reformation, have rendered the fact notorious that the Bishop of Rome did make the claim, and founded upon it a most lucrative traffic. There are some instances of ministers of Reformed Churches, and even of the Anglican Church, who hold themselves entitled to the same claim also. It were uncharitable to suppose that any minister of the Church of England should entertain such opinion from any other motive than a love of truth; such a one may be supposed to be candid, and ready to receive the truth, and therefore may possibly give attention to the following remarks.

The Office for the Ordering of Priests directs the use of the following words on the most solemn part of it, the imposition of hands: "Whose sins thou dost forgive they are forgiven, and whose sins thou dost retain they are retained." It has been already shewn that the power of deciding judicially on the question of the final salvation of any one was not vested in the Apostles by the Power of the Keys, and that they never did exercise it on any occasion. Leaving the apostolical power out of the question, it is pleaded, on the authority of the Office for the Visitation of the Sick, that the Church of England, although it teaches that salvation can be conditional only in general, or in most cases, yet that the Church does possess the power of judicial decision in certain cases. In vindication of this doctrine it is thus argued.

The officiating minister, after due admonition and exhortation of the sick person, is ordered to absolve him, *if he heartily desire it*, after this sort. "The power having been given by the Lord Jesus Christ to his Church to absolve all sinners who truly repent and believe, of his mercy forgive thee, and by his authority committed to me (the minister) I

absolve thee from all thy sins, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." The visiting minister, when he says, "I absolve," may be supposed to presume true belief and sincere repentance. He has formed an opinion of the case, but he does not regard absolution as decisive and infallible; the prayer previously uttered, that Jesus Christ would forgive, proves that the absolution pronounced is altogether conditional. The absolution, however it may approximate to conviction, never can pass beyond hope. "We are saved by hope; but hope that is seen is not hope, for what a man seeth why doth he yet hope for?" This text is decisive, whether absolution be sought from an Apostle or an ordinary minister of the present day. Forgiveness of sin is uncertain till it be ratified by God, who alone knows what is in man. There is no scriptural authority that affords reason to imagine that God does in any case reveal his decision to man on earth, and therefore there never can be certainty to man in this life. Every honest man will submit to the word of God and accede to this doctrine, more especially if he be an ordained minister, for such is the true doctrine of the Anglican Church. Such of its members as claim the power of infallible judgment must, it is feared, be sadly tainted with the proud heresy of the Church of Rome.

The decision of the Apostles on the question whether Gentile converts ought to observe the Law of Moses, has been cited as an instance of their exercise of their power in matters of practice. That assembly may justly be termed the first, or rather, the most important Christian Council ever held: its decision has been ever binding on earth; the Power of the Keys affords the assurance that it is binding in heaven. The Churches did all abide by it, and even Judaism finally sank beneath the award. The ecclesiastical authorities of succeeding ages often exercised the apostolical Power of the Keys. Councils were held in all countries during many ages of the primitive Church, whenever doubts or disputes

seemed to require them. The piety of all true and sincere Christians rendered a dutiful obedience to the decisions of these assemblies, and an outward assent at least was always afforded to their decisions. Had any one a faith different from those decisions, he, in obedience to the precept of St. Paul, *had it to himself*, and forbore to produce divisions by opposing private opinion to the opinion declared on apostolic authority. In after times the intrigues and passions that too often prevailed in these Councils made it evident that they were devoid of the gospel spirit, and justly deprived them of that deference to which they were constitutionally entitled. Many Councils held by the Church of Rome made decisions clearly contrary to gospel principles and doctrines, and decidedly corrupt, and even abominable. At length a great portion of the Churches of Europe withdrew obedience, and acted upon the exhortation of the voice from heaven, saying, "Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues, for her sins have reached unto heaven, and God hath remembered her iniquities."[a] They withdrew because the worship of saints and images and the assumption of the judicial power in the forgiveness of sins rendered her heretical: such practices and powers being in direct defiance of the true and plain purport of the word of God.

Such being the Power of the Keys given to the Apostles, and the consequences of that gift thus permanent, it follows that every Christian is required by the laws of the gospel to submit to *the powers that be*, as being ordained of God; and farther, that such obligation is ever permanent, unless the power be so abused that the exercise of them cannot be said to be in accordance with their intent and the will of God. Such being the power of Councils, it follows that there is no such thing as what is called religious liberty; that is, the power of adopting such rites and ceremonies and profess-

[a] Rev. xviii. 4, 5.

ing the belief of doctrines giving interpretation of texts as private opinion may suggest. Nothing is more certain than that the Gospel enjoins uniformity of worship and general assent to the doctrine approved by proper authorities, even when in opposition to the declared opinion of the majority of the Church. The word of God most decidedly requires such implicit obedience to the powers symbolically conferred by the gift of the keys. Whatever they bind on earth will be bound in heaven; and disobedience to their decisions is disobedience to an authority which God approves, and is consequently disobedience to the will of God.

The Power of the Keys, thus influential in matters of faith and opinion, is equally influential with respect to matters of practice, that is, to rites and ceremonies. What apostolic authority binds on earth is bound in heaven. Whatever powers duly constituted by them may establish and ordain must be valid, and nothing can be valid unless ordained by such powers, that is, cannot be legal either in heaven or on earth. The strong conviction that every article of faith or every rite and ceremony should obtain the sanction of apostolical authority or of the Power of the Keys, is seen in the furious controversies that disturbed the world during several centuries after the primitive era. Each sect or party regarded their opponents with bitter animosity, and met them with outrageous argument; each contending with strange eagerness that their own peculiar tenets were in accordance with the established word, and therefore gave to them the Power of the Keys, and even imposed the duty of using the keys to open the gates of hell and consign their adversaries to eternal perdition.

According to the laws of the reformed Church of England, the Power of the Keys is vested in the Upper and Lower Houses of Convocation,[b] and all expositions of doctrine and all reform of rites and ceremonies must originate with them,

[b] Blackstone, Comment. Book i. chap. 7.

subject to the confirmation or rejection of the Crown. The authority of the Clergy in Convocation is derived from the Power of the Keys, and has divine sanction. The influence of the Crown is not derived from the Power of the Keys, but is admitted on principles of general expediency. The system is well devised, and if called into operation occasionally, might be of much benefit to the cause of religion. Whether Convocation would be productive of much good, were it convened, must perhaps be doubted. The temper with which several of the clergy have resumed the obsolete practice of reading the offertory, to the great offence of their congregations, shews that they can strain at a gnat and swallow a camel,—that they rigidly adhere to the observance of a rite, which, being utterly unnecessary, has passed without performance for many years by a consent which may be said to be universal, and which, had Convocation assembled, would doubtless have been expunged from our Liturgy. In this they strain at a gnat, are precise in a matter of no importance, but swallow the camel: they disregard the remonstrances, the displeasure, the anger, the secession of their congregations, followed, as with the sons of Eli, by an abhorrence of the offering of the Lord. These symptoms suggest the apprehension, that in an assembly containing members of such temper so much wrangling would arise, that no good measure would be passed. These and such like evils, which of late have so foolishly and lamentably troubled the Church of England, must, it is feared, continue undiminished, unamended, for the Power of the Keys cannot be exercised by the legislative bodies of the realm. Should these evils continue, they will greatly forward that perilous state of religion sadly foretold by the prophecies of St. Paul,[c] and render necessary the personal presence of the Saviour upon earth to save the light of the gospel from utter extinction, and by the miraculous rule of rulers raised from the

[c] 2 Tim. iii.

dead cause the will of God to be done on earth as it is in heaven.

It clearly appears that the Apostles, the companions of the Saviour during his ministry, never had other or greater power given them than has been given to the ministers of God's word, their immediate successors in the holy office, or any other minister duly ordained in any after age, and even in the present times. The Apostles had indeed the power of working miracles, which was necessary to enable even the Saviour himself effectually to teach and them to preach with effect and plant the gospel. It is also certain that they received from the Holy Spirit the promised aid which was necessary to teach them to understand all things, and bring all things to their remembrance.[d] These aids were absolutely necessary, when as yet the gospels had not been written, and superhuman agency alone could prevent error and discrepancy in the history of the life and the recital of the doctrines of the Saviour. To this same superintending care that harmony must be ascribed which subsists between all the gospels of the four Evangelists. In later years, when the martyrdom of many of the Apostles and other Christians had given both publicity to and assurance of the gospel truths, and the books of the New Testament had been given and verified to all the world, the incidental need either of miracles or the extraordinary influences of the Spirit no longer remained; both were alike withdrawn, and Christian ministers no longer look for them, and only pray that they may be "illuminated with true knowledge and understanding of God's word, and that by their preaching and living they may set it forth and shew it accordingly."

Statements such as these afford a proper estimate of the character of the Apostles, and excite proper feelings, whenever their symbolical forms may be exhibited to the eye. As the friends and companions of the Saviour, they will

[d] John xiv. 26.

receive our respect; as the disinterested labourers in the Lord's vineyard, they will be regarded with admiration; as the planters of the gospel, they will excite the feelings of gratitude, of affectionate gratitude, of love. To give more would be to rob God of his glory, and the Saviour of the worship due. The Protestant, dutifully observant of the word of God, will never offer more, will never give to the servant that worship which is due exclusively to the Lord. That such worship is given to the servant saint by our erring brethren of the Roman Church must with sorrow be affirmed. The subject calls for some short proofs, which are offered, not with any expectation that they will be received otherwise than with scorn by the members of a Church which, proudly deeming all its acts infallible, never recedes after a false step has been taken, can never amend faults and offences however grievous. The facts now offered may be necessary to apprize those who are not within the pale of that Church, of its idolatrous errors; and farther, to shew, that while the use of symbols is highly salutary, and is earnestly recommended, yet great caution must be kept, lest it lead to the sin, the deadly sin of idolatry.

The sacramental elements, called by the Romanists the *host*, from the Latin *hostia*, a victim sacrificed, are held by them to be transformed into the real body of the Saviour, instead of being a symbol only. The deified bread, held up high by the minister during the course of the administration of the mass, is thus addressed: "Most adorable body, I adore thee with all the powers of my soul, O Lord, who hast given thyself wholly for us. Grant &c." When the chalice of wine is held up: "Most adorable blood, that washest away all our sins, I adore thee, &c." During these recitals, the people take the posture of the most pious devotional worship. The host, thus addressed and adored, is but a symbol. The elements said to be transubstantiated, as the phrase is, are unaltered in form or any of their qualities previously extant

before consecration. The substance of the symbol is called god, it is worshipped. Such is the abuse of a symbol in this instance. It is an idol, it is worshipped, it is adored. This is idolatry.

The Litany of the Blessed Virgin begins with this devotional anthem: "We fly to your patronage, O holy Mother of God; despise not our petitions in our necessities, but deliver us from all dangers, O ever glorious and blessed Virgin."[e] The Virgin is then invoked under a variety of titles, and at each ejaculation is added the sentence, "pray for us." Is it possible to suppose that the Church of Rome can have seen the following texts? "And I John saw these things, and heard them. And when I had heard and seen, I fell down to worship before the feet of the angel which shewed me these things. Then saith he unto me, See thou do it not, for I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren the prophets, and of them that keep the sayings of this book. Worship God."[f] Can the men be Christians who set at nought the example and words of the Saviour? "Get thee hence, Satan; for it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve."[g]

The Missal gives forms of prayer addressed to numerous saints,[h] which, judging from their names and numbers, must be presumed to have been gathered from all countries and all ages of the world. Among the prayers to be offered to these holy personages, a form of prayer is found to be addressed to the guardian angel of the supplicant, and another to the guardian saint. Extracts from the latter are these. "O blessed Saint ——, glorious citizen of heaven, as I render most humble thanks to God for all the good he hath done to thee, so I beseech thee to remember me in thy prayers, and to obtain for me the entire remission of my sins, the amendment of my life . . . but especially I recommend to thee the hour of my death,

[e] Missal. [f] Rev. xxii. 8, 9. [g] Matt. iv. 10. [h] Missal. Litany.

that by thy holy intercession my soul may depart out of this world in the grace of God, and immediately come to life everlasting. Amen."[i] These prayers are not expressive of penitence; the benefits sought are expected to be conceded to importunity, as though they were sure to be granted, not to the merits of the suppliant, but to the unwearied and urgent request of the Saint in heaven! Romanism is in truth a very comfortable and convenient religion, to all the persons who can receive its doctrines. It spares the votary the trouble of practice, farther than that of reciting a prayer, which enlists a saint or angel into his service, whose clamorous application to the Almighty saves all trouble on the part of the applicant. If his saint pray for him, he has no occasion to pray for himself.

Prayers such as these addressed to personages like those above named is most undeniably worship paid to them. This worship the Romanists vindicate, and seek the mediation of holy personages, notwithstanding it be declared positively in holy writ that the Saviour Jesus Christ is the Mediator, and the sole Mediator, between God and man. Prayers thus addressed to saints and angels are then held to be most effectual, when offered before the image of the person. It is contended that this practice is not only lawful but salutary, as affording aid to devotion by rendering attention more fixed and energetic. What can energy in prayer avail, when offered in defiance of the will and the commandment of the God who, whether addressed either mediately or immediately, is to grant the object of the prayer?

Attempts have been made to vindicate this use of images, by asserting that the prayer, although addressed to the image, is intended for the personage of whom the image is only the symbol. In vindication of this practice, the Romanists, adopting the translation of the Latin Vulgate, render the words of the commandment thus: "Thou shalt

[i] Missal. Devout Prayers.

not adore (images or symbols) nor serve them;" instead of the correct translation, "Thou shalt not bow down to them nor worship them." This latter form of the translation is found in all other editions of the sacred text, and is the true and correct rendering, as will appear from the etymology of the word in the original of the text in question.

The word adopted in the Septuagint translation of the commandment is προσκυνεω, *(proskuneo,)* which the learned Parkhurst thus explains, "The word is compounded of προς, *(pros)* to, and κυνεω, (*kuneo,*) to adore, a verb derived from κυων, (*kuōn*) a dog, and so properly signifies to crouch, crawl, and fawn like a dog at his master's feet: to prostrate one's self to a superior after the eastern custom, which is very ancient."[k] The learned Lexicographer refers to the following passages in Genesis, well calculated to shew that the Hebrew original intends not the more solemn act of adoration, but the more trivial act of bowing: thereby rendering the commandment so strict as to forbid even the slightest approach to reverential worship.

"The Lord appeared unto Abraham in the plains of Mamre. And he looked, and behold, three men stood by him; and when he saw them, he ran to meet them from the tent door, and he *bowed* himself *to the ground.*"[l] Two of these persons proceeded the next day to Lot in Sodom, who on their approach "*bowed himself* with his face toward the ground."[m] The act of bowing low was the common mode of shewing respect, and is altogether distinct from any idea of worship or adoration. In both the texts describing the circumstances, the Septuagint uses the same Greek word προσκυνεω, which the Vulgate adopted by the Romanists renders *adore;* but the phrases, if rendered "he *adored* to the earth," and "he *adored prone to the earth,*" become ridiculous: if rendered "worshipped to the earth," or "worshipped prone to the earth," they border on absurdity. Religious worship or

[k] Parkhurst. in voc. προσκυνεω. [l] Gen. xviii. 2. [m] Gen. xix. 1.

adoration cannot have been intended in the passages from Genesis, nor in the commandment. Had Lot worshipped or adored angels, he had offended against the patriarchal doctrines. God alone was the object of worship in the time of Abraham. These authorities clearly shew, that the proper meaning of the commandment is not that thou shalt not adore, that is, offer religious worship before images and idols, but that thou shalt not bow down before them, or perform before them the most trivial act of reverence, or even respect. Whether the Romanists have altered the text of the Vulgate, which everywhere teems with corruptions, it may not be easy to shew. The distorted form of the translation excites suspicion, but the fraud cannot serve the intended purpose, at least with the learned and the honest. The commandment forbids even the slightest and indirect act of ordinary respect.

The length of this dissertation on the Power of the Keys will claim excuse, not only because it shews the vast variety of subjects which may be signified by a symbol, but in this instance by the importance of the subjects also. It may with confidence be affirmed that the authority of all the writings of the New Testament rests altogether on the validity of the Power of the Keys. We may be assured that the acts reported and the doctrines recorded in the four gospels are correctly true, because they received the sanction of the Apostles; for their sanction, vested as they were with the Power of the Keys, rendered them binding, and made them the law or rule both of faith and practice with all created beings or in heaven, or on earth, or in hell; with good spirits, men, and evil spirits. The Apostolical sanction gave the assurance that the dispensations of divine providence ever have been, ever are, and ever will be awarded as the gospels teach. Without this sanction, faith in the gospels must have been, in some degree at least, precarious. Copies of the four Books might have been proved to be genuine, might have been proved to be authentic, by the given approbation

of one or every one of the Apostles; but this could not have given them authority forbidding or excluding all possibility of doubt, imposing silence on scepticism itself, had not the Son of God declared that the Apostles vested with the Power of the Keys could give eternal validity to whatever they declared was the word of God and the record of truth.

These statements are equally applicable to the Book of the Acts of the Apostles and to the Epistles of the several Apostles, together with the Book of Revelation. The Book of Acts was most probably verified by St. Paul, the friend of the writer St. Luke. The Epistles were written by Apostles, and must be true, unless it be admitted that the Apostles could write falsehood. The Revelation was written by St. John, and the truth of that book has been confirmed by the fact that some of the prophecies have been already fulfilled. The validity of the Epistles is confirmed by the fact, that whatever they teach or enjoin is invariably sanctioned by the precepts of the Saviour, which may be said to be the texts of the epistolary discourses of the Apostles. Their writings are little else than expositions and illustrations of the precepts of their divine Master, and applications of them to common life.

The Power of the Keys assures the authority of the *powers that be*, that is, the authorities and laws both civil and ecclesiastical, as now constituted. The Apostles had not occasion to notice the former, but they gave to the latter a perfect form, which has been retained through all succeeding ages down to the present times, and they are faithfully observed by all societies of Christians or Churches that have kept themselves free from gross corruption, and rightly interpret the holy word. Such Churches as retain the form first instituted by the Apostles are, from the divine authority of their founders, very properly denominated holy; and because they make the gospel, the universal law of Christians,

their rule of faith and practice, they are called Catholic. The Power of the Keys affords the assurance that their rites and ceremonies, and their authorities, wherever duly constituted, are approved in heaven. How far those persons who blaspheme or vilify such institutions, or pervert their doctrines, or separate from them, may be guilty of resistance and rebellion against the will of God, it may be proper to forbear to say. Let those who assume this liberty take heed; "the judge standeth before the door."

The idol-worship vindicated by the Church of Rome is the illegitimate offspring of the use of symbols. The birth of the heresy may be traced with much probability up to the act of Constantine the Great, who made the cross the ensign of his armies, instead of the eagles which had been for ages the object of religious worship, and the patron deity of the Roman legions. The cross, holding the place of the military idol, very naturally invited the soldier to transfer to it the reverence previously paid to the former ensign. The worship of the cross would ensure the worship of the holy rood, which, however, seems to have been in a great measure superseded by worship of the symbolical forms of saints, of martyrs, and, in later times especially, of the Virgin Mary.

The Church of Rome, adopting the doctrine that it is lawful to do evil that good may come, connived at the love of idol-worship in the pagan population, and gave it encouragement, because they entered with less reluctance into its pale, an entire relinquishment of ancient habits and ancient prejudices not being required. Thus did heathen idolatry lead to Christian idolatry, and grossly corrupted the Holy Catholic Church.

That heathen idolatry was, like Christian idolatry, the offspring of symbols, will appear on a reference to the following statements contained in the preceding chapters. The stone set up by Jacob at Bethel, a symbol of the firm purpose of the pious youth, became by the successive use of symbols

the personal representative of the great God. Stones of similar import were set up in almost all the ages and countries of the heathen world. Single stones first thus applied, found an improved substitute in the pillar, in the tower, in the pyramid, and in the spire surmounting not unfrequently the artificial mound or barrow. The columnar stone received in time the symbolical ornament of a human head, and at length received the human form entire, which, placed first on the sacred eminence of the mound or the pyramid, became at length an image and the acme of images, the image of the Grecian Jupiter in the Temple of Olympia, the arena of idolatry, in the most alluring form and fascinating usages. This short summary of the matters stated in this treatise is given to shew the danger that awaits the use of symbols. If due caution be used, they cannot fail to be highly beneficial. The following subject, which now invites attention, will shew that many evils may arise which symbols might have prevented and restrained, and more especially the symbolical use of the keys.

While the true son of the Gospel, the sincere Christian, the man that worships in spirit and in truth, sees with regret the purity of the Church defiled by the errors of idolatry, he will not fail to regard with sorrow the temper of those persons, who, giving no heed to that article of the creed in which they profess their belief of the Holy Catholic Church, deny altogether the authority of such Church, claim a right to religious liberty, and hold the doctrine "that every man shall be saved by the law or sect which he professeth, so that he be diligent to frame his life according to that law and the light of nature."[n] This is religious liberty; but this doctrine the Church of England condemns in the strongest terms. It has indeed been asserted in a former chapter, that, according to the text there cited, "In every nation he that feareth God

[n] Art. XVIII.

and worketh righteousness is accepted of him,"[o]—may not only be saved from the consequences of sin, but even attain the religious eminence of a saint or a martyr. But this privilege can only be conceded to such persons as act according not only to the best of their knowledge, but to the best knowledge by them attainable. They must not only accede to the knowledge acquired by their ordinary and approved course of learning and study, but ere they venture to tread new ground they are in duty bound to give attention to every question that may seem to deserve notice, and to decide upon it with the strictest regard to justice and truth. If they fail so to decide, they are negligent, and consequently wilful transgressors, and cannot be accepted of God, but must receive that punishment which may await such persons as refuse to submit to established ordinances and the authority which may attend the Power of the Keys. This is the largest extent of religious liberty allowed by the Gospel, the law of the Christian. This right the Reformers exercised; but farther they did not go.

All the claimants of religious liberty transgress, it is feared, very far beyond these bounds. They cannot indeed be charged with idolatry, for they are so spiritualized that they treat with scorn every kind of forms; symbols are of course never admitted into their speculations. The Power of the Keys, which gives validity to all the Books of the New Testament, they will perhaps treat with scorn; yet they draw their doctrines from those books: interpreting them, however, according to their own private notions. Regardless of the apostolical practice of subjecting the decision of questions doubtful and difficult to authorities properly constituted, they frame their faith upon private individual judgment alone, and condemn without hesitation all doctrines, all opinions, different from their own, utterly regardless of the authority and doctrines of the Church which has been termed

[o] Acts. x. 35.

in all ages since the first preaching of the Gospel, Holy and Catholic.

The great lexicographer of the English language writes, "Heresy is the opinion of private men different from that of the catholic and orthodox Church."[p] The word is the Greek word *αιρεσις* (*hæresis*) in an English form, and signifies the act of making choice: and *heretic* (*αιρετικος*, *hæreticos*) signifies a person who chooses a form of religion arbitrarily, possibly from passion, prejudice, or other wrong causes, to whose influence the human mind is too often subjected when it proudly rejects the control of authority, and embarks on the restless waves of a wilful imagination. It were foreign to the present purpose to do more than merely allude to the condemnation signified in holy writ against heresy; but it is necessary to notice the evil consequences ensuing from it.

Divide and command is a maxim of policy which never fails of success whenever carried artfully into practice. The enemy to religion and to man appears to have availed himself of it, and to have wrought effects already lamentably great and evidently increasing. The man who acts upon the doctrine of religious liberty and chooses his religion, will easily bring himself to conclude that not only any form of religion will suffice, but he easily persuades himself to believe that few or no religious observances are necessary, and he frees himself from all religious obligation whatever. Religion imposes on him no restraint; he is free, and seeks the gratification of his will without any other restraint than the laws of the land may offer, which, as they are often evaded, are often recklessly set at nought. Hence the prevalence of crime to a degree which in some countries even now paralyzes society,[q] and must

[p] Johnson's Dict. on the word.

[q] In or about the year 1777 there were seldom more than six or seven prisoners in the House of Correction for Leicestershire. The numbers now average one hundred and twenty, from a population about doubled only.

at length accomplish the prophecy of the Apostle, when "perilous times shall come upon all."

The horrors of the French Revolution have produced a full conviction of the importance of religion to the welfare and safety of every state. Those horrors, the fruit of infidelity, have somewhat shamed and restrained the proud infidel, but have not given efficiency or even saved from injury and insult the Holy Catholic Church. Even the Gospel, the sacred code on which she rests her authority, and by which she regulates her doctrines and precepts, is not safe from violation. Some sects boldly expunge even whole chapters that contradict their opinions and thwart their prejudices; and they pervert by artful sophistries the obvious meaning of texts, till some absolutely deny the Lord that bought them. Thus do men set at nought the word of God, and they follow such courses as must ultimately call into act a personage as yet unknown to the world, "the Son of Perdition, who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that He as God sitteth in the temple of God showing Himself that he is God."[r] Protestant divines have been wont to apply this text to the Roman Pontiff, who certainly assumes the exercise of divine power; but that does not come up to the words "opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God." The Roman claims the character of God's vicegerent upon earth, but does not oppose God or exalt himself above God. Nothing so outrageously blasphemous has yet occurred in any age or nation since the establishment of the Gospel. The prophecy is as yet unfulfilled. It may be difficult to say when it shall be fulfilled. When however it is recollected that the madness of the people did, during the extravagances of the French Revolution, set up a woman dressed in a singular costume as the goddess of liberty, and other acts of the same kind were then frequent, it may be almost with

[r] 2 Thess. ii. 3, 4.

certainty expected that sects will arise who shall deify some abstract principle, and exhibit the idol, perhaps a living man, as a god, and set him in "the temple of God shewing him as God." The absurdities adopted and practised by a set of fanatics in Germany called Anabaptists,[s] and in England by the Puritans who murdered their king, shew that similar extravagances may possibly occur. Who shall say that persons claiming the right of religious liberty will not do the deeds foretold? The principles advocated by them give countenance to any excess which fanaticism may suggest and folly adopt. What may not be feared, when men not only reject the guidance of lawful authority, but rebel against the commandments of their Creator and their God?

Were it not for the assurance afforded by the prophecies of the New Testament, that some few shall be found at the coming of Christ faithful and elect among the general falling off and corruption; that some knees shall be left in the Israel of the faith who "have not bowed the knee to Baal," it would seem to be a hopeless attempt to suggest any means which might seem to afford some refusal of compliance with the arrogant assumptions of Rome, or the wild fancies of those republican religionists who can act upon the strange presumption that all legislation and all consequent authority originates in their own will, influenced wholly by the convenient use of the Protean principle of presumed expediency. Adhesion to this practice will always find excuse in texts of holy writ, collected by prejudice and interpreted by passion. Numerous instances show that it is by no means difficult to form from texts of holy writ a cento of doctrine of any character or any colour that may suit the fabricators. The numerous and conflicting sects into which the Christian world is frittered afford abundant proof of this; and they shew how differently and incongruously interpretations and meanings may be given to the same texts. It is easy to

[s] Robertson, Hist. Charles the Fifth, Book 5.

assign meanings not only different but in many cases opposite to the very same words, and to render scriptural texts available to very different imports. Facts are more stubborn things; they are not so convertible: for this reason less error is likely to arise from a reference to facts, or to objects of sense, than when the mind is left to the variable flights of the imagination.

Of all means that might be adopted to correct and restrain the laxity of interpretations of scriptural texts, the use of symbols, and especially of historical symbols, seems likely to be most efficient. The various instances which have been exhibited in the preceding chapters of this treatise shew that much and excellent instruction may be communicated by the use of symbols; and that the instruction so conveyed is little liable to error, if the symbol be properly and faithfully expounded. The senses and actual perceptions must be less liable to be mistaken than the imagination. The mind, aided by external objects, will be less subject to the wild flights of fancy than when left as it were to sail in the infinity of space, without a beacon, a guide, and a rudder to direct its course.

Adopting the use of symbols, we follow the example of the Holy Word, which not only illustrates important truths by symbols, types, and figures, but avails itself of their use to teach or shew subjects which without their aid could not be taught, and must have remained unknown to man. In the preceding pages, when there was occasion to speak of heaven, the abode of happy spirits, or of hell, the abode of tormented spirits, it became necessary to regard the one as situate high above, the other low beneath the earth. These phrases served well, the one to signify the advanced, the improved state of beatified spirits; the other the degraded condition of fallen spirits. The terms however do not signify the relative locality of the abode of each, but the relative advantages, the powers, the enjoyments resulting from the endowments conferred on, or withheld from each.

It may be admitted that words might have conveyed the same ideas, might have taught the very same truth, but it will be admitted that the figurative terms, heaven above and hell beneath, give a sort of substance to the truth of the doctrine which renders it more tangible, and when made the object of contemplation, it becomes less likely to elude the grasp of the mind, and seems likely to be retained with greater certainty and effect.

Similar observations apply with equal truth to the nature, if so we may speak, of the Godhead itself. The Deity has not parts or passion, form or substance, but is pure spirit, the life, the soul of the universe, pervading all things, influencing all things, ruling all things. How this may be, the weak, the imperfect mind of man cannot comprehend, but endeavours to give something of form to the idea of God by the symbolical idea of an impenetrable mystery existing in unapproachable light, bright and glorious, but surrounded by clouds and darkness, animated as it were by vivid lightnings, and terrible in voices and thunders. A symbol more sublime and true may be found in the words of the Saviour in answer to the disciple who said, "Lord, shew us the Father, and it sufficeth us. Jesus saith unto him, Have I been so long time with you, and yet hast thou not known me, Philip? He that hath seen me hath seen the Father."[t] The Spirit of the Father was personified in the Son. How was he personified? The Evangelist will tell. "The word was made flesh, and dwelt among us; and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only-begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth!"[u] The divine Spirit appeared in the form of a human body, the real object of sense, and subjected to the laws of nature. The person of Jesus the son of Mary was the symbol of the Son of God, the Creator of the world; full of grace, that is, of manners kind, beneficent, and endearing all around him; full of truth, exempt from error either in thought, word, or deed. Well

[t] John xiv. 8, 9. [u] John i. 14.

may man be grateful, when he learns that such is the Almighty Being, whom he is born to serve and obey. While however the man is taught to understand that the Godhead consists of spiritual virtues, his mind finds footing, as it were, on the symbolical form supposed to exhibit the Saviour; and resting upon that form, it becomes enabled to form some idea, although inadequate, of the spiritual virtues which we are taught to believe constitute the God Supreme.

Such are the uses of symbols. The instance last cited shews that by their aid the human mind can make a nearer approximation to an idea of God than might be attainable by any other means, even the most abstracted contemplation. The same may be affirmed of all the symbols, or rather all the objects noticed in the foregoing pages, to which an imaginative or unseen import was intended to be annexed. In all instances they enlarge the arena of the exercise of the intellectual powers, and give a semblance of reality even to mystery itself: they give soul to the objects of sense, and body to the abstractions of divinity.

The explanations of the import of many of the symbols which have been the subjects of discussion, will, it is presumed, be found worthy the attention of all persons who may be desirous to know the reasons of many observances, and the principles or grounds of the authority and powers exercised or claimed by the priesthood or other ministers of the religious institutions of the nations in different ages of time past. This may be with confidence affirmed of the symbolical Power of the Keys, which alone gives validity to the Scriptures of the New Testament, and affords a solid foundation to the religious fabric of the Holy Catholic Church. The use of symbols is not by any means limited to these higher purposes; it is equally available to every purpose; it may enter into the business and bosom of every man, however high may be his rank of life, it reaches even the most trivial act of the lowest. In proof of this position the following examples may

be submitted, in proof of the benefits that may be derived from the use of symbols.

Let it be supposed, that a person of sound understanding and of honest principles, one that has been even in his boyhood taught by his parents, and first by his mother even in infancy, to know the wickedness of sin and the obligations to a religious life,—let it be supposed that such a person returning towards his home from a journey of either business or pleasure, or let him be an operative after the labour of the day; let it be supposed that he views, perhaps at a distance, the towers and spires of the city of his abode, or it may be the lowly tower or pinnacle-like spire of the church of the village in which he finds his home. These he regards as symbols of eternal truths, made familiar by frequent expositions; they operate as they well may upon his quiet but thoughtful mind; and thus he meditates: "I see those structures, whose summits point to the heights of air, to heaven. They tell me that God is highly exalted far above man,—that with him alone is true happiness; they bid me set my affections on things above, not on things on earth. May I practise the lesson they teach! The towers and spires, rising high above all surrounding objects, remind me also of the omnipresence of the great God of heaven; they suggest the truth that all my actions are done in his sight, and therefore that everything done by me, though remote from and out of the sight of man, is noticed and known by him. He can and will reward or punish every man according to his works, be they good or be they evil. I will therefore be wise, and abstain from whatever is unjust; I will serve my neighbour and fellow-man with as strict fidelity as I should serve my God."

Let it now be supposed, that a person of character the same as the above, who, obedient to the chime of the bells of his parish church, turns his steps thither for the duteous performance of religious worship. As he enters within the

boundaries or treads the porch of the consecrated edifice, he may, and it will be well if he entertain thoughts like these. "I now approach that structure which, like others built for the like purpose in the earliest ages of the world, is denominated the house of God, and as such is a symbol of the presence of God upon earth. When I pass within the boundaries of the inclosure justly called sacred, because it is dedicated or solemnly set apart for religious purposes, I may with truth be said to approach the Divine presence, and ought to leave behind me the present world and all its cares and concerns, and not suffer them to divert my attention from the Great Being, the Creator of the world, the Giver of life to myself and all beings that enjoy that blessing. That same Being is the Giver of the food by which we live and are sustained, the Giver also of all the comforts and enjoyments of life. Grateful for these and the still greater benefits, the means of obtaining the salvation of the soul, and farther advancement in the life to come, I will endeavour to serve him in prayer and praise, as in duty bound. Mindful of his power, I approach him with awe; mindful of his greatness, I approach him with reverence; mindful of his goodness, I regard him with affectionate gratitude. When I enter within the sacred structure, I will bow with a humble mind; and when I address him in prayer, I will offer it with such steady attention as is justly due to his majesty divine." These are the sentiments which, on approach to the church and entrance into it, ought to be entertained by every person who wishes to serve God in spirit and in truth. The symbolical import of visible objects, if made familiarly known, will rarely fail to excite these sentiments.

The bare possibility that symbolical objects may be productive of such effects is a sufficient reason why such objects ought to be presented whenever the opportunity of their exhibition or the means of their supply may be found. When

supplied, let it be again observed, the use of the symbol will be nearly inefficient unless the import be duly explained by the discourses of the minister in the pulpit. The due explanation will require most probably a frequent repetition of the same statements and observations. This may not be always acceptable to persons fond of novelty; but the passion for novelty is not that which the word of God approves, and therefore the indulgence of that passion ought not to be sought for, especially when trespass on the patience of the hearer may be necessary to the general benefit. Sensible of this, let it be hoped that a disposition will be found in every one "to hear meekly the holy word, to receive it with pure affection, and to bring forth the fruits of the Spirit."

In conclusion of this work, the following remarks may claim attention, and justify the long series of instances which has been adduced. The use of symbols recommended to practice, though somewhat novel, is not new. The chapters of this treatise shew that it has been coeval, if not with the creation of man, yet at least with his expulsion from the Garden of Eden; and that all sacred structures have been symbolical, from the earliest times. It is well known that all religious rites, down to the death and sacrifice of the Redeemer, were symbolical also; and Baptism and the Lord's Supper, ordinances of the Saviour himself, are most decidedly such. All religious rites, even of the Christian Church, are symbolical. It cannot be denied that the use of symbols led to the sin of idolatry, but the abuse of the good is never admitted as an argument against the use. These and other reasons will invite all good and pious persons to accede to these authorities, and induce them to adopt the use of symbols, not reject them because they have been carried in times long past and in times present into all the absurdity of extravagance: in fine, let not the orthodox members of the Anglican Church be swayed by prejudice, and reject the use of symbols because they have been approved by some anti-

protestant members of the Camden Society in the University of Cambridge, or because they are beloved by the papistical society of the Tractarians of the University of Oxford.

THE END.

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